A VOLUME OF INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES

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A monthly Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, Art, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Folklore, Geography, History, Languages, Linguistics, Literature, Numismatics, Philosophy, Religion and all subjects connected with Indology.

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EXTRA SERIES II

A VOLUME OF INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, Kt., C. I. E.

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
Karnatak House, Chira Bazar, Bombay (India)

A VOLUME OF INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES

Presented to

Sir E. DENISON ROSS, Kt., C. I. E.

on his 68th brith-day 6th June 1939

EDITED BY

S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

AND

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FOREWORD

In November 1937, when we were busy with the work of founding the *New Indian Antiquary,* we had an occasion to discuss with Mr. M. N. Kulkarni, Manager of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, the idea of presenting a *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* to Sir E. Denison Ross on his retirement from the Directorship of the School of Oriental Studies, London. This Volume was to be an Indian offering to Sir Denison as a mark of esteem and token of affection from his colleagues, friends and admirers in recognition of his life-long activities directed towards the promotion of Oriental Studies both in India and England. Mr. Kulkarni having expressed his willingness to publish the proposed Volume, a Festschrift Committee was formed with a view to invite contributions to the proposed Festschrift from Oriental scholars in India and outside. The Committee consisted of Dr. H. Hidayat Hosain, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Dr. S. K. De, Mr. S. A. Shere, Dr. M. I. Borah, Dr. S. M. Quadri and Dr. B. A. Saletore. The appeal issued by the Committee received a generous response from representative scholars as will be seen from the varied contributions included in this Volume.

We offer our heart-felt thanks to the members of the Festschrift Committee, the Karnatak Publishing House and all the contributors to the Volume, whose united co-operation alone has made it possible for us to realize our idea of honouring an eminent Orientalist who by his scholarship and forceful personality has left an abiding impression not only on the minds of his colleagues and pupils at the School of Oriental Studies, but also of his co-workers in the fields of Indian History with which he completely identified himself. The Karnatak Printing Press also deserve our best thanks for the promptness and efficiency displayed by them in the execution of the elegant printing of the Volume, which we have great pleasure in offering to its worthy recipient.

Poona, 4,
6th June, 1939.

S. M. KATRE
P. K. GODE



Sir Denison,

It is our proud privilege to be permitted to offer you this votive offering of a VOLUME OF INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES *as a token of our appreciation of your deep learning and solid achievements in the field of Oriental Learning in general and of Indian History in particular. Your eventful stay in India as the beloved Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa has left an indelible impression on the minds of your colleagues and pupils. The qualities of head and heart that characterized your early contact with Indian Scholars forged the links of an ever-extending chain of your Indian and Iranian interests which have enriched Oriental Learning and attracted new investigators to fields explored by you. As the first and popular Director of the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London, you have laid the Indian students under a deep debt of gratitude by your genial temperament and catholic sympathies unparalleled in the history of Oriental Learning. In offering you this Volume of Studies as our humble tribute to your unremitting activities in the cause of Oriental Learning for over four decades we wish you long life and prosperity to enable you to render still greater service to the sacred cause of historical research which you have made your own and which being nurtured by you so long promises to bring forth richer harvests in the years to come.*

S. M. KATRE
P. K. GODE
M. N. KULKARNI

6th June 1939.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN
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SIDDHESHWAR VARMA
SUSHIL KUMAR DE
SYED AHSAN SHERE
M. I. BORAH
MOHIUDDIN QUADRI
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SIR E. DENISON ROSS B. JUNE 6, 1871

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Corresponding Member of the Portuguese Academy.
Corresponding Member of the Royal Batavian Society.
Corresponding Member of Prague University.
1918 : Knighthood.
Order of the Nile 2nd Class.
D. Litt. London.
1935 Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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CONTENTS

A CHAPTER ON THE REIGN OF 'ALI ' ADIL SHAH OF BIJAPUR*

By

K. K. BASU, Bhagalpur.

[This article is based on the *Tarikh-i-Bijapur* of Ibrahim Zubairi, and it deals with events that took place after the battle of Talikota.

It gives a picture of the caves and creeks that once existed in the principal part of the city of Vijayanagara, supplies the date of Ram Raja's death, and narrates the conquest of Raichur and Mudgal by Ālī Ādil Shāh, the construction of Bijapur fortress, Āli Ādil's conquest of the Karnatic, his success over the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, the construction of a fort at Mahdarak or Dharwar, the death of Kishwar Khan, the Bijapur general, Āli Ādil's conquest of Adoni, the alliance that was made between Ādil Shāh and Nizam Shāh, the appointment of Mustafa Khan as the minister of Bijapur, and lastly the conquest of Bankapur by Ādil Shāh.]

There are mountains with chasms and creeks in the principal part of the city of Vijayanagara. Some three or four leagues below these mountainous crevices, there runs the thoroughfare which is sometimes spacious and sometimes narrow : again, at some places, it is so dark that one cannot walk without the help of a torch : sometimes, the sky is made visible and the light is to be seen. (After the battle of Talikota) most of the inhabitants of Vijayanagara left the city[1] and ran away in different directions ; some betook themselves to the caves and took up their abode there. These dwellers of the caverns would issue out of their retreats and secure food and water from without. When the Muslims picked up this information, they kept a sharp look out for the egress of the Hindus. Whenever the Hindus came in sight, the Muslims laid violent hands on them, and would not let them go unless they had wrenched something from their captives.

Rafi-ud-din Shirāzi, who was an eye-witness to one of such adventures, relates his personal experiences. Some three or four Hindus were kidnapped by the Muslims one day. On being put to the rack, they alluded to the existence of the mountainous cleft that had served the purpose of a hiding place for their wives and children, their goods and chattels. Later, in return for an assurance of safety to their life, the prisoners made an offer of a large sum of money to the escort and also led them to their hiding places. Wickedness and covetousness are the two characteristic weaknesses of human beings. The hands of these captives were put together by means of cords, and the prisoners

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* Based on *Busatin-us-Salatin* or *Tarikh-i-Bijapur* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi.

The events narrated in these pages took place after the battle of Talikota, for which please refer to my article "The Battle of Talikota—Before and After" published in the Vijayanagara Six-centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 245.

1. The text reads جلا ورزيد .

were made to march in front of the *concierge* who followed them at close quarters. Having traversed some distance, the party came across deep gorges that ran in various directions. Now, the muslims took fright lest they might lose their way during the return-journey and wander in distress in the ravine, and thus might be captured and killed. To keep themselves on the safe side, they procured some dressed cotton, and made two or three torches. The party, now, worked its way. While moving forward along the intricate maze, the muslims left their finger marks on the rocks, so that during their return-march they might be guided by those impressions....The *troupe* proceeded half a league inside the cavern till they reached a point where the passage became very narrow. Then, with great difficulty and in a kneeling pose, they covered a distance of three to four yards. When two of the captives whose hands had been tied with ropes went past the narrow portion of the gorge they asked their companions to follow them. An articulate sound was now heard, and it seemed that, a large number of persons were speaking up within. A clashing of arms was also audible. The chords round the hands of the prisoners were ripped up, and they went inside the cave. The noise grew louder and louder every movement, and it became obvious that there were many persons inside the cave. The muslims now took alarm and thought that, in case they proceeded any further, they ran the risk of an assault upon them. Being rendered helpless, they turned back frightened and disappointed; they, then, edged their way with the help of the finger-marks left by them on the rocks, and at last issued out of the labyrinth safe and sound.

Most of the hills in that area are full of defile and *crevasse*.

Anagundi, a populous city, is situated near Vijayanagara. A large running stream meanders between these two cities. After the destruction of Vijayanagara, Ādil Shāh took measures for populating Anagundi. Agents were appointed to make it a flourishing city, and soon a large number of people alighted and colonized it.

Three years subsequent to the event narrated before, the son of Ram Raja, who had run away from the battle-field (Talikota) and taken refuge with his family in a cave that was situated at a distance of three leagues from Anagundi, moved out of his retreat, and having captured Anagundi expelled the Ādil Shāhi agents.

Rafi-ud-dīn reports that, the son of Ram Raja with all his family lived at Anagundi till 1017 H. (1609 A.D.) and derived income out of the revenue raised from the town and its adjoining places.

The date of this event (death of Ram Raja) is described as "*Fatah-Din Marg La'ain*" or the victory of the Faith and the annihilation of the accursed. Gulām 'Āli Astrābādi, the father of Muhammad Qasim Ferishta has called it appropriately as "*Qatal Ram Raja.*" If the letter jim (ج) be eliminated the remaining alphabets would (according to the *Abjad* system of reckoning) tally with the date of his execution which is 972 H (1564-65 A.D.). The disjoined head of Ram Raja was despatched to 'Imād Shāh (of Berar) by way of terrorising him, inasmuch as, he had not entered into an alliance

with 'Ādil Shāh, but on the contrary, being actuated by rebellious motive and evil intentions had extended the hand of destruction in the territory of Nizām Shāh (of Ahmadnagar).

Previous to this, a compact had been formed among the Muslim sovereigns to the effect that, after the conquest of Vijayanagara two of the four important fortresses, viz., Raichur and Mudgal, would be ceded to 'Ādil Shāh. Now, when 'Ādil demanded the surrender of the said fortresses, Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh sent an embassy to Tilmraja demanding from him the evacuation of the two fortresses. But Tilmraja made excuses. As the rainy season set in, 'Ādil Shāh became anxious. At last, it so transpired that, Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh not only did not agree to the cession of the fortresses but had also dissuaded Tilmraja from surrendering them to 'Ādil, for, Nizām and Qutb looked with disfavour upon the increase of 'Ādil's power and dignity resulting from his possession of Raichur and Mudgal. Further, Nizām became disquieted as he thought that, if 'Ādil became hostile, he would stand in the way of the two Sultans' (Nizām and Qutb) return to their countries. Both (Nizām and Qutb), therefore, took recourse to a stratagem. They sent a written note to 'Ādil informing him that, 'Imād Shāh (of Berar) had invaded Ahmadnagar and that for the suppression of the invader, both should (with 'Ādil's permission) march against him. But as 'Ādil knew that the presence of Nizām and Qutb was a hindrance to the success of his enterprise, he permitted them to return.

Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh return to their countries.

After their departure, 'Ādil besieged Raichur. The garrison keenly felt the want of provision and drinking water. The nobility, therefore, made up their mind to approach Ādil and pay him their homage. The Bijapur ruler accepted their submission and conferred on them gifts and robes of honour. The garrison, on their part, became disappointed of help and supply of provision, and they, likewise, drew in their horns. They made a present of the keys of the fortresses to 'Ādil and the latter, in return, bestowed on them royal gifts and robes of honour. Royal officers were appointed to look after the fortresses. The Bijapur Sultan insisted on rebuilding Raichur; having personally looked to the construction work, he made his way to the capital. By way of thanksgiving (to God) and commemorative of the great victory, 'Ādil opened the door of charity in such a manner that, the poor and indigent gave themselves up to pleasure and merry-making.

Ādil captures Raichur, Mudgal etc. and returns.

When the territory of Ali 'Ādil Shāh expanded and his army grew in number, people flocked to his court from the four corners of the globe. The people of Bijapur were always under an apprehension lest their enemies might effect a combination and avenge the wrong done to Ahmadnagar by the Bijapur Sultan. Regard being had to this fact, 'Ādil Shāh constructed a fort of stone and mortar. The work of construction was entrusted to Kishwar Khan, and expert builders and sculptors were

Foundation of Bijapur fortress and construction of Ja'mia' mosque and canals.

recruited from all sides. A large number of experienced persons were appointed as supervisors, and the construction of each portion of the fortress was committed to the charge of a courtier. The structure was completed within two and half years.[1] In area it was six leagues : the width of the ramparts measured 18 *dar'a* and the height 8 *dar'a*.[2] There were 120 towers, 6000 turrets and 70 windows. Each tower was strong like a fort and the whole architecture was strengthened by stone and mortar. There were six gates. The gate to the west was called " The Holy Mecca ", and the other gates were named after the villages that lay adjacent to them. There was a deep and a wide moat with a constant flow of water round the fort. The whole construction was completed towards the beginning of 973 H. (1565-66 A.D.). The nobility and the high officials occupied the palatial mansions. There stood in the city of Bijapur the castle of double walls and double moats that had formerly been built by Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh.[3] Within a short time, three large orchards were laid out inside the castle wall. The first nursery was called the *Dwazdah* or the twelve, after the twelve Imāms ; the name might also refer to the amalgamation of twelve small beds much older in date. The second was known as *Alwi Bagh*, and the third *Bagh-i-'Āli*. The grandees built their houses near the gardens. There were a large number of parks near the city which yielded summer and winter fruits.

By the orders of the Sultan, Kishwar Khan cut an aqueduct and supplied water to the city from a distance of two leagues. A large reservoir, called *Karanj*, was constructed near the Bijapur fort. It was always full of water, and the citizens received an ample supply of water from it.

The climate of Bijapur was moderate and wholesome. It made men healthy and increased their appetite. Outside the fort walls a large and populous town named Shāhpur grew up. Merchandise was imported into this city from all parts of the world and then carried to different places. There was a big stock of commodity in the town. Originally, Shāhpur was situated at a distance of one league from the citadel, but later on, it touched the confines of the Bijapur fort : now, only the ramparts and the ditch lie between the two.

On account of its vast population specialists and experts came in large numbers to the city (Bijapur) from all parts of the country. Articles of every description were available there.

A very large and exquisite Jámiá mosque was constructed at Bijapur under the supervision of Kishwar Khan.

The construction of the entrenchments round the city (Bijapur) was completed within three years.

1. Rafi'-u'd Din Shirazi, the author of Tazkīrat-ul-Muluk says that the fort was constructed in 2 years.

2. Rafi'-u'd Din gives the width as 18 yards and height as 20 yards.

3. Originally, the fort was made of mud. After about 1530 A.D. Ibrahim thought of strengthening it. (*Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*).

Ādil invades Karnatic : jealousy of Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh.

After the destruction of Vijayanagara and the death of Ram Raja, 'Ādil Shāh incorporated the territories of Vijayanagara which extended from the Krishna to the port of Rameshwar and consolidated his empire. With the subjugation of the chiefs and governors, private quarrels and feuds disappeared from the land. Tilmraja,[1] the brother of the late Ram Raja, resided at Palconda[2] and became reconciled to the territory that he had conquered.

'Ādil Shāh passed his days in peace and happiness. The personal talent that he had shown in carrying the holy wars added to his fame and glory, rank and honour. After a temporary respite, he again made up his mind to take up the sword and conquer territories. For the glorification of the Faith and the expansion and consolidation of the empire, he aimed a blow at the neighbouring kingdoms of Palconda[3] and Nirmal. Kishwar Khan, the trustworthy minister of 'Ādil, passed an opinion that, it was not necessary that the king should personally lead an expedition against the infidels; any skilful and experienced courtier could, if he was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the imperial order, bring the expedition to a successful issue.

'Ādil Shāh, accordingly, sent Kishwar at the head of twenty thousand armed cavalry against the Hindus. When this fact became known to Qutb Shāh, he sent an ambassador to Nizām Shāh. The note that Qutb had sent ran: "None of us possess any rich and fertile land to the south of Bijapur. It is rumoured that, a Bijapuri force under Kishwar Khān has been despatched to that side. In view of our present resources we cannot offer any opposition to Bijapur. But with fresh conquests and annexations 'Ādil would grow more powerful and he would reduce us to subjection. Under such circumstances it is only becoming that we should attack Bijapur. We would, in that case either conquer a portion of his kingdom or compel him to recall his army devoid of any military glory." Nizām admitted the weight of Qutb's argument and having persuaded the chief of Berar to cast in his lot with him, Qutb joined Nizām. The confederate forces then took the offensive against Bijapur.

The allied army invade Karnatic : Kishwar defeats the auxiliary army.

Nizām Shāh, Qutb Shāh and the son of Tafaul Khān, the minister of Imād Shāh (of Berar), formed a combination against 'Ādil Shāh and invaded his kingdom. On receipt of this information, the Bijapur Sultan left his headquarters and met the advancing army at Shah Darak. The enemies had no courage to give battle; they marched against Bijapur through a different route and halted near the tank at Shāhpur. They were under an impression that, it was easy to capture the flourishing city of Bijapur, which was in an undefended

1. Ferishta writes Timraj and makes him the son of Ram Raja.

2. Ferishta writes "Penkonda," and says that it was "Venkatadry" the younger brother of Ram Raja and not Timraj who ruled at that place.

3. Acc. to Ferishta, Āli Ādil Shāh wanted to place "Timraj" in place of "Venkatadry" and the latter applied to Nizam Shāh for help.

state and was protected only by a fortress which, again, was not complete in construction. 'Ādil Shāh, on the other hand, took no alarm. He remained at Shah Darak, and sent out a force for the defence of Bijapur. The towers, gates and other fortifications were now strengthened, and a corps of six thousand horse mounted guard over the city. On the third day, the enemies having marshalled their forces, approached the city and besieged it. They were, now, on the look out for getting an access into the city, when cannon was fired upon them which killed two of their horses and one elephant. Two battles were fought, one near the Sarwār gate and the other near the *Mangoli* gate[1]—in both, the Bijapuris offered stubborn resistance to their opponents.

Among the soldiers of 'Ādil Shāh there was a certain chief named Hindui Hindiya[2], who was the master of two thousand swift-footed horse of which even the smallest was worth not less than one hundred gold coins. Having made all his troops lie in ambush, he rushed at the enemies with 300 cavaliers. He then pretended to beat a hasty retreat, so that, his followers who had been lying in wait, might drive the enemies hard from the front and the rear. Hindui and his men marched some distance in the scorching rays of the Sun. Owing to lack of water and the unbearable heat of the Sun, his followers and beasts of burden became entirely worn out, when, all of a sudden, they caught sight of the Allāpūr reservoir. The enemy cavalry, on their part, wanted to reach it as well. At this stage, Kamil Khān, Nasir-ul-Mulk and Pir Muhammad Muquarrab Khān, who had been placed in defence of Allāpūr gate hastened to meet them...The enemies were soon hemmed in on all sides and run down. Some of their generals were killed, some wounded and some taken prisoners. Meanwhile Kishwar, who had been sent against Nirmal, reached the spot with 20,000 horses. This timely arrival of Kishwar added fresh strength to the Bijapuri army. The enemies were totally defeated, and Kishwar laid his hands on a rich booty consisting of 150 elephants, four to five thousand horse, and a huge amount of goods and chattels. Moulānā 'Ināyatullāh, the minister of Nizām Shāh, was taken prisoner by a Bijapuri named *Sherzādāh*, but the latter, out of old intimacy, set him free. Moulānā Jamāluddin, the treasurer of Nizām Shāh and his attendants were also imprisoned.

Kāmil Khan, who had once been a faithful servant of Nizām Shāh, was now in the suite of 'Ādil Shāh and attained the rank of a commander. Bearing in mind Nizām's past kindness and affection towards him, Kāmil released all the prisoners and sent them back to Nizām with a present of four hundred loads of fruit for the Sultan. Kāmil sent a message to Nizām. It stated that, the discomfiture which his (Nizām) army had suffered was due to the timely arrival of Kishwar Khān that imparted extra strength to

1. On the South of the fort the gate is called after the Mangoli Town which lies few miles S. E. of Bijapur.

2. The text reads هندوی هندیا

the Bijapuri army; that, as his faithful servant he (Kāmil) had left no stone unturned to look to his interest, though Kishwar Khan was not at all favourably disposed towards him ; that, it was, under the circumstances, only proper and advisable that he (Nizām) should run back to his country otherwise a serious misfortune was in store for him. Nizām Shāh attached importance to this advice. Attended by all his followers he withdrew to his country.

Kishwar now held a council of war. "We should not," he addressed the other war-officers, "Miss this opportunity, for, a chance once lost is lost for ever. We have frustrated our enemies. Many of them are scattered and wounded. If I am permitted I can snap them up." Shāh Abul Hassan, the son of Shāh Tahir, and some others shrugged their shoulders. They held that, if the Deccani Sultanates lost their power, the whole of the peninsula would melt into one empire. In spite of the difference in opinion, Kishwar Khān, with a select body of troops, attacked the enemies and captured their camels, horses and other movables. Thus, when the enemy had made their exit, Kishwar Khān and Shāh Abul Hassan found their way to Shāh Darak and paid their homage to 'Ādil Shāh, who offered thanks to Kishwar and bestowed robes of honour upon him. The Sultan, then, turned his attention towards the administration of his kingdom.....

Nizām Shāh and others form alliance and attack Ādil Shāh.

Notwithstanding the repeated failures that they had met, the enemies (of 'Ādil) were not repentant, but were, on the contrary, setting their wits to work for the defeat of 'Ādil. The Bijapur Sultan deputed Kishwar Khan and some other nobles of high rank to put a check to the evil machinations of the malefactors.[1] Kishwar selected Ahsanābād as his headquarters, and took the offensive. Day after day, the contestants fought with each other, and there was heavy casualty on both sides. But Kishwar and his officers were at cross purposes. So the opponents made a timely attack on Kishwar, and the latter being attacked by the three kings (Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berar) was hardly able to bear the brunt of the assault and betook himself to the fort : his soldiers took shelter in the trenches. Although he ordered his troops to fire cannons from the fortress, they, being actuated by ill-will and malice, displayed negligence and carelessness.....As soon as the Bijapur ruler received this message he entered the lists like a raging storm. The enemies failed to hold their ground and retired from the scene of action. 'Ādil Shāh, thus, returned to his capital in the midst of mirth and rejoicings.

Kishwar constructs the fort of Mah Darak also called Dharwar : his death.

Kishwar Khan, who was undoubtedly one of the bravest generals of his time, achieved wonderful glory and marvellous success every day. He was promoted to higher rank and more dignified position in the presence of all his brother officers. His ungracious rivals being actuated by rancour

[1] Acc. to Ferishta, Kishwar marched against the enemies in 975 H. = 1567 A.D.

used their endeavour to bring about his fall. They always found fault with him, and his virtues were represented as vices. In order to keep himself safe from all their evil designs, Kishwar deemed it advisable to make himself scarce. ... He made a representation to the Sultan stating that, there was no trace of an old fort named Mah Darak that was once situated near the territory of Nizām and at a distance of ten leagues from Shāh Darak; that if His Majesty would permit, he would reconstruct the fort in a short time and this reconstruction would surely facilitate the task of making frequent raids on Nizām's territories and conquering it. But the nobles of the court were divided in their opinion on this question. Some were at one with Kishwar, while others at variance with him. "Let us", the King said at the conclusion of the debate, "consult the Holy Quran. We should act in conformity to what is enjoined in the Holy Book." Moulana 'Ināyat-ullāh Maqsud Shirāzi, also known as Afzal Khān, happened to be present in that royal assembly. The Sultan turned to him and commanded, "Refer to the Holy Quran and observe how it augurs." While opening the Book, Afzal came across the verse dealing with "slaughter and carnage." "We should," the Khān gave his opinion, "abstain ourselves from the act of construction, otherwise, it would result in bloodshed." But Kishwar was not inclined to give up the object he aimed at, and put forward his own interpretation. "The act of consulting the Quran," he said, "savours of blasphemy and idolatory. For arguments' sake even if this consultation be justified, this verse could only be applicable to the fate of our enemies."...... "If Kishwar is obstinate," 'Ādil Shāh at last held forth, "let him reap the consequences. We wash our hands of the business."

At last, Kishwar Khan, in the company of experts and specialists in the art of building construction, moved towards Mah Darak and began the construction work. One noble was deputed to look after the construction of each tower. Most of the nobles did their best for imparting stability and strength to the new construction. But Ankus Khān, who bore a grudge against Kishwar, left a breach in the parapet. The construction was completed within a short time, and this fort was later named Dhārwar. The place became the store house for war materials, such as, cannons, muskets, siege engines, field pieces and the like. For the purpose of providing the garrison with ration, some forty-thousand bags of grain that had been secured from the territory of Nizām, were stored up in the fort.

Meanwhile, Nizām Shāh, who was ever hostile to 'Ādil Shāh, took exception to the conduct of Kishwar, and having raised an army, made preparations for a fresh encounter. The combined forces of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berar marched upon Kishwar, who also held his ground: Kishwar sent a petition to the King of Bijapur asking for military assistance and the presence of the Sultan in the field. At the order of 'Ādil Shāh, every chief marched to Mah Darak with his army. Though these chiefs had been sent in the relief of Kishwar, their conduct and action were always against the interest of the latter. Many of these nobles, such as, Ainu-l-Mulk, Noor

Khān, Shah Abul Hassan and others, who always entertained hostile designs against Kishwar, did not like that he should enjoy a dignified and exalted position. They were lacking in a spirit of co-operation and submission, and thus failed to do their duty.

Shāh Abul Hassan, who was a friend of Nizām Shāh and favourably inclined towards him, looked more to his (Abul Hassan's) interests than to anything else. He, now, dissuaded the Bijapur ruler from helping Kishwar Khan. He further deceived many of the nobles and the chief, by representing that, their contribution towards his (Kishwar's) cause would not stand them in good stead, and the victory in the battle would, undoubtedly, add to his glory and renown, and place the amirs under his subjection. It was much better if they had left the place and sacked the capital of Zani Shāh, for, in that case, the chiefs of Nizām Shāh would take fright and having left the battle field would go away in defence of their family honour; and Nizām, on his part,being unable to continue the battle, would be compelled to retire to Ahmadnagar.

Being thus duped by Abul Hassan, the chiefs left Mah Darak and proceeding to Ahmadnagar, put things out of gear. Nizām Shāh realised the situation and became assured of the disruption in the Bijapuri camp. He showed little concern for the protection of his country from the devastation of the Bijapuri nobles and stormed Mah Darak. Though hard-pressed, Kishwar maintained his ground and repelled the enemies. With a firm determination for winning victory, the assailants fought with great vigour and made repeated onslaughts. Before the gate, stood Kishwar showing a bold front and retaliating upon the enemies. At this critical movement, the beleaguers got an access into the fort through the breaches made in the walls by the malicious Bijapuri nobles Ankus Khan and Ahang Khān. Negligence and lack of vigilance on the part of the watchmen also brought about this incident. While Kishwar was fighting tooth and nail, news reached him that the enemies had found entry into the fort. He was terribly shocked and disappointed, but continued fighting bravely......But as divine assistance had forsaken him all his efforts were of no avail......An arrow struck him on the abdomen and went deep into the body. Kishwar fell down and his followers made a stampede. Kishwar's head was severed off the trunk and brought before Nizām Shāh. The latter ordered that the body should be flayed and the skin be stuffed with straw and paraded in the camp.

Story is related that, on the day of the battle when Kishwar was marching out fully armed, he came across a certain individual, who had in his hands the poetical works of Khwajah Hafiz, *May his secrets be sanctified* ! He took the work from him and on opening it, he found the following verse at the top of the page he had opened.

VERSE.

He who had on his head the bejewelled crown in the morning,
Was found with his head on the dust at the time of evening prayer !

Thereupon, Kishwar became down-hearted: he, however, mounted his horse and gallopped off. In the sequel, he met his death in the manner that has been described above. Ah, poor soul, even dust was denied him beneath his head! Nizām Shah made a triumphant entry into Mah Darak and committed it to the charge of his loyal lieutenants. He rewarded the prisoners with gifts and robes of honour.

Among the prisoners there was a certain negro named Yakut or the Ruby who was a bond-slave of the deceased Kishwar. Nizām ordered that, the naked body of Kishwar Khan should be handed over to Yakut. "Every soul," the slave declared, "has received royal blessing and a robe of honour, why should an exception be made in the case of Kishwar?" At the orders of Nizām the body of Kishwar was handed over to Yakut. The body was covered with its own skin and the severed head was stitched to the trunk. Nizām, then ordered that, the body should be carried to Bijapur and interred in the orchard that was laid out by the deceased.

Having the game in his own hands, Nizām Shāh, next, turned to the 'Ādil Shāhi nobles, who had gained nothing out of their resistance to Kishwar, and paid dearly for their discord and dissension. Ainu-l-Mulk was put to death and Noor was taken prisoner.

When the news of Kishwar's death and of the sack of Mah Darak reached the ears of 'Ādil Shāh, he knit his brows. "Kishwar Khān," the Sultan ejaculated, "turned a deaf ear to the advice of Afzal Khan, and the consequence is that what the Holy Book predicted has been accomplished." To wreak his vengeance he wanted to assume the offensive against the enemies, but as the latter, having disbanded themselves, had marched back to their country, he put off the matter till the next time.

The Bijapuris under Ankus conquer Adoni.

Abul Hassan, the son of Shah Tahir and the prime-minister of Bijapur, was sent on an expedition against the fort of Adoni.[1] The fort was strong and impregnable, and none of the earlier muslim sovereigns had conquered it. Situated on the summit of a mountain, the fort contained many lofty buildings and fountains flowing with sweet and transparent water. Sew Rai and the later sovereigns of the Vijayanagara house strengthened the fort in every possible way as a protection against the growing power of the Muslims. With 8000 infantry and cavalry and fully equipped with cannons and artilleries, Abul Hassan set out on his campaign. The commandant of the fort was originally a noble in the court of Ram Raja, but he had, on the death of the latter, taken possession of the fort, made his position strong and paid homage to none. The commander displayed his gallantry against the assaults made by Ankus, but he was defeated in all the engagements. In the end, he removed all his provisions in the fort and took shelter in it. When after a prolonged siege the provisions had run short,

1. Ferishta relates how before an expedition against Adoni was undertaken Ādil Shāh moved to Goa (in 976 H=1568 A.D.) with a view to recovering the place from the Portuguese but being defeated was forced to retire.

he sued for peace and surrendered the fort to the victor. Flushed with success, the Bijapuris began conquering the neighbouring regions and the forts till they illuminated the whole of the pagan area with the light of Islam. The heathen temples were pulled down and mosques raised in their place.

Alliance between Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh through the intervention of Abul Hassan and Jingiz Khān.

Though an agreement and combination had been affected between 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh through the conjoint efforts of clever diplomats, it led to no beneficial results. As victims of hypocracy and perverseness, both the Sultans were at loggerheads with each other, with the consequence that, prosperous and flourishing countries were laid waste. Consequently, Shāh Abul Hassan, the son of Shāh Tahir and Khwaja Mirak approached Jingīz Khān, the minister of Nizām Shāh, for bringing about an harmony between the two rulers. The minister induced the Sultans to hold a conference and split the difference that existed between the two. It was agreed upon that, 'Ādil Shāh would annex Vijayanagara, and Nizām Shāh, Bidar and Berar...The terms being agreed upon, the parties bade farewell to each other in the midst of rejoicing and mirth and returned to their capital.

In conformity to the pact, Nizām Shāh settled preliminaries and forced his way to Berar. The chieftains, who had been disgusted with the son of Tafawal Khan for his rebellious conduct against his own overlord whom he had put under restraint, took the side of Nizām Shāh and acknowledged his sovereignty. Thus, without any strife or bloodshed the whole of Berar came under the sway of Nizām Shāh.

In consultation with his councillors, 'Ādil Shāh, likewise, equipped himself with an army and marched out against Vijayanagara. He laid siege to Palconda. The Hindu chiefs of that locality, who were called *Pārahgirs*[1] or *Nāyelwars*, were noted for their bravery and military skill. After the death of Ram Raja, they were the first to acknowledge allegiance to 'Ādil Shāh. They always remained in the vanguard of the Bijapur army and took part in plundering and devastating the enemy territory. But during the period under review, they had become supercilious on account of their wealth and prowess, and had, ultimately, cast off the hegemony of Bijapur. They cut off supplies from the Bijapur forces and helped the garrison with ration. In view of the fact that, the Hindu chiefs had in their army 15,000 horse armed with swords and were warlike, 'Ādil Shāh put off the siege for a future occasion and wheeled round and returned to his headquarters via Gulbargah.

After a temporary respite, 'Ādil Shāh sounded the note of preparation, and took up the cudgels against the refractory governor of Torkul.[2] Having

1. The text reads درشجاعت و سپاهی گری باغ طویل میداشتند حتی که این قوم از یک دکن می گفتند

2. Ferishta places the expedition in 978 H or 1573 A.D. and gives the name of the governor as Venkutty Yesso Ray.

administered the lash to the rebel, the Sultan turned to Dharwar and conquered it. Meanwhile, on account of some mis-conduct, Shah Abul Hassan was dismissed from the ministry and was succeeded by Mustafa Khan, alias Saiyid Kamāluddin Hussain. After he had come out of his native country, Kamaluddin gained favour in the court of the Qutb Shahis and gradually rose to power. He became the prime minister of Golconda, and the title of Mustafa Khan was conferred on him. When Ram Raja was slain, he took leave of the Qutb Shahis and reached Bijapur. 'Ādil Shāh bestowed honour and dignity on him. Step by step, he rose to the position of prime minister, and by dint of his wise policy he made the country flourishing. He, then, subdued the rebels of the Carnatic, conquered a number of territories and thus caused an expansion of the Bijapur kingdom by his statesmanship.

Invasion of the infidel lands: Dismissal of Abul Hassan, and the appointment of Mustafa Khān Ardistani as the minister of Bijapur.

When the affairs at Dharwar was brought to a successful issue,[1] 'Ādil Shāh sent his victorious army under Mustafa Khan to conquer the fort of Bankapur. After the death of Ram Raja, one of his subordinates[2] had conquered the fort and become recalcitrant. At the approach of the Muslims, the Raja of Bankapur sent his son with 1000 cavalry and 10000 infantry against the invaders, and himself retired to a fort with ample store of ammunition and food. The Raja's son located himself in the thorny forest and hilly regions, and then, gave battle to the muslims. The latter routed their opponents, captured many prisoners and cut off supplies. The Raja sent an appeal for help to the brother of the late Ram Raja, the ruler of Palconda. In return for the help sought for, the Raja promised to become his vassal. On receipt of the letter begging help, the Palconda ruler admonished him and wrote in reply that the petitioner had broken away from the bonds of loyalty and had, thereby, set an example which made others violate their allegiance to the liege-lord. He, however, sent the required aid. Thus, the neighbouring (Hindu) chiefs and *Pārahgirs*[3] advanced rapidly and bore down upon their enemies. They blocked up the roads, and intercepted supplies: they imprisoned the Muslims and cut off their nose and ears. On nightfall, they made a dead set against their opponents and seized whatever things they could lay their hands on. Thus, on account of inadequate supply and of ill-blood and fury on the part of the infidels, the Muslims came to a deadlock. But they made up their mind to fight to the last. Mustafa Khan infused courage into the rank and file, and displayed his military skill. He recruited 6000 cavalry composed of Hindu chiefs and set them against the enemies. So that, whenever, the opponents would make a sortie,

Conquest of Bankapur.

1. Acc. to Ferishta the fort was taken within six months.
2. Ferishta gives the name as Velapa Ray.
3. The text reads پاره گیران

they might be repulsed by this cavalry force. Further, Mustafa Khan sent 8,000 infantry to invest the enemy-fortress ; barricades that might serve the purpose of double-trench were constructed and a strict watch over the enemy's manœuvres was kept day and night. With the adoption of such measures the depredations of the enemies came to a standstill and the muslim army received an ample supply of provision from outside. The latter, now, rallied round and made vigorous efforts in storming the fort and putting pressure upon the garrison. At last, when their supplies were cut off, the inmates of the fortress sued for peace.

Mustafa Khan found his way into the fortress ; he ordered for the demolition of the great temple and its idol and the construction of a big mosque on its site. The Sultan of Bijapur and his vizier (Mustafa Khan) laid the foundation of the new construction. When the structure was complete, a *Khatib*,[1] a *muezzin*[2], and an *imam*[3] were attached to the mosque. Thus, *namāz*,[4] *Āzān*[5] and other allied religious functions observed by the muslims were introduced in that place. As a reward for his wise and diligent discharge of public duties, Mustafa Khan received royal favours and was promoted higher in the imperial service. At last, he was entrusted with the duty of affixing the royal seal to every document relating to civil and financial administration of the country ; he was not to wait even for the royal sanction or approval.

The Bijapur ruler made the fortress his temporary residence and amused himself.

Mustafa Khan, on the other hand, was sent with a large force to conquer other fortresses[6] that were fortified by the vassals of Ram Raja. One by one the fortresses were carried by storm and the banner of Islam was hoisted over them. A large number of temples were pulled to pieces and mosques set up on their sites. It is reported that, about two to three hundred temples and about four to five thousand idols made of brass, stone, silver or gold were crushed to atoms. The Bijapur Sultan personally dealt destruction to the images. The expectation of reward in the next world led Ādil Shāh to execute these deeds of iconoclasm. Having, thus, assumed the title of the Champion of the Faith, and after having conferred the territories on Mustafa Khan in reward of his services to the imperial cause, 'Ādil Shāh returned, after an absence of three years, to his headquarters.

1. The Sermon deliverer.
2. The public crier, who assembles people to prayer.
3. One who leads the congregational prayer.
4. Devotional service.
5. The signal for in summoning to prayer.
6. Jerreh and Chundurgooty, (Ferishta). The Raja of the former place made his surrender to Ādil Shāh. Whereas the Raja of Chundurgooty offered him resistance. Chundergooty was carried by storm in the year 983 H = 1575 A.D.

THE SO-CALLED KASHMIR RECENSION OF THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

CONTENTS

The traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* as reported by Śaṅkarācārya is just seven hundred ślokas or stanzas,[1] and the orthodox Indian Commentators have attempted to make these seven hundred stanzas (neither more nor less) yield a self-consistent system of Ethics and Metaphysics. The late Professor R. GARBE and his pupil, the late Professor Rudolf OTTO, essayed to prove the inherent impossibility of such an attempt by drawing attention to the composite nature of the present *Bhagavadgītā*. GARBE postulated two disparate strata in the Poem : OTTO was not content with anything less than eight or ten of them ; but neither has, in my opinion, succeeded in proving that the *Gītā* in its present form is incapable of being understood as a whole which may allow for the original divergent thought-phrases (when established as such), and yet transcend them all in a higher philosophical synthesis.[2]

2. Another German *savant*, Professor F. OTTO SCHRADER of Kiel, has attempted to attack the authenticity of the traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* from a somewhat different point of view. SCHRADER tries to to show[3] that the text of the Poem to which the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya gave currency

1. Introduction to the *Gītābhāṣya*—
तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः श्लोकशतैरुपनिबबन्ध ।

2. I have examined GARBE's arguments in detail in my *Basu Mallik Lectures*, 1929, Part I, pp. 91-100 ; and those of R. OTTO in an essay entitled *Miscarriage of Attempted Stratification of the Bhagavadgītā*, 1937.

3. *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, Stuttgard, 1930, pp. 1-52.

(and consequently the *Gītābhāṣya* itself) was completely unknown in Kashmir upto about 1,000 A.D., some two hundred years after the time of the great Bhāṣyakāra; and to the cogent objection that this would imply the improbable assumption that it required two centuries and more for the fame of the great Ācārya to reach Kashmir, the home of Sarasvatī, SCHRADER suggests a reply by questioning the authenticity of the *Gītābhāṣya* as a genuine work of Śaṅkara. We propose to examine here in details the grounds that have led SCHRADER to postulate a Kashmir Recension of the *Bhagavadgītā.*

3. SCHRADER's thesis is based upon just three authorities: (i) a London Ms. of the *Bhagavadgītā* in *Śāradā* characters reaching upto viii. 18 only; (ii) Abhinavagupta's commentary known as the *Gītārthasaṁgraha* printed by the Nirnaya Sagar Press (First Edition, 1912, Second Edition, 1936); and (iii) the Ms. of a Commentary, called *Sarvatobhadra,* by Rājānaka Rāmakavi —SCHRADER names him Rāmakaṇṭha—a probable Kashmirian predecessor of Abhinavagupta. [I have access to Mss. of this commentary from the Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute.] By carefully comparing the text of the *Gītā* given or presupposed by these authorities with the current or the Vulgate text, it has been found out by SCHRADER that in 282 places the "Kashmir Recension" gives readings different from those traditionally accepted. Moreover it contains 14 additional stanzas and four half-stanzas unknown to the Vulgate, besides omitting three current stanzas (viz. ii. 66, ii. 67 and v. 19) and repeating one half-stanza (iii. 35 *cd*) after xviii. 47 *ab*. To persons brought up in the belief that the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* has remained, like the *Vedas,* almost immune from *varietas lectionis* this would come as a great shock, particularly if it is claimed, as SCHRADER in fact claims, that the earlier and hence the authentic *Gītā* is that preserved by the Kashmir Recension, and not the one on which Śaṅkara wrote his *Bhāṣya.* It is of course not claimed that this "Kashmirian" *Bhagavadgītā,* from the purely philosophical view-point, differs vitally from the accepted text; but once SCHRADER's thesis is accepted as proved, it raises the possibility of other recensions of the Poem being current at different times in different parts of India. There is, for instance, the *Gītā* as known to Alberuni,[1] another as current in Java,[2] and a third (published by the "Suddha Dharma Mandalam" of Madras) agreeing[3] with the extent (745 stanzas) given in the "*Gītā-praśasti*" verses read by the Vulgate Edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* at the beginning of Adhyāya 43, which immediately follows the *Gītā* (25-42). To these we can add, if we choose, the various forms of the *Bhagavadgītā* presupposed by the scores of "imitation"

1. Concerning Alberuni's *Gītā* compare Prof. V. P. LIMAYE's Marathi booklet, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyāpīṭha Publications, No. 5, Poona, 1929.

2. Cf. *Het Oudjavaanscha Bhīṣmaparwa,* uitgageven door Dr. J. GONDA, Bandoeg, 1936.

3. Concerning this S.D.M. version, first published in 1917, now reissued, 1937, compare SCHRADER: *New Indian Antiquary,* Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 62-68; also, S.N. TADPATRIKAR, *Annals, B.O.R.I.,* Vol. xviii, 1937, pp. 357-360. My own paper on the problem of the traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* appears in the B.O.R.I. *Annals,* Vol. xix, pt. iv, pp. 335-348.

Gītās and the Synopses (*Saṁgrahas*) of the *Gītā*, published and unpublished, which offer systems of Ethics and Metaphysics more or less divergent from the one generally current. All this, once admitted, would go to discountenance the view that the *Bhagavadgītā* had a definite philosophical import and so had once constituted an important landmark in the evolution of Indian Philosophy. SCHRADER'S thesis is, it follows, of more far-reaching consequence than would appear at first sight, and it has therefore become necessary to submit his theory to a detailed and searching investigation.

4. Being honoured by an invitation to edit the *Bhīṣmaparvan* for the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, I found that it naturally devolved upon me to consider the whole problem of the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* with the help of newer material. Collations of over 50 Mss. were available for my use, out of which one was a Ms. in *Śāradā* characters belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, while at least three others, though written in Devanāgarī characters, showed clear traces of being derived from Kashmirian originals. Other Mss. utilised for the edition represented, besides the Vulgate, the Bengali, the Telugu, the Grantha, and the Malayalam versions. Except for the rare Nepalese version (which I am trying to secure), the Ms. material available may confidently be said to be of a truly representative character. Even for the Kashmir version I had at my disposal ampler Ms. material than was available to SCHRADER. It is therefore necessary that SCHRADER'S data be tested by mine and the results collated together.

5. Now in the first place it is to be noted that in the 282 places where SCHRADER reports Kashmirian *varietas lectionis* it is not always the case that his three Kashmirian authorities agree; and in such cases the discrepancies are explained as due to the influence of the Vulgate reading. One expects that our Kashmirian Mss. would confirm SCHRADER'S findings, and in a few cases they no doubt do so. But is it not rather surprising that in as many as 122 places (Vide Appendix 1) the Kashmirian and allied-Kashmirian Mss. used for the Critical Edition should not support the variant readings listed by SCHRADER? None of the *other* Mss. also, even in a single one of these 122 cases, registers SCHRADER'S readings, while in 12 other cases, shown in Supplements to Appendix 1, the "Kashmirian" readings find only sporadic support from solitary Mss. As far at any rate as these (122+12=) 134 variants are concerned, we would be justified in putting them down as the idiosyncrasies of the scribe; and knowing as we do the ways in which scribes make mistakes, conscious as well as unconscious, it follows that normally we would not be justified in attaching any exaggerated importance to these cases of solitary variations, individually or cumulatively, and raise them to the dignity of an independent "Recension". We may add that our Śāradā Ms., for instance, records over 130 cases of such individual variations unknown to SCHRADER'S sources or in fact practically to any other Mss. These will be found in Appendix 2. Intrinsically they are of the same nature as the variations in Appendix 1. They contain (vide Appendix 6) three extra stanzas, be it

noted in passing, and one additional half-stanza. Nor need it be supposed that such idiosyncrasies are peculiar to Kashmirian Mss. In Appendix 3 we give a select list of some seventy-five similar solitary variations recorded by some of our other Mss. It is easy to see that most of these variations are due to quite normal causes such as the accidental writing of the same letter or letters twice, the accidental omission of intervening group of letters (or words) owing to the wandering of the scribe's eye from a similar looking earlier group of letters (words) to another similar looking later group, the conscious attempt to smooth over an original metrical or grammatical irregularity, the substitution—metre permitting—of a marginal or an interlinear explanatory word for the original word in the text, and in the case of a popular text like the *Bhagavadgītā* (which many scribes might have known by heart), the copying from memory rather than from the original before the eye, the last case being facilitated by the occurrence of the remembered stanza or part of it only a little while ago. In addition there are the longer and more deliberate interpolations due to motives which differ in different cases. Except in very exceptional circumstances, i.e., where a given version is very inadequately represented by Mss. or where the current reading of a specific passage is hopelessly corrupt or impossible, it would be quite safe to ignore such solitary variations altogether.

6. A Provincial Recension[1] of the *Bhagavadgītā* such as SCHRADER claims for Kashmir should imply that all or nearly all Mss. hailing from that Province through direct or indirect line of scribal transmission exhibit a sufficient number of *varietas lectionis* which (a) are generally common to the group and (b) are not to be found, except sporadically, in other groups of Mss. belonging to other Provinces. We have now seven "Kashmirian" sources to deal with[2] : 1. the London Śāradā Ms. used by SCHRADER (Lb) ; 2. the Commentary of Abhinavagupta (Ca); 3. the Commentary of Rāmakavi (Cr); and 4-7. our Mss. which provisionally[3] are designated Ś, K^1, H, and A^3.

1. A "Version" should mainly embody modifications happening during the course of scribal transmission from a common codex; and as, ordinarily, the transcripts are in the same script as the original—except in bi-scriptal border-regions—a "Version" tends to be Provincial. A "Recension" should connote more deliberate and far-reaching alterations in the text, often changing its tone and emphasis. Such a "Recension" transcends the limits of a Script or a Province. This difference between these two terms is often ignored.

2. The edition of R. Jivaram KALIDAS, Gondal, 1937, is claimed to have been based on a very old Kashmirian Ms. of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it adheres to the "Kashmirian Recension." I have not yet examined this Ms. I myself have recently chanced upon a new and valuable commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, which also follows the same "Recension". These two sources I have purposely ignored here.

3. The symbols under which Mss. are designated in this paper are the symbols used by the collators. The symbol G denotes Mss. in Grantha characters, M, in Malayalam characters, *B* in Bengali characters. In other cases the symbols denote the provenance of the Mss : thus A denotes Adyar Library, T, Tanjore Library, &c. After the Mss. are properly classified they would naturally appear under other symbols in the Critical Edition.

SCHRADER designates the consensus of his three sources by the symbol "K," but that is rather misleading because his Ms. Lb breaks off after viii. 18, and because Abhinavagupta passes over many words of the text in silence, so that not infrequently "K" denotes only one authority. In Appendix 1 we consider cases where "K" is not practically supported by any of our Mss., and we have to conclude that all these cases, like the cases reported in Appendix 2, have no real right to constitute the "Kashmirian Recension". This leaves (282 — 134 =) 148 *pāṭhabhedas* to deal with. From these are to be further deducted a total of 41 cases, exhibited in Appendix 4, where the so-called Kashmirian Recension is not peculiar to Kashmirian text-tradition, but is more widely distributed, so much so that in a few cases I have adopted it for the Critical Edition without even the wavy line underneath, and in others with the wavy line; while in quite a number of other cases, although neither of the above two procedures was adopted, the rejected Kashmirian reading received support from such *diverse* sources as to place it beyond "Provincialism" and in a few cases even demand a wavy line below the adopted Vulgate reading. This leaves a remainder of a little over one hundred cases that are capable of registering their weightage on the side of SCHRADER'S thesis, assuming that it can be proved that these "K" readings are intrinsically superior. These a hundred and odd cases are given in Appendix 5, arranged in the ascending order of Mss. support. The attention of the reader is particularly invited to the "Remarks" column in that Appendix, where the intrinsic value of a few readings is discussed.

7. To those that take the trouble to wade through the mass of evidence set forth in the several Appendices to this paper, it will become clear that the grounds for constituting a distinct Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavad-gītā* are not of a very compelling nature, or rather, are not more compelling than those for constituting a Bengali or a Malayalam recension of the Poem. Even in the matter of the additional stanzas and half-stanzas (as also of the omissions), the Kashmirian Recension is not by any means peculiar. This additional (and omitted) material is exhibited in Appendix 6, with indication of the support that it has outside SCHRADER'S sources; and at the end of the same Appendix are shown certain additional stanzas and half-stanzas (as well as omissions) unknown to SCHRADER'S sources that are offered by some of our other Mss. including Ms. Ś. I did not take the trouble to make this list of additions and omissions exhausitive. The fact is that the phenomenon is nothing unusual, although it may well be that for some parts of the Epic there is more added and omitted matter in groups of Mss. constituting one Provincial version than in those constituting another such version. All that that can mean is that the Kashmirian archetype from which our existing Kashmirian codexes have been derived had certain *individual* variations, including occasional omissions and additions. This however should be no less true of the achetype of the other Provincial versions. In this sense we are not interested in denying the existence of a Kashmirian version any more than that of a Bengali or a Malayalam version. What we demur to is the great

antiquity and the exaggerated importance that SCHRADER claims for it by raising it to the status of an authentic recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* unknown to, because earlier than, the text underlying the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya. We are shortly going to examine SCHRADER's proofs for his contention. In the meanwhile we can bring the preceding part of our paper to a head by concluding that—apart from the question of its intrinsic merit—the material to be included under this Kashmir "Recension" is not as ample as SCHRADER seems to have believed. Over 62 per cent. of it has to be eliminated.

8. Now as regards the intrinsic merits of the differentiae of the Kashmirian Recension apart from their extent, let us first consider the omissions and additions. The added material (Vide Appendix 6)—as SCHRADER himself will no doubt concede—is generally weak and repetitious. Of positive reasons in their favour, so far as I have been able to see, SCHRADER gives only four. The first is expressed by the question (p. 10), "What possible motive could there have been for interpolating this solitary Tṛṣṭubh verse (ii. 10α) as the beginning of the Lord's speech," and of the other verses elsewhere?—which could easily be met by the counter-question, "What possible motive could there have been for their omission from the Vulgate?" Secondly, as regards the specific Tṛṣṭbh verse (ii. 10 α), SCHRADER seems to suggest for its retention the reasons that to Arjuna's questions in Tṛṣṭubh (ii. 5-8) the Lord preferred to reply in the same metre by the added verse. This could have been said with some justification of the Tṛṣṭubh verses xi. 32-34 following upon xi. 15-31, or of xi. 47-49 following upon xi. 36-46; but in the case before us Arjuna's speech begins with Anuṣṭubh (ii. 4) and later breaks into Tṛṣṭubh, and the Lord can be supposed, under an involuntary imitative impulse, to have done likewise, thus dispensing with the added Tṛṣṭubh verse right at the opening of the Lord's reply. SCHRADER in fact admits that he is not in a position to explain the intrusion into the even tenor of the Anuṣṭubh verses of the *Gītā* of the occasional Tṛṣṭubh verse as at viii. 9, ix. 20, xv. 2, or xv. 15, which would demand far more cogent reasons than what he seems to be in a position to give. Thirdly, as regards the added half-stanzas, SCHRADER contents himself by quoting with approval the remark of the commentator Rāma (p. 49)—

भारते च तत्र सार्धश्लोकप्रणयित्वाद्व्यासमुनेः ।

which is much too general to include or to exclude a given specific case from its purview. Lastly, as regards five extra stanzas at iii. 37, which seem unnecessarily to lengthen out the *Bhagavadgītā* tirade against Kāma and Krodha, strangely enough SCHRADER reads therein a deliberate attempt on the part of the author of the Poem to throw out a suggestion of the famous Māra-Buddha episode, particularly with the help of the tell-tale epithet *chidraprekṣī*. This is only on a par with the identification of Duryodhana with the Buddha because of the red colour of the chariot-horses, or of Aśvatthāman with Buddhism because both were chased out of Bhāratavarṣa, which we used to read in some of our early European books. I had imagined that we had outlived the era of that kind of scholarship!

9. Turning next to the omissions, we can safely ignore v. 19, because the same stanza is restored after vi. 9. SCHRADER attempts a feeble justification for "K" omitting ii. 66-67. It is, as far as the commentators (Ca, Cr) are concerned, an argument *ex silentio,* and its weakness is not overcome by pointing out that the commentators, as careful writers, would not have failed to explain the words *bhāvanā* and *bhāvayanti.* As a matter of fact they have committed graver sins of omission than that, as the sequel will show. But, apart from that, let us place the omitted lines in their proper context to see if the passage can stand without the omitted lines—

रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ॥ २·६४ ॥
प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठति ॥ २·६५ ॥
[नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम् ॥ २·६६ ॥
इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥ २·६७ ॥]
तस्माद्यस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २·६८ ॥

It is clear that stanza 66 is a negative statement of the proposition in the two preceding stanzas, and conceivably we may do without it. But if stanza 67 is also omitted, how are we to explain the word "*Tasmāt*" at the beginning of stanza 68? The argument is:

Enjoying sense-objects with controlled senses leads to mental serenity, which gets rid of pleasure-pain and stabilizes the intellect. ii. 64-65.

[Without sense-control there can be no stable intellect, without such intellect, no concentration, without concentration, no peace and without peace no bliss. ii. 66.

Should the mind be enslaved while the senses are busy with sense-objects, that (enslaved mind) sweeps away his intellect like the wind a boat in the water. ii. 67]

Therefore, he whose senses are fully restrained from sense-objects, his intellect may be said to be stable. ii. 68.

It seems to me that in the absence of stanzas 66-67, the introductory "Therefore" does not get full significance. It amounts to a fact being adduced as its own reason. This is however an argument where only a reader reading the passage for the first time (which neither SCHRADER nor myself happen to be) can be trusted to form an independent opinion.

10. There is however some objective evidence that can be brought to bear on the issue. A Bengali Ms. (B^1) omits stanzas 59 to 68, both inclusive. Here evidently the scribe's eye has wandered from the word "*pratiṣṭhitā*" at the end of stanza 58 to the same word at the end of stanza 68.

The ten omitted stanzas were probably written on one side of the folio—the numbered side—while the ten preceding stanzas, 49 to 58, were written on the unnumbered side, which in sequence comes before the numbered side. As the ending line of both the sides of the folio was the identical line :

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता,

having copied the unnumbered side from the exemplar, the scribe, through an oversight caused by a fortuitous turning over of the folio, failed to copy the numbered side and went on to copy the next folio. Now it so happens that the ten stanzas omitted by the Bengali Ms. in question are of the nature of a mere amplification of an earlier thought and may safely be omitted without any loss to the argument. In fact the break caused by this omission would be less readily felt than the break caused by the omission of the stanzas 66-67 in the middle.—Next, our Kashmirian Ms. K[1] omits the whole of stanza 67 and the first half of stanza 68. Even SCHRADER would not tolerate the omission of these three lines since line 68*cd* cannot stand by itself. Here too the reason is easy to find. It is again a case of the wandering of the scribe's eye from the initial letters of the line

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां.....................

to the initial letters of the line

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यः..................

—a phenomenon by no means uncommon. In the case of birch-bark Mss. an accidental pealing off in the middle of the folio often causes lacuna of a few lines which, in subsequent copies, is ordinarily represented by blank spaces, while in less careful copies there is a closing up of the lines leading to the ignoring of the omitted matter. It may well be that the Ms. used by Abhinavagupta or Rāmakavi was of this nature. It is worth noting however that the Mss. Lb and Ś do both give the full four stanzas ; only, in the latter Ms. the order is 68-69-66-67. This should mean that one of the ancestors of our Ms. Ś, perceiving the lacuna caused by the closing up of the lines, had copied out the missing stanzas 66-67 on the margin, indicating by a crow's foot (*kākapada*) where the added portion was to be read. A subsequent copy, from which our Ms. Ś may have been derived, while restoring the marginal matter to the body of the text, may have failed to notice the *kākapada* or made the addition at the wrong line-number. All these are phenomena quite familiar to users of Mss. ; and the rule in all such cases is always to find a simpler mechanical reason for omissions and additions, if adequate, in preference to the hypothesis of conscious emendations or interpolations, for which motives have to be postulated.

11. We next pass on to the consideration of the intrinsic value of the "Kashmirian" *varietas lectionis*. For the reasons already given we should have been prepared to consider only the variants given in Appendix 5 as truly Kashmirian variants, and should have liked to hear what SCHRADER had to say on the question of their inherent superiority or claim to authenticity. As

a matter of fact, however, SCHRADER gives a list of 37 *pāṭhabhedas*[1] which, in his judgment, should go to prove his thesis concerning the antiquity of the Kashmirian Recension, and unfortunately of them only 14 belong to Appendix 5. Beyond these 37 cases which SCHRADER specifies, the other two hundred and forty-five *pāṭhabhedas*, (or at any rate a very large number of them), on SCHRADER'S own admission, are cases where the Vulgate reading is the original reading, the "Kashmiran" reading being only its accidental corruption or emendation. SCHRADER himself has given some twenty examples of these last, but it is evident that they could easily be piled up five or six times that number. Nevertheless, even in the face of the admitted inferiority of so many of the Kashmirian readings, SCHRADER essays to establish the priority and authenticity of the "Kashmirian Recension." The 37 test cases must therefore be very strong cases. Let us now examine them one by one on the basis of the arguments set forth on pages 12 to 18 of SCHRADER'S booklet.

—i. *7c*: अस्माकं तु विशिष्टा ये तान्निबोध द्विजोत्तम ।
नायकान् मम सैन्यस्य...... FOR नायका मम......

SCHRADER regards *nāyakāḥ* as wrong syntactically, and it would be so if we must make one sentence of pādas *cd*; but pāda *c* can well stand by itself: "They are the leaders of my army. I mention them to thee &c." What is far more important, the variant has no support outside SCHRADER'S sources.

न त्वर्थकामस्तु गुरून्निहत्य भुञ्जीय भोगान्...
FOR हत्वार्थकामांस्तु गुरूनिहैव......

SCHRADER says that the Vulgate reading *arthakāmān* requires us to supply an *api*: "the elders *even though* influenced by *artha* or self-interest." The particle *tu* marks the opposition of *cd* with *ab* and cannot be taken to mean *api*. Now it will be readily admitted that the *Gītā* was not composed with such minute attention to every particle. Instances are many where words have to be supplied to complete sense. For example in i. 36 *cd*—*Pāpam evâśrayed asmān hatvaitān ātatāyinaḥ*—an *api* has to be supplied after *ātatāyinaḥ*. One would think that to kill an *ātatāyin* involved no sin (cp. *Ātatāyinam āyāntaṁ hanyād evâvicārayan*: Manu vii. 350f.), but No. *Ātatāyins* though they be, killing them would lead to sin alone (*eva*). Of our four Mss. two, ŚK[1], read *arthakāmaḥ* the others, HA[3], follow the Vulgate. The commentator Abhinavagupta has no comment on this word. (So much for his being a careful commentator, see p. 20 above). The other commentator Rāma, according to SCHRADER, indirectly supports the reading *arthakāmaḥ*. I however fail to see how his words—*Na punar ahaṁ dharmalipsuḥ tān vyāpādya* &c.—can be taken to support that reading.

—ii. *6d*: ते नः स्थिताः प्रमुखे धार्तराष्ट्राः FOR तेऽवस्थिताः......

1. Or 38, by considering vi, 21*a* and vi. 21*d* as two cases.

SCHRADER gives no reason for his preference. The word *naḥ* is not essential and can be readily supplied. The letters *na* and *va* are easily misread, the one for the other. Abhinavagupta gives no indication as to what his text was. None of our Kashmir Mss. read *naḥ*.

—ii. 10 : सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये सीदमानमिदं वचः FOR विषीदन्तमिदं वचः

SCHRADER gives no reason for his preference. *Sīdamānam*, in view of i. 29 *a*, is perhaps more forceful (= in a state of distress) than *viṣīdantam* (= in a state of dejection). There is no commentary of Śaṅkarācārya on the passage—the *Bhāṣya* begins only with ii. 11—and the Vulgate reading, apart from Śaṅkara's support, signifies very little. What is to be noted however is that the variant is not restricted to Kashmir. Several South Indian and Bengali Mss. read *sīdamānam*.

—ii. 11*ab* : अशोच्याननुशोचंस्त्वं प्राज्ञवन्नाभिभाषसे । FOR
अशोच्यानन्वशोचंस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।

This is the great passage for SCHRADER and presumably the best argument in his armoury. So it is no doubt very unfortunate for his case that the reading finds absolutely no support outside SCHRADER'S sources; and there too Abhinavagupta gives him no support at all. SPEYER in 1902 (*ZDMG,* LVI, 123-25), and SCHRADER now after him, object to the Vulgate reading on the following grounds : (i) Arjuna's words hitherto showed no *prajñā,* no utterance of any profound truth. That one goes to Hell by committing sin and that the manes fall down if no *piṇḍas* are offered to them are articles of belief familiar to the man on the street. (ii) The compound *prajñā-vādāḥ* cannot be dissolved as *prajñāyāḥ vādāḥ* (unless *Prajñā* = Goddess of Learning), but as *prajñātmakāḥ vādāḥ,* words containing wisdom, or, with Rāmānuja, *prajñānimittāḥ vādāḥ,* words resulting from wisdom, and such a Madhyamapadalopī Samāsa is always a questionable procedure. In compounds like *Śāstra-vāda, Śruti-smṛti-vāda, Itihāsa-vāda, Sāṃkhya-Vedānta-vāda* &c., which BÖHTLINGK cited against SPEYER (*ZDMG,* LVI, 209), the first member of the compound is more or less a Proper Noun, and so it would be even in compounds like *apauruṣeyavāda, avaccheda-vāda* and the like, to be understood as "the so-called view about the Vedas having no human author," &c. (i.e., *apauruṣeyatvaviṣayakavāda*). Finally (iii) Kṛṣṇa really wants to say that the words of Arjuna are *not* words of wisdom, but of folly. Why should not the Lord have said so directly ? Why should he have this recourse to irony ? — The arguments are not very difficult to meet. Throughout his speech Arjuna, in any case, poses an attitude of superior wisdom, as when he says, i. 38f.—*Yadyapy ete na paśyanti......Kathaṁ na jñeyam asmābhiḥ* &c. : The foolish Kauravas may go wrong, but how can *we* be pardoned if we do the same ? Such an attitude deserves an ironical rebuff. SPEYER'S and SCHRADER'S prejudice against a Madhyamapadalopī Samāsa is not shared by Indian Grammarians : *prajñāvādāḥ* can therefore mean words indicative of, or calculated to exhibit, your "wisdom", such as you understand it to be.

—ii. 12 : न ह्येवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नामी जनाधिपाः ।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमितः परम् ॥ FOR
न त्वेवाहं.........नेमे.........मतः......

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The last two variants, *amī* and *itaḥ* for *ime* and *ataḥ*, are supported by no authorities outside SCHRADER'S. There is, as a matter of fact, much loose use of pronouns and particles in the Epic.

—ii. 21*d* : कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ हन्यते हन्ति वा कथम् । FOR
.........पार्थ कं घातयति हन्ति कम् ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant has no support beyond our Ms. Ś, and it appears to have been influenced by ii. 19 *d—nâyaṃ hanti na hanyate.* Having established the proposition that A cannot kill B and B cannot kill A, because both are the Eternal Self, it would be sufficient, during the further amplification of the argument, to limit the argument to one of the two alternatives. The word *ghātayati* of the Vulgate introduces the additional argument that the self cannot kill even mediately.

—ii. 35*c* : एषां च त्वं बहुमतो भूत्वा यास्यसि लाघवम् । FOR
येषां च त्वं...........

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. This is nothing more, when Mss. are copied to dictation, but an ordinary case of defective hearing or defective pronunciation. The inability to differentiate *ye* from *e* is peculiar to some peoples' articulation. Thus we at times hear even educated persons pronounce the English word " yes " as " ées " and there is actually a magazine entitled " Yekāntin " instead of " Ekāntin ". The present " Kashmirian " reading is supported only by our Mss. H, G[1], G[2]—the last two hailing from South India. There is nothing intrinsically Kashmiriam about the reading.

—ii. 60*a* : यत् तस्यापि हि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः । FOR
यततो ह्यपि.

SCHRADER is not very positive here. He suggests that this stanza may be better understood as giving the reason (*yat=yasmāt*) for the statement in the following stanza—

तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः ।

It is however obvious that the variant primarily owes its existence to an attempt to improve the bad grammar (*yatataḥ* for *yatamānasya*) of the original. Under the circumstances the *lectio difficilior,* if adequately supported by Mss., —as is the case here—has to be given the preference. Further, a deficiency in sense is felt by the omission of the word *yatataḥ,* and Abhinavagupta takes it upon himself to supply it by paraphrasing *tasya* by *sayatnasyâpi, mokṣe prayatamānasyâpi.* Does this mean that Abhinavagupta, while giving and explaining the " Kashmirian " reading, was aware of the existence of the Vul-

gate reading? It would be a curious commentary on SCHRADER'S main thesis if this were so!

—iii 2*a*: व्यामिश्रेणैव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे । FOR
व्यामिश्रेणेव वाक्येन........

The reading is not peculiar to Kashmir. It is given by 43 of our Mss. besides SCHRADER'S sources, and I have unhesitatingly accepted it for the Critical Edition. Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* argues for the need of an *iva* both after *vyāmiśreṇa* and after *mohayasi*. Rāmānuja reads *Vyāmiśreṇaiva.* The case is useless for proving SCHRADER'S thesis.

—iii. 23*a*, *c*: यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेय जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तेरन् मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ FOR
...न वर्तेयं..........वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते..........

SCHRADER gives no grounds for his preference. The first variant is supported by our Mss. Ś and F only, the last by not even a single manuscript. Abhinavagupta gives no indication as to what he read. The second line of ii. 23—*Mama vartma* &c.—recurs as the second line of iv. 11. The Present Tense *anuvartante* is in place at iv. 11; at ii. 23, following the Potential *varteya (m)* in the protasis, one expects the Potential; and the "Kashmirian" reading supplies it. With the Present-Tense Vulgate reading in iii. 23, and in view of the fact that the *anuvartana* at iv. 11 has a different connotation from the *anuvartana* at iii. 23, GARBE,[1] following BÖHTLINGK, regarded iv. 11 as the pattern and iii. 23 as the copy: in other words, iii. 23 as a later interpolation. It must be said that the change from the Present *anuvartante* to the Potential *anuvarteran* as well as, in the first half, the change from the abnormal Parasmaipada *varteyaṁ* to the normal Ātmanepada *varteya,* is an easily suggested emendation of the original defective forms. Scribes and students would change consciously the incorrect into the correct and not the correct into the incorrect, which last, accordingly, has to be presumed as the original reading.

—iii. 31*d*: मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः FOR मुच्यन्ते तेऽपि कर्मभिः ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. Only one of our Mss., and that a southern one (G¹), gives this variant. Abhinavagupta also is silent. Since *karmāṇi* occurs in the immediately preceding stanza iii. 30*a*—*Mayi sarvāṇi karmāṇi* &c.—it is release from the *karmans* that must be stated in iii. 31*d*, following the Vulgate. To me this seems to be a case of copying from memory. The moment the word *mucyante* was copied down, the scribe seems to have been put in mind of the words *mucyante sarvakilbiṣaiḥ* (iii. 13*d*) that he had copied down a few moments ago, and straightway wrote the latter word down. Such cases are by no means rare. In any case, on the evidence of the Mss., this cannot be a "Kashmirian" variant.

1. *Bhagavadgītā*, 2nd edition, p. 168.

—iii. 38*d* : यथोल्बेणावृतो गर्भस्तथा तेनायमावृतः । FOR
...........तेनेदमावृतम् ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. *Ayam* can refer to the *pūruṣa* of stanza 36. Is it the *pūruṣa* as a whole that is overspread by kāma-krodha or is it only the better part of him? In iii. 39*a*—*Āvṛtaṃ jñānam etena*—we are distinctly told what the Vulgate *idam* in stanza 38 is meant to refer to. The variant is not supported by any of our Mss.

—iv. 18*d* : स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स चोक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् । FOR
...........स

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. Since the *upakrama* of the Chapter is with Yoga—*Imaṁ Vivasvate Yogam........Yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ* (iv. 1-3)—as also its *upasaṁhāra*—*Yogam ātiṣṭha Bhārata* (42)—there should be nothing unusual in the introduction of Yoga (implied by *yuktaḥ*) in the middle. *Uktaḥ* is flat : *yuktaḥ* conveys richer meaning. Only Ś reads *uktaḥ*.

—v. 21*b* : बाह्यस्पर्शेष्वसक्तात्मा विन्दत्यात्मनि यः सुखम् ।
स ब्रह्मयोगयुक्तात्मा......... FOR ......यत् सुखम् ।

The relative *yaḥ* in the variant goes with *saḥ* in the next line most naturally. With the Vulgate reading we have not only to supply *yaḥ* to go with *saḥ*, but to supply also *tat* to correspond with *yat* and expand the sentence—(*yaḥ*) *asktâtmā yat ātmani sukham* (*asti tat*) *vindati, saḥ...sukham...aśnute.* This is no doubt a very roundabout way. SCHRADER explains that the original *yaḥ* was changed into *yat* by case-attraction with the following word *sukham.* Now the phenomenon of case-attraction is no doubt very familiar from the Ṛgveda downwards ; at the same time that peculiar, archaic—almost stylish —use of the relative as in Ṛv x. 90. 8—

पशूंस्तांश्चक्रे वायव्यानारण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये ।

where we have to expand the last clause into *ye grāmyāḥ* (*santi tān*), is also quite wide-spread in earlier writing. Such a roundabout construction is useful in focussing attention. To say, "who obtains the bliss within, he obtains the bliss imperishable" is less forceful than, "the bliss that is within one's self, (who) obtains (*that*), he obtains the bliss imperishable." But, apart from the above consideration, we have to point out that the simplification of syntax by reading *yaḥ* is not peculiar to Kashmirian Mss. Nine other Mss. give it, of which at least five come from the South. Thus the case loses all probative value for SCHRADER'S thesis.

—vi. 7*b* : जितात्मनः प्रशान्तस्य परात्मसु समा मतिः FOR
...........परमात्मा समाहितः ।

Understanding *paramātmā* = Highest Self leads to difficulty, because the context evidently demands the individual self. It is true that xiii. 22 distinctly

says that *paramātmā* is used as a synonym for *jīvātmā*, but this may amount to "*Sthitasya gatiś cintanīyā.*" Another way out is to read *param ātmā* as two separate words: cp. xii. 31—*paramātmāyam avyayaḥ śarīrastho'pi.* The ultimate view of the Advaitic interpreters of the *Gītā* makes no difference between the individual and the supreme self, and commentators from Śaṅkara downwards find little difficulty in explaining things away. (The commentators can always be trusted to do that.) The "Kashmirian" variant is supported only by our Ms. Ś.

There is however an interesting problem connected with this variant. The commentator Jayatīrtha tells us that the reading *parātmasu samā matiḥ* was a deliberate emendation due to the ingenuity of one Bhāskara. He says:

अत्र भास्करोऽन्वयमपश्यन् 'परमात्मा समाहितः' इति संप्रदायागतं पाठं विसृज्य, 'परात्मसु समा मतिः' इति पाठान्तरं प्रकल्प्य, समा मतिः इति तु आवर्त्य, (शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेष्विति)सप्तम्याः अन्वयमुक्त्वा, पूर्वपाठेऽन्वयाभाव इत्यवादीत्।

Guj. Press Ed., 1938, p. 539.

Now there is a Bhāskara of the Śaiva school who is a Kashmirian predecessor of Abhinavagupta. There is another Bhāskara of the Bhedâbheda school and a very early opponent of Śaṅkarācāya. Jayatīrtha is probably referring to the latter. In any case we have no reason to doubt such a clear and explicit statement of his. The commentary of a Bhāskara—probably the same person to whom Jayatīrtha refers—is mentioned in the *Tātparyacandrikā* on Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya* at iii. 42, xiii. 3, and xviii. 66. It is also very unlikely that two ingenuous persons could have chanced upon the same emendation. Since Abhinavagupta knows the emendation and explains it, he must, be a successor of Bhāskara, knowing and utilising his words. As a matter of fact, in the course of his commentary on xviii. 2, Abhinava says—

अत्र चाध्याये यदवशिष्टमवलम्बं वक्तव्यमस्ति तत्प्राक्तनैरेव तत्रभवद्भट्टभास्करादिभिर्वितत्य विमृष्टमिति किमस्माकं तद्गूढार्थप्रतिज्ञामात्रनिर्वाहणसाराणां पुनरुक्तप्रदर्शनप्रयासेन।

This shows that Abhinava based his commentary on that of Bhāskara, and he would therefore, in the normal course of things, accept the latter's textual emendation without demur. Now the main burden of the writings of this Bhāskara is a bitter criticism of Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda. It is therefore very unlikely that Abhinavagupta was unacquainted with the works of Śaṅkara.[1] It is also interesting to note that SCHRADER admits that "in this one case (vi. 7*b*) Abhinavagupta too appears to have known both readings. ... There seems to have been early dispute on this stanza". Even assuming then, for the sake of argument, that this Bhāskara is some earlier writer, it can still be maintained that (i) Śaṅkara who cites and refutes several earlier and opposing interpreters of the *Bhagavadgītā* could not have passed such

1. Abhinavagupta quotes views of earlier commentators in about a dozen places. His references *apud* iii. 14, iv. 24, v. 35, vi. 25, vii. 11 and xiv. 14 may very possibly be to Śaṅkara. In two or three of these passages there is even verbal agreement.

an important and disputed issue in silence ; and (ii) that the Vulgate reading which occasioned the controversy must be taken to be the original reading.

—vi. 16*a*, *c* : योगोऽस्ति नैवात्यशतो......नातिजागरतोऽर्जुन । FOR
नात्यश्नतस्तु योगोऽस्ति......जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन

Here it is true that the "Kashmirian" variants are incorrect, or at least archaic, and have in that regard a claim for being considered as original readings. Only they have no support except from our Ms. Ś, which however gives the second variant slightly differently. A *lectio difficilior*, before it can receive full credit on that account, must have sufficient Ms. support. Else, every chance error of a modern copyist will have to be raised to that status.

—vi. 21*a*, *d* : सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत्र.........वेत्ति यत्र............स्थित-
श्च्यवति तत्त्वतः । FOR ....यत्तत्.........चलति...

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. I assume that he wants to take pādas *abc* as constituting one relative clause. If so, we do not want the word *yatra* twice. A special kind of *sukha* is here intended, and we are told that even that remains unperceived in samādhi. So the *yat-tat* clause would be preferable. Cp. p. 26 above. The variant in the last pāda is not supported by even a single Ms., and Abhinavagupta too is silent.

—vi. 28*cd* : सुखेन ब्रह्मसंयोगमत्यन्तमधिगच्छति । FOR
.........ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. No other Ms. supports the variant, and even Abhinavagupta gives no clear indication. The Vulgate reading is more technically worded, and it is not a new technicality either. It may well be doubted whether any philosopher would say—*Brahmasaṁyogam adhigacchati*, unless *saṁyogam* = *yogam*.

—vi. 37*a* : अयतः श्रद्धयोपेतो............. FOR अयतिः श्रद्धयोपेतो...........

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by a single Ms. Even SCHRADER'S sources are not unanimous, and Abhinavagupta is made to confirm by a conjectural emendation. The Nirnaya Sagara Edition of 1936, which has undergone thorough revision in the light of SCHRADER'S thesis, does not bear out SCHRADER'S conjecture.

—vii. 18*b* : ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतः FOR ....मे मतम् ।

SCHLEGEL long ago had conjectured that the original must have been *mataḥ* to agree with *jñānī*, and this conjecture was accepted by BÖHTLINGK. SCHRADER reports that this conjecture of the European scholars is confirmed by his "Kashmir Recension". I am not however sure that Abhinavagupta read *mataḥ*. Nevertheless the emendation was so obvious that our Mss. ŚA$A^1B^3M^4$ record it. The fact however that several good Mss. do not do so, and the circumstance that the commentators prefer to explain the passage in a slightly roundabout construction—which in itself is not very rare—would go to establish the authenticity of the current reading.

—viii. 17*b*: सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यें ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।
......तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ FOR ......यत्......

SCHRADER explains the Vulgate *yat* as a phenomenon of case-attraction: see above under v. 21. Our Mss. ŚK[1] alone read *ye*. The others follow the Vulgate. Here a particular kind of day is intended, and the periphrastic construction *yat*.......*tat* serves to direct attention to it.

—x. 42*ab* बहुनोक्तेन किं ज्ञानेन तवार्जुन । FOR
......बहुनैतेन किं ज्ञातेन...............

SCHRADER's sources are not here unanimous, and he gives no reasons for his preference. Abhinavagupta reads *etena*, and the text preceding the Cr reads *jñātena*. Of our Mss. only D[1]G (which are not connected with Kashmirian text-tradition) read *uktena*, while *jñānena* for *jñātena* is given by 18 Mss. This is to be explained as due to the usual confusion between *na* and *ta*. The case has no probative value for SCHRADER'S thesis.

—xi. 8*a*: न तु मां शक्यसे द्रष्टुं (Vulgate)

On this SCHRADER observes: The original seems to have had neither *śakyase* (Vulgate), nor *śakyasi* ("K"), but *śakṣyase*, which is the reading preserved in Rāmānuja's school. Be the case as it may, it proves nothing for SCHRADER'S thesis.

—xi. 40*d*: सर्वं संव्याप्नोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः । FOR
सर्वं समाप्नोषि...........

The so-called Kashmirian variant is not supported by Abhinavagupta and is not recorded by any of our Mss. It does disturb the metre slightly, and it is strange to find SCHRADER arguing that because the Vulgate reading *samāpnoṣi*, in the only meaning it can have here, viz. *samyag vyāpnoṣi* (so all commentators), is entirely unsupported, therefore it is almost certainly corrupted from *saṁvyāpnoṣi* ("K"). If *samāpnoṣi* be an unusual use, then that must have been the original word, while the variant *saṁvyāpnoṣi* would seem to be of the nature of an interlinear gloss ousting the real text.

—xi. 42*b*: पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य त्वमस्य विश्वस्य गुरुर्गरीयान् । FOR
.........त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च.........

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. None of our Mss. supports the variant and Abhinavagupta is also silent. No noun is really wanted to go with *asya* because there is already *lokasya* in the first pāda. *Viśvasya* seems to be an interlinear gloss for *asya*, which has ousted *pūjyaś ca*.

—ix. 44*d*: पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः प्रियः प्रियस्यार्हसि देव सोढुम् ।
FOR...........प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि...........

Of SCHRADER'S sources Abhinavagupta is silent, and only our Ms. Ś agrees with the variant. It seems to me that, immediately following upon the pair *sakheva sakhyuḥ*, we must have a different pair, and that can only be lover

and lady-love. The Kashmirian variant is too facile an emendation calculated to obviate the double Saṁdhi *priyāyāḥ* + *arhasi* = *priyāyā* + *arhasi* = *priyāyârhasi.* Instances of such double Saṁdhis are not rare in the older parts of the Epic. Hence we cannot accept SCHRADER'S view that the Vulgate is a corruption of the Kashmirian reading.

—xiii. 4*d* : ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छन्दोभिर्..............।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव............विनिश्चितम् ॥ FOR
...............विनिश्चितैः ।

SCHRADER here endorses BÖHTLINGK'S earlier objection that we cannot construe *Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ* with *gītam* because while *chhandāṁsi* could be sung, the *Brahmasūtras* could not be. I was under the impression that the meaning of the root *gai* as the formal enunciation of a truth, apart from its prose or verse character, was already accepted by scholars. Cp. *Mālatī-Mādhava,* Act ii, Kāmandakī's speech immediately preceding Stanza 3 :

गीतश्चायमर्थोऽङ्गिरसा–यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिरिति ।

Surprising also is SCHRADER'S construing of stanzas 3 and 4 as one long sentence : *Tat kṣetraṁ yat........sa ca yaḥ........tat........ṛṣibhir gītam, Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ........viniścitam.* SCHRADER evidently has lost sight of the intervening *tat samāsena me śṛṇu* (xiii. 3*d*), which leaves no *tat* for being connected with *gītam* and *viniścitam.* The commentator Abhinavagupta, who is certified to be a careful commentator (cp. p. 20 above), has no commentary on the stanza and gives us no indication about his reading. The remaining sources of SCHRADER are confirmed only by our Ms. Ś. In the Vulgate reading it is easy to see that *hetumadbhiḥ* and *viniścitaiḥ* contrast with *bahudhā* and *pṛthak.*

—xvi. 3*b* : अद्रोहो नाभिमानिता FOR नातिमानिता ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The word used in xvi. 3*d* and xvi. 4*a* should naturally be the same. Abhinavagupta has no comment on the word in both places. Śaṅkara explains the word in the earlier passage as—*atyartham mānaḥ* &c., and in the later passage he refers to his earlier explanation by the word *pūrvokta.* Śaṅkara thus read *atimāna* in both places, and here he is supported by 18 Mss. mostly Grantha and Malayalam but including also Mss. A[3] and E which show traces of Northern (Kashmirian) influence. The reading *abhimānitā* (xvi. 3) is supported by Mss. D[a]P[1]T[a]H, which, except the last, are not very reliable. For the Critical Edition, in both places, I have accepted *atimāna.*

—xvi. 8 : अकिंचित्कमहैतुकम् FOR किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम् ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The reading *akiṁcitkam* is supported only by Mss. HK[1], while *ahetukam* is given by Mss. K[1]DHG[1]G[2]G[4]. For the same word *ahe(hai)tukum* cp. xviii. 22*b*. Both forms can be, and have been, explained. The variant *akiṁcitkam* is, on the face of it, an attempt to simplify and can be legitimately suspected of being a later emendation.

—xvi. 19*c*: क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभास्वासुरीष्वेव योनिषु । FOR
...........अशुभान्...........

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant *aśubhāsu* is supported only by Mss. HK[1]. Abhinavagupta is silent. The Vulgate *aśubhān* is widely supported. It is in a case like this that the hypothesis of case-attraction can be legitimately evoked to explain how the variant *aśubhāsu* has cropped up.

—xvii. 13*a*: विधिहीनममृष्टान्नं........... FOR ....असृष्टान्नं

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by even a single Ms. outside SCHRADER'S sources, while Abhinavagupta in any case seems to go with the Vulgate. The commentator Rāma explains:

अमृष्टं पाकादिविरहाद्विरसमन्नादि यत्र,

deriving the word from *mṛj* to clean or purify. In a "Tāmasa" sacrifice, the text tells us, there is absence of *vidhi*, absence of *mantra*, absence of *dakṣiṇā* and absence of *śraddhā*; *not* imperfect *vidhi*, improperly uttered *mantra*, inadequate *dakṣiṇā* and halting *śraddhā*. Parity would require that the *anna* in such a sacrifice be totally absent. That is the Vulgate sense.

—xvii. 23*c*: ॐ तत्सदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणस्...........।
ब्रह्मणा तेन वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च...........॥ FOR
...........ब्राह्मणास्तेन..............

Abhinavagupta does not seem to support the "Kashmirian" variant, and of our Mss. only K[1] gives a dubious support. It actually reads *brahmaṇās tena*. As *Brahman* already occurs in the immediately preceding *pāda*, it was not quite necessary to repeat the word. The pronoun *tena* would tell indubitably what it stood for. What is more important, the Vedas and Yajñas cannot by themselves complete the round of creation unless there are the agents to recite and to perform them. Cp. St. 24*cd*—

प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम्,

where the agents are distinctly mentioned. We cannot therefore be justified in concluding with SCHRADER that the reading *brāhmaṇāḥ* "is obviously wrong." The word need not signify the caste but can mean more or less the same as the *Brahmavādins* referred to in the very next stanza.

—xvii. 26*d*: सच्छब्दः पार्थ गीयते FOR ....युज्यते ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by a single Ms., and Abhinavagupta is silent.

—xviii. 8*a*: दुःखमित्येव यः कर्म........ FOR ....यत् कर्म...........

As in v. 21 and viii. 17, SCHRADER explains the Vulgate reading as due to case-attraction. The Kashmirian variant is not however supported by any of our Mss., and Abhinavagupta is also silent. In view of the lack of Mss. support we cannot make too much of the phenomenon of case-attraction. The variant

yaḥ, which has no Ms. backing behind it, can more legitimately be explained as due to case-attraction for *saḥ* in the next line. Compare also the analogous passage xviii. 9. The variant simplifies the syntax, and that by itself would normally prove its unoriginality.

—xviii. 50*b*: सिद्धिं प्राप्तो यथा ब्रह्म प्राप्नोति तन्निबोध मे । FOR

...........यथा ब्रह्म तथाप्नोति निबोध मे ।

SCHRADER observes : " The position of *tathā* (belonging to *nibodha me*) in this śloka is simply impossible. The author of the *Gītā* was not so bad a poet as to be accredited with such a monstrosity." On the point at issue a reference may be suggested to Prof. V. K. RAJWADE'S paper on " The Bhagavadgītā from grammatical and literary points of view " in the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol.*, p. 325ff. In the Kashmirian variant the metre is somewhat limping. It has no support from any of our Mss., and of SCHRADER'S sources Abhinavagupta is silent. Cases of difficult syntax like the one before us have to be regarded as original, unless there is some very simple and at the same time very brilliant way out, which does not seem to be the case here.

—xviii. 78*d* : तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा इति मतिर्मम । FOR

.ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ।

Unfortunately not a single Ms. used by us supports this variant. SCHRADER himself admits that the omission of *iti* in the Vulgate need not be regarded as a very serious blemish. In favour of that reading we can also say this that it is in the fitness of things that the *Bhagavadgītā*, which essayed to teach correct *nīti* to Arjuna in every case of *kāryâkāryasaṁdeha*, should end with that important word. It need not be put down as a mere attempt to find another two-syllabic feminine word to rhyme with *bhūti* and *mati*.

12. Thus far we have considered every one of the thirty-seven cases where SCHRADER claimed intrinsic superiority for the so-called Kashmirian readings. Unfortunately more than half the number he has left to speak for themselves without offering any defence. Not one of them however, including those that have received the benefit of SCHRADER'S defence, is entitled to that claim except iii. 2, where the reading is authentic and superior, but not peculiar to Kashmirian text-tradition. The Kashmir reading, according to the recognised laws of textual criticism, can unhesitatingly be pronounced later than the Vulgate or Śaṅkara reading, not only in the cases admitted by SCHRADER himself, but in almost every one of the other cases.

13. We may once more refer to the variant in vi. 7 where, by SCHRADER'S own admission, Abhinavagupta seems to show knowledge of a textual emendation introduced by Bhāskara, an early successor and opponent of Śaṅkarācārya. This materially weakens the case for SCHRADER'S thesis. One additional passage may here be taken up at this stage. In v. 5—

यत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तद्योगैरपि गम्यते ।

it is well known that Śaṅkara introduces in his *Bhāṣya* a long discussion calculated to discountenance the parity between Sāṁkhya and Yoga as regards their ultimate goal, which is so unambiguously asserted in that stanza. To quote the *Bhāṣya* :

यत्सांख्यैर्ज्ञाननिष्ठैः संन्यासिभिः स्थानं मोक्षाख्यं प्राप्यते, तद्योगैरपि **परमार्थज्ञान-संन्यासप्राप्तिद्वारा** गम्यते ।

It is as if one were to say : "B.A. and Matriculation are one. B.A. can become M.A. and so too the Matriculate. Only the Matriculate must be B.A. first." Śaṅkara is here evidently unable to understand the passage in a direct and straightforward manner. Now Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* has mentioned a few variant readings : occasionally (e. g. under xi. 41, xviii. 54) even "Kashmirian" variants. If therefore there had been current a variant like the Kashmirian—

तद्योगैरनु गम्यते FOR तद्योगैरपि गम्यते

Śaṅkara would certainly have jumped at it, because that is just what Śaṅkara wants the passage to say, but what it cannot honestly say, reading *api* (= also) for *anu*-(= in due course or subsequently). "Does not this prove that the Kashmirian reading was unknown to Śaṅkara ?"—SCHRADER may ask. We reply : "Unknown", Yes ; but that does not mean "earlier". For, when it is claimed that the Kashmirian *Gītā* is the authentic *Gītā,* it certainly cannot have been meant that the knowledge of this authentic text was limited to Kashmir. The *Gītā* certainly was not unknown outside Kashmir. In Śaṅkara's days—before he wrote the *Gītābhāṣya*—there must have been current a form of the Poem approximating the "authentic" *Gītā,* which became fixed and standardized only after the *Bhāṣya.* If the variant *anu gamyate* had therefore been *existing* before Śaṅkara, he certainly would have adopted that, or at any rate mentioned it. His not having done so would go to almost prove that *anu gamyate* is a post-Śaṅkara emendation, suggested by some partisan of the ācārya who did not like the very great *tour de force* that Śaṅkara was compelled to have recourse to in his *Bhāṣya* on the passage. The emendator might accordingly have been a post-Śaṅkara predecessor of Abhinavagupta. I do not however wish to stretch this point too far.

14. At the end of this rather detailed and elaborate survey of SCHRADER'S thesis we may briefly sum up the results arrived at as follows. If by recension is to be meant merely a version long current and recognised as authoritative in a given province, then the existence of such a recension of the *Bhagavad-gītā* as being current in Kashmir we are not interested in denying ; only we are unable to accept the view that the Recension was current prior to the 8th century of the Christian era, or that it is more authentic than the recension known to Śaṅkara. For this no sufficient proofs have been adduced by SCHRADER. In the first place the *varietas lectionis* supposed to be peculiar to Kashmir are not as many as SCHRADER has recorded. A large number of his cases are merely solitary variations of individual Mss., while quite a few

of the others are not peculiar to Kashmir, and have no probative value in establishing a "Kashmirian recension". About a little over thirty per cent. of the cases adduced can be regarded as Kashmirian *Pāṭhabhedas* of the *Gītā*, but intrinsically they can almost all be proved to be secondary and posterior to the text of the Poem as known to Śaṅkarācārya. In two or three cases particularly, positive grounds can be put forth for such a conclusion, while in the case of the others the conclusion rests on probability as grounded upon the recognised canons of textual criticism. What applies to the variants also holds good of the "Kashmirian" additions and omissions; and it is to be particularly noted that the thirty-odd test cases on which SCHRADER has thrown the brunt of his proof have, upon actual investigation, refused to sustain SCHRADER'S contention. We can accordingly conclude that, except for about a dozen minor variants, the form of the *Bhagavadgītā* as preserved in the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya is still the earliest and the most authentic form of the Poem that we can reach on the basis of the available manuscript evidence.

15. Where we had to carefully sift the evidence of some sixty Mss. on nearly 400 passages it is inevitable that, in spite of the care taken to avoid them, a few mistakes of omission or commission have crept into this paper. These can be readily corrected if kindly pointed out. It is hoped however that these will not affect the main conclusion which is an unhesitating pronouncement against the claim to authenticity of the "Kashmirian recension" of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and against its priority to the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara in the eighth century.

APPENDIX 1: Cases where the "Kashmirian" Variants are not supported by even a single Ms. (*With two Supplements*)

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
i. 1	sarvakṣatrasamāgame	samavetā yuyutsavaḥ	
i. 7	nāyakān mama sainyasya	nāyakā mama.........	See p. 22
i. 29	sarvagātrāṇi	mama gātrāṇi	
ii. 6	te naḥ sthitāḥ	te 'vasthitāḥ	See p. 23
ii. 8	yaḥ śokam ucchoṣaṇam	yac chokam......	
ii. 11	Aśocyān anuśocaṁs tvam prājñavan nâbhibhāṣase	Aśocyān anvaśocas tvam prajñāvādāṁś ca bhāṣase	See p. 23
ii. 12	nāmī janādhipāḥ	neme janādhipāḥ	See p. 24
ii. 12	itaḥ param	ataḥ param	do.
ii. 27	dhruvam mṛtyuḥ	dhruvo mṛtyuḥ	
ii. 30	nâtra śocitum arhasi	na tvaṁ śocitum arhasi	
ii. 40	Nehâtikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na dṛśyate	Nehâbhikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na vidyate	
ii. 45	Traiguṇyavicayā Vedāḥ	Traiguṇyaviṣayā Vedāḥ	
ii. 51	Karmabandhavinirmuktāḥ	Janmabandha......	
iii. 12	Iṣṭān kāmān hi	Iṣṭān bhogān hi	
iii. 23	Mama vartmânuvarteran	Mama vartmânuvartante	See p. 25
iii. 28	Guṇā guṇârthe vartante	Guṇā guṇeṣu vartante	
iii. 32	vinaṣṭān viddhy acetasaḥ	viddhi naṣṭān acetasaḥ	
iii. 36	Anicchamāno 'pi balād ākramyeva niyojitaḥ	Anicchann api Vārṣṇeya balādiva......	
iii. 38	tathā tenâyam āvṛtaḥ	tathā tenedam āvṛtam	
iii. 39	duṣpūraṇânalena ca	duṣpūreṇânalena ca	K disturbs metre
iv. 1	Evaṁ Vivasvate yogam	Imaṁ Vivasvate yogam	
iv. 2	Evam paramparâkhyātam	Evam paramparāprāptam	
iv. 10	manmayā madvyapāśrayāḥ	manmayā mām upāśritāḥ	
iv. 14	na me kāmaḥ phaleṣv api	na me karmaphale spṛhā	
iv. 25	yoginaḥ samupāsate	yoginaḥ paryupāsate	
iv. 42	cchittvaivaṁ saṁśayam	cchittvainaṁ saṁśayam	
v. 11	saṅgaṁ tyaktvâtmasiddhaye	saṅgaṁ tyaktvâtmaśuddhaye	Śuddhi = search
v. 22	saṁsargajāḥ	saṁsparśajāḥ	
v. 28	Vigatecchābhayadveṣo	Vigatecchābhayakrodho	
vi. 15	madbhakto'nanyamānasaḥ	yogī niyatamānasaḥ	
vi. 20	yogasevanāt	yogasevayā	
vi. 28	Sukhena brahmasaṁyogam atyantam adhigacchati	Sukhena brahmasaṁsparśam atyantaṁ sukham aśnute	See p. 28
vi. 29	Paśyati yogayuktâtmā	Īkṣate yogayuktâtmā	Metre ?
vi. 37	Ayataḥ śraddhayopeto	Ayatiḥ........................	See p. 28
vi. 42	jāyate dhīmatāṁ kule	kule bhavati dhīmatām	
vi. 46	jñānibhyaś ca	jñānibhyo 'pi	
vii. 1	yogaṁ yuñjan madāśritaḥ	yogaṁ yuñjan madāśrayaḥ	
vii. 6	pralayaḥ prabhavas tathā	prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā	Order ?
vii. 11	Balam balavatāṁ câham	Balam balavatām asmi	
vii. 12	Matta eveha	Matta eveti	
viii. 2	Prayāṇakāle 'pi katham	Prayāṇakāle ca katham	

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
viii. 20	vyaktâvyaktaḥ	vyakto 'vyaktāt	
viii. 26	Anayor yāty anāvṛttim ekayâvartate 'nyayā	Ekayā yāty anāvṛttim anyayâvartate punaḥ	
ix. 11	mamâvyayaṁ anuttamam	mama bhūtamaheśvaram	Influence of vii. 24
ix. 12	Āsurīṁ rākṣasīṁ caiva	Rākṣasīm āsurīṁ caiva	
ix. 14	yatamānā dṛḍhavratāḥ	yatantaś ca dṛḍhavratāḥ	To mend grammar
ix. 22	Ananyāś ca viraktā mām	Ananyāś cintayanto mām	
x. 8	Ayaṁ sarvasya prabhava itaḥ sarvaṁ pravartate	Ahaṁ sarvasya prabhavo mattaḥ sarvam pravartate	
x. 14	yan me vadasi Keśava	yan māṁ vadasi Keśava	
x. 14	vidur devā maharṣayaḥ	vidur devā na dānavāḥ	
x. 16	vibhūtīr ātmanaḥ śubhāḥ	divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ	
x. 17	tvāṁ aham paricintayan	tvāṁ sadā paricintayan	
x. 24	Senānyām apy aham	Senānīnām aham	To mend grammar
x. 25	girām apy ekam akṣaram	girām asmy ekam akṣaram	
x. 39	tad bījaṁ ahaṁ Arjuna	bījaṁ tad ahaṁ Arjuna	
xi. 18	Tvaṁ avyayaḥ Sātvata-dharma-goptā	Tvam avyayaḥ śāśvata-dharma-goptā	
xi. 34	tathânyān api vīrayodhān	tathânyān api yodhavīrān	
xi. 37	Kasmāc ca te na nameyur	Kasmāc ca te na nameran	To mend grammar?
xi. 38	vedyaṁ paramaṁ ca dhāma	vedyaṁ ca paraṁ ca dhāma	
xi. 43	asya viśvasya gurur	asya pūjyaś ca gurur	See p. 29
xii. 3	avyaktam māṁ upāsate	avyaktaṁ paryupāsate	
xii. 5	sarvatrâvyaktacetasām	avyaktâsaktacetasām	
xii. 12	tyāgāc chāntir niraṁtarā	tyāgāc.........anaṁtaram	
xii. 16	Sarvârambhaphalatyāgī	Sarvârambhaparityāgī	
xiii. 11	adhyātmajñānaniṣṭhatvam	...........nityatvam*	
xiii. 17	hṛdi sarvasya veṣṭitam	.........dhiṣṭhitam	
xiii. 22	Upadeṣṭā 'numantā ca	Upadraṣṭā 'numantā ca	
xiii. 31	Anāditvān nirmalatvāt	Anāditvān nirguṇatvāt	
xiv. 12	vivṛddhe Kurunandana	vivṛddhe Bharatarṣabha	
xiv. 15	Tathā tamasi līnas tu	Tathā pralīnas tamasi	
xiv. 18	Urddhvaṁ gacchanti sattvena	..............sattvasthāḥ	
xiv. 23	yo 'jñas tiṣṭhati	yo 'vatiṣṭhati†	
xiv. 24	Samaduḥkhasukhasvapnaḥ	Samaduḥkhasukhaḥ svasthaḥ	
xv. 2	prasṛtā yasya śākhāḥ	prasṛtās tasya śākhāḥ	
xv. 4	Tataḥ paraṁ tat padam	Tataḥ padaṁ tat pari-	
xv. 4	yasmin gate na nivartanti	yasmin gatā na nivartanti	
xv. 5	Adhyātmaniṣṭhāḥ	Adhyātmanityāḥ*	Cp. xiii. 11
xv. 8	Gṛhītvā tāni	Gṛhītvaitāni	
xv. 15	Vedāntakṛd Vedakṛd eva	Vedāntakṛd Vedavid eva	
xv. 20	mayā proktaṁ tavânagha	idam uktam mayânagha	
xvi. 2	dayā bhūteṣv alaulyaṁ ca	..............aloluptvam	

* "Nitya" used in the older sense: Cp. "Indriyanityaṁ vacanam" in the *Nirukta*.

† Attempt to improve grammar. Cp. *Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya* on the passage.

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
xvi. 3	Tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛtis tuṣṭiḥ	................śaucam	
xvi. 10	Asadgṛhāśritāḥ krūrāḥ pracaranty aśucivratāḥ	Mohād gṛhītvâsadgrāhān pravartante 'śucivratāḥ	
xvi. 12	Īhante kāmalobhārtham	Īhante kāmabhogārtham	
xvi. 16	mohasyaiva vaśaṁ gatāḥ	mohajālasamāvṛtāḥ	
xvii. 1	vartante śraddhayānvitāḥ	yajante..............	
xvii. 4	Bhūtapretapiśācāṅś ca	Pretān bhūtagaṇāṅś cânye	
xvii. 6	bhūtagrāmam acetanam	bhūtagrāmam acetasaḥ	
xvii. 12	Ijyante viddhi taṁ yajñaṁ rājasaṁ calam adhruvam	Ijyate Bharataśreṣṭha taṁ yajñaṁ viddhi rājasam	
xvii. 13	Vidhihīnam amṛṣṭānnam	Vidhihīnam asṛṣṭānnam	See p. 31
xvii. 21	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	tad dānaṁ rājasaṁ smṛtam	
xvii. 26	sacchabdaḥ Pārtha gīyate	.... yujyate	See p. 31
xviii. 7	Niyatasya ca saṁnyāsaḥ	Niyatasya tu saṁnyāsaḥ	
xviii. 8	Duḥkham ity eva yaḥ karma	...................yat karma	See p. 31f.
xviii. 15	Śarīravāṅmanobhir hi yat karmârabhate 'rjuna	....................bhir yat karma prārabhate naraḥ	
xviii. 20	bhāvam avyayaṁ vīkṣate *or* aśnute	bhāvam avyayam īkṣate	Variants admitted impossible
xviii. 21	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	taj jñānaṁ rājasaṁ viddhi	
xviii. 22	Yad akṛtsnavid ekasmin	Yat tu kṛtsnavad ekasmin	
xviii. 30	buddhiḥ sā sattvikī matā	buddhiḥ sā Pārtha sattvikī	
xviii. 32	manyate tāmasānvitā	.... tamasāvṛtā	
xviii. 32	buddhiḥ sā tāmasī matā	buddhiḥ sā Pārtha tāmasī	
xviii. 35	dhṛtiḥ sā tāmasī matā	dhṛtiḥ sā Pārtha tāmasī	
xviii. 36	Sukhaṁ tv idānīṁ śṛṇu me trividham	Sukhaṁ tv idānīṁ trividhaṁ śṛṇu me	
xviii. 37	Yat tadātve viṣam iva	Yat tad agre.................	
xviii. 37	tat sukhaṁ sāttvikaṁ vidyāt	tat sukhaṁ sāttvikam proktam	
xviii. 38	yat tadātve 'mṛtopamam	yat tad agre 'mṛtopamam	
xviii. 38	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	tat sukhaṁ rājasaṁ smṛtam	
xviii. 42	Śamo damas tathā śaucam	Śamo damas tapaḥ śaucam	
xviii. 44	Paryutthānâtmakaṁ karma	Paricaryâtmakaṁ karma	
xviii. 46	yena viśvaṁ idaṁ tatam	yena sarvam idaṁ tatam	
xviii. 46	Svakarmaṇā tam evârcya	Svakarmaṇā tam abhyarcya	
xviii. 50	.........yathā Brahma prāpnoti tan nibodha me	.... yathā Brahma tathâpnoti nibodha me	See p. 32
xviii. 50	Samāsena tu Kaunteya	Samasenaiva Kaunteya	
xviii. 54	na śocati na hṛṣyati	na śocati na kāṅkṣati	
xviii. 55	Yo 'haṁ yaś câsmi	Yāvān yaś câsmi	
xviii. 57	mayi saṁnyasya Bhārata	mayi........matparaḥ	
xviii. 57	Buddhiyogaṁ samāśritya	.... upāśritya	
xviii. 59	Mithyaivâdhyavasāyas te	Mithyaiṣa vyavasāyas te	
xviii. 68	sa mām eṣyaty asaṁśayam	mām evaiṣyaty asaṁśayam	
xviii. 75	etad guhyataram mahat	etad guhyam aham param	
xviii. 77	prahṛṣye ca	hṛṣyāmi ca	
xviii. 78	dhruvā iti matir mama	dhruvā nītir matir mama	See p. 32

Supplement to Appendix 1, being Cases of Solitary & Sporadic Support to "K" Reading by a non-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant (supporting Ms.)	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 56	sthiradhīḥ (E)	sthitadhīh	See ii. 54
ii. 64	Rāgadveṣavimuktais tu (F)	...........viyuktais tu	
iii. 31	sarvakilbiṣaiḥ (G²)	te 'pi karmabhiḥ	Reminiscent of iii. 13
iv. 37	Pādas *b* and *d* transposed owing to identical opening (D)	——	
xvi. 8	apratiṣṭhaṁ ca (A¹)	apratiṣṭhaṁ te	
xvii. 12	api caiva yaḥ (A¹)	api caiva yat	
xviii. 21	pṛthaktvena ca (E)	pṛthaktvena tu	
xviii. 63	yad icchasi tathā (E)	yathecchasi tathā	

Second Supplement to Appendix 1, being Cases of Sporadic Support to "K" Reading by two Mss. not Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant (supporting Mss.)	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 54	Sthiradhīḥ (D¹E)	Sthitadhīḥ	Cp. ii. 56
x. 42	bahunoktena (D¹G²)	bahunaitena	
xvii. 7	bhedam idam (G²G⁴)	bhedam imam	
xviii. 60	avaśo 'pi san (MD)	avaśo 'pi tat	

APPENDIX 2: Cases where the Calcutta Ms. (Ś) gives Readings not found in any other Ms.

(For Omissions and Additional Stanzas in Ś see App. 6)

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 24	satatagaḥ	sarvagataḥ	
ii. 30	nânuśocitum	na tvaṁ śocitum	
ii. 31	na tvaṁ kampitum	na vikampitum	
ii. 32	copanatam	copapannam	
ii. 43	gatiḥ	gatim	
ii. 44	tathâpahṛtacetasām	tayâpahṛtacetasām	
ii. 51	buddhiyuktâtmā	buddhiyuktā hi	
ii. 53	niścitā	niścalā	
ii. 62	krodho 'pi jāyate	krodho 'bhijāyate	
ii. 71	śāntam	śāntim	
ii. 72	vimuhyasi	vimuhyati	
ii. 72	ṛcchasi	ṛcchati	
iii. 3	karmiṇām	yoginām	
iii. 17	yaś câtmaratir	yas tvātmaratir	
iii. 21	ācarate	ācarati	
iii. 22	nânuvāptam	nânavāptam	
iii. 31	Śraddhāvanto 'nasūyanto nânutiṣṭhanti me matam	*	
iv. 3	câsi	ceti	
iv. 4	katham evam	katham etat	
iv. 23	jñānāyârabhataḥ	yajñāyâcarataḥ	
iv. 32	etaj jñātvā	evaṁ jñātvā	
iv. 38	yogasaṁsiddham	yogasaṁsiddhaḥ	
v. 14	Nâkartṛtvaṁ na kartṛtvam	Na kartṛtvaṁ na karmāṇi	
v. 23	śarīravimocanāt	śarīravimokṣaṇāt	
v. 25	Chinnadvaitā	Chinnadvaidhā	
vi. 2	saṁnyāsa iti	saṁnyāsam iti	
vi. 2	yogo bhavati duḥkhahā	yogī bhavati kaścana	Cp. vi. 17
vi. 4	sarvakarmasu sajjate	na karmasv anuṣajjate	
vi. 9	Sādhuṣv atha ca	Sādhuṣv api ca	
vi. 9	samadṛṣṭiḥ	samabuddhiḥ	
vi. 10	Nirāśīr	Ekākī	
vi. 10	caikākī niṣparigrahaḥ	nirāśīr aparigrahaḥ	
vi. 16	na ca jāgarato 'rjuna	jāgrato naiva cârjuna	
vi. 20	tiṣṭhati	tuṣyati	
vi. 22	câdhikam	câparam	
vi. 22	nâparam	nâdhikam	
vi. 27	Abhyeti	Upaiti	
vi. 42	nirmale	dhīmatām	
vii. 6	sarvāṇi bhūtānity	bhūtāni sarvāṇîty	
vii. 8	prakāśaḥ	prabhâsmi	
vii. 12	tāmasā rājasāś ca	rājasā tāmasāś ca	

* Blending of 31*cd* and 32*ab* due to eye-wandering from one "suyanto" to another. One half-stanza lo t in consequence.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
vii. 14	atitaranti	etāṁ taranti	
vii. 17	ekabhaktaḥ	nityayuktaḥ	
vii. 21	tasyāṁ tasyāṁ dadāmy aham	tām eva vidadhāmy aham	
vii. 25	Loko 'yaṁ nâbhijānāti mūḍho	Mūḍho 'yaṁ nâbhijānāti loko	
vii. 29	bhajanti	yatanti	Grammar
viii. 5	Antakāle 'pi	Antakāle ca	
viii. 11	yad yātayo	yad yatayo	
viii. 13	Yaḥ prayāti sa madbhāvaṁ yāti nâsty atra saṁśayaḥ	Yaḥ prayāti tyajan dehaṁ sa yāti paramāṁ gatim	
viii. 20	Parāt tasmāt tu	Paras tasmāt tu	
viii. 20	vyakto 'vyaktaḥ	vyakto 'vyaktāt	
viii. 21	Avyaktaḥ kṣara ity uktaḥ	Avyakto 'kṣara ity uktaḥ	
viii. 21	Yat prāpya	Yam prāpya	
viii. 23	prayāntā	prayātā	
viii. 26	same	mate	
viii. 27	gatī	sṛtī	
ix. 6	vāyur nityam	nityaṁ vāyuḥ	
ix. 8	adhiṣṭhāya	avaṣṭabhya	
ix. 12	mohinīṁ sthitāḥ	mohinīṁ śritāḥ	
ix. 13	āsthitāḥ	āśritāḥ	
ix. 21	puṇye kṣīṇe	kṣīṇe puṇye	
ix. 22	dadāmy aham	vahāmy aham	
ix. 34	satyaṁ te pratijāne priyo 'si me	yuktvaivam ātmānam matparāyaṇaḥ	Influence of xviii. 65
x. 4	śamo damaḥ	damaś śamaḥ	
x. 9	stoṣyanti ramayanti ca	tuṣyanti ca ramanti ca	Mend grammar
x. 14	yan mā	yan mām	
x. 14	vidur devamaharṣayaḥ	vidur devā na dānavāḥ	
x. 16	divyā ātmavibhūtayaḥ	divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ	
x. 21	aham aṁśumān	ravir aṁśumān	
x. 28	vajraḥ	vajram	
xi. 2	bhavâtyayau	bhavâpyayau	
xi. 8	śakyasi	śakyase	
xi. 8	dadāni	dadāmi	
xi. 14	Viṣṇum	devam	
xi. 20	vyāptāḥ	vyāptam	
xi. 24	anekavaktram	anekavarṇam	
xi. 27	daśanântarāle	daśanântareṣu	
xi. 28	viśanti	dravanti	
xi. 28	naradevalokāḥ	naralokavirāḥ	
xi. 29	samiddhavegāḥ	samṛddhavegāḥ	
xi. 32	pravṛddhān	pravṛddho	
xi. 32	Ṛte tvad ete	Ṛte 'pi tvām	
xi. 38	viśvam idam samastam	viśvam anantarūpa	
xi. 40	anantavīryo 'mita-	anantavīryâmita-	
xi. 41	yad uktaḥ	yad uktam	

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
xi. 41	he sakheti ca	he sakheti	
xi. 43	kuto nu	kuto 'nyo	
xi. 48	yajñâdhigamaiḥ	yajñâdhyayanaiḥ	
xi. 49	mā ca vimuḍhatā bhūt	mā ca vimuḍhabhāvo	
xii. 5	dehabhṛdbhiḥ	dehavadbhiḥ	
xii. 6	karmāṇi sarvāṇi	sarvāṇi karmāṇi	
xii. 8	nivatsyasi tvam	nivasiṣyasi	
xii. 9	Athâveśayituṁ cittam	Atha cittaṁ samādhātum	
xii. 10	asamarthaḥ san	asamartho 'si	
xii. 10	muktim	siddhim	
xii. 11	yatātmavāk	yatātmavān	
xii. 15	lokān nodvijate hi saḥ	lokān nodvijate ca yaḥ	
xiii. 1	veda tam	vetti tam	
xiii. 2	kṣetrajñam api	kṣetrajñaṁ câpi	
xiii. 3	yatsvabhāvaś ca	yatprabhāvaś ca	
xiii. 4	bahubhir gītam	bahudhā gītam	
xiii. 14	sarvataś caiva	sarvabhṛc caiva	
xiii. 16	Avibhaktaṁ vibhakteṣu	Avibhaktaṁ ca bhūteṣu	
xiii. 17	hṛdi sarvasya madhyagam	................dhiṣṭhitam	
xiii. 21	guṇasaṅgasya	guṇasaṅgo 'sya	
xiii. 22	kartā	bhartā	
xiii. 25	caivam ajānantaḥ	tvevam ajānantaḥ	
xiii. 26	kiñcit sambhavati	saṁjāyate kiñcit	
xiv. 12	karmaṇo manasaḥ	karmaṇām aśamaḥ	
xiv. 16	nirmalaṁ sāttvikam	sāttvikaṁ nirmalam	
xiv. 17	jāyetāṁ tamaso	tamaso bhavataḥ	
xv. 1	tasya	yasya	
xv. 4	gato na nivarteta	gatā na nivartanti	Grammar
xv. 6	yad bhāsayate	tad bhāsayate	
xv. 10	Tiṣṭhantam utkrāmantaṁ vā	Utkrāmantaṁ sthitaṁ vâpi	
xv. 11	yoginaś caiva	yoginaś cainam	
xvi. 7	Nâśaucaṁ vâpi	Na śaucaṁ nâpi	
xvi. 10	prabhavanto 'śucivratāḥ	pravartante 'śucivratāḥ	
xvi. 15	dāsyāmi madiṣye	dāsyāmi modiṣye	
xvi. 15	ityājñāna-	ityajñāna-	
xvi. 19	āsureṣveva	āsurīṣveva	
xvii. 13	Śraddhāvivarjitam	Śraddhāvirahitam	
xviii. 3	Tyāgaṁ doṣavad	Tyājyaṁ doṣavad	
xviii. 5	Yaśo dānaṁ	Yajño dānaṁ	
xviii. 18	karmavedanā	karmacodanā	
xviii. 28	dīrghasūtraś ca	dīrghasūtrī ca	
xviii. 40	no punaḥ	vā punaḥ	
xviii. 49	Niṣkarma-	Naiṣkarmya-	
xviii. 57	śuddhiyogam	buddhiyogam	
xviii. 59	âhayṁkāram upāśritya	yad ahaṁkāram āśritya	
xviii. 72	Kvacid	Kaccid	

APPENDIX 3: Select List of Individual Variants from Some of the Mss. collated at Poona

Adhyāya Śloka	Variant given	Ms. giving it	Vulgate reading
i. 20	śastrasaṁghāte	G	......sampāte
i. 43	kuladharmāḥ sanātanāḥ	F	.........ca śāśvatāḥ
ii. 2	ayaśaskaram	C	akīrtikaram
ii. 22	gṛṇhāti navāni	A	saṁyāti navāni
ii. 34	kīrtayiṣyanti	C	kathayiṣyanti
ii. 37	bhokṣyase bhuvam	A[1]	.........mahīm
ii. 46	bhūteṣu	H	Vedeṣu
ii. 53	niṣphalā	*B*[1]	niścalā
ii. 55	sthiraprajñaḥ	E	sthitaprajñaḥ
ii. 72	paraṁ nirvāṇam	G	Brahmanirvāṇam
iii. 6	āste ca	A	ya āste
iii. 7	ārabhate naraḥ	A[4]	ārabhate 'rjuna
iii. 14	Dharmād bhavati parjanyo	G[1]	Annād bhavati...........
iii. 16	pravartitaṁ karma	G[1]	...............cakram
iii. 26	sevayet sarvakarmāṇi	G	joṣayet ....
iii. 26	vidvān muktaḥ	H	vidvān yuktaḥ
iii. 29	Tān a-Kṛṣṇavido....Kṛṣṇavin	A[2]	......akṛtsnavido......kṛtsnavin
iii. 43	saṁyamya	G[3]	saṁstabhya
iv. 4	proktavān asi	A	proktavān iti
iv. 20	nirāmayaḥ	A[4]	nirāśrayaḥ
v. 5	jñānam	M[4]	sthānam
v. 21	Brahmalokayuktâtmā	M[2]	Brahmayoga.........
vi. 3	Ārurukṣor muner yogaṁ vindatyātmani yat sukham । (= v. 21*b*) Sa Brahmayogayuktâtmā (= v. 21*c*) karma kāraṇam ucyate ॥	G[1]	.... karma kāraṇam ucyate । Yogârūḍhasya tasyaiva śamaḥ kāraṇam ucyate ॥
vi. 28	madbhakto nānyamānasaḥ (cf. vi. 15 in App. 1)	*B*[2]	yogī vigatakalmaṣaḥ
vii. 2	Jñānaṁ jñeyaṁ	C	Jñānaṁ te 'haṁ
vii. 8	prabhāsaḥ	Java	prabhâsmi
vii. 20	niścayam āsthāya	F	niyamam āsthāya
vii. 29	yajanti ye	E	yatanti ye
viii. 11	Brahmavido	C	Vedavido
viii. 22	Puruṣaḥ paramaḥ	*B*[1]	Puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ
ix. 1	Yac chrutvā	P[2]	Yaj jñātvā
ix. 4	avyayamūrtinā	A[1]	avyaktamūrtinā
ix. 11	sarvamaheśvaram	H	bhūtamaheśvaram
ix. 17	Viśvam pavitram	G	Vedyam pavitram
ix. 32	te yānti paramām	A[4]	te 'pi yānti parām
ix. 33	rājarṣisattamāḥ	A[2]	rājarṣayas tathā
x. 6	Madbhāvā mānuṣā	M[2]	Madbhāvā mānasā
x. 7	So 'vikalpena yogena	K[1]	So 'vikampena......
x. 24	Purodhānām	G[1]	Purodhasām

Adhyāya Śloka	Variant given	Ms. giving it	Vulgate reading
x. 28	Prajaneṣu ca	M[5]	Prajanaś câsmi
xi. 3	Parameśvara	*B*[1]	Puruṣottama
xi. 16	viśveśvara viśvamūrte	A[2]	............viśvarūpa
xi. 17	sarvato dīptimantam	T[c]	durnirīkṣyaṁ samantāt
xi. 48	śakyas tv aham	*B*[3]	śakya aham
xii. 8	Dhanaṁjaya	A[1]	na saṁśayaḥ
xii. 13	karuṇa ātmavān	F	karuṇa eva ca
xii. 16	dṛḍhavyathaḥ	M[2]	gatavyathaḥ
xii. 20	bhaktyā te	K[1]	bhaktās te
xiii. 1	tad viduḥ	D	tadvidaḥ
xiii. 4	viniścitaḥ	D[1]	viniścitaiḥ
xiii. 7	Adānitvam	A[4]	Amānitvam
xiii. 17	tad yonis	D	taj jyotis
xiii. 24	Jñānenâtmani	A[1]	Dhyānenâtmani
xiii. 25	mṛtyusaṁsārasāgarāt	G	mṛtyuṁ śrutiparāyaṇāḥ
xiii. 30	Tata eva ca kartāram	T[a]	.................vistāram
xiv. 4	jīvapradaḥ	E	bījapradaḥ
xiv. 12	pravṛddhe	A[4]	vivṛddhe
xiv. 20	dehaṁ dehasamudbhavān	T[c]	dehī ....
xiv. 24	tulyanindâtmasaṁsthitiḥ	E	.... saṁstutiḥ
xv. 7	jīvalokaḥ	D	jīvabhūtaḥ
xv. 15	amohanaṁ ca	A[4]	apohanaṁ ca
xvi. 6	bhūtasaṁghau	H	bhūtasargau
xvi. 14	ahaṁ yogī	F	aham bhogī
xvi. 16	kāmalobheṣu	B[3]	kāmabhogeṣu
xvii. 2	svabhāvataḥ	F	svabhāvajā
xvii. 9	duḥkhaśokâbhaya-	C	duḥkhaśokâmaya-
xvii. 13	asṛṣṭhārtham	*B*[2]	asṛṣṭânnam
xviii. 6	vratam uttamam	N	matam uttamam
xviii. 18	karmanodanā	E	karmacodanā
xviii. 42	śāntir ārjavam	F	kṣāntir ārjavam
xviii. 56	padam ātmanaḥ	T[c]	padam avyayam
xviii. 78	Pārtho Dhanaṁjayaḥ	F	.... dhanurdharaḥ

APPENDIX 4 (ABCD): Cases where "Kashmirian" Readings are Current widely Outside Kashmir

A—Kashmirian Readings adopted for the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian variant"	Mss. giving the variant (Vulgate reading if different)
i. 11	Ayaneṣu tu	Ś$K^1AT^2HM^1M^3M^4M^5M^8B^1$ —Vulgate: Ayaneṣu ca
ii. 7	Pṛcchāmi tvā	Ś$K^1DD^{n3}M^2T^2G^1G^2G^4A^3P^1M^1M^4M^5M^8$ —Vulgate: Pṛcchāmi tvām
iii. 2	Vyāmiśreṇaiva	$K^1ABB^2CB^3DD^1EFM^2G^3D^{n3}T^2GHMG^1G^2P^1P^3M^1M^8A^1A^2A^3ST^aT^bB^1B^2B^3B^4B^8M^sT^dT^eT^fT^gT^iT^jM^3M^4$ —Vulgate: Vyāmiśreṇeva
xi. *21a*	tvā sura-	This is Śaṅkara's text supported by several Mss. from South —Vulgate: tvāṁ sura- (?)
xi. *32c*	Ṛte 'pi tvā	Śaṅkara reads tvā, and the Vulgate seems to have been the same, though it often appears as tvām
xvi. *13b*	idam prāpsye manoratham	Ś$K^1ABCDED^aD^{n1}M^1G^2A^1A^2A^4P^1T^2G^4M^3M^4M^5M^8T^aT^bT^cT^dT^eT^f$ Śaṅkara reads idam, but the Vulgate has imam
xviii. 28	Śaṭho naikṛtiko	Ś$K^1DEA^1A^2A^4BB^2B^3D^1D^{n3}FM^2D^aGG^3HMNM^1G^2T^2G^4$. Nīlakaṇṭha explains naikṛtika, and that may be Śaṅkara's reading. The Vulgate has naiṣkṛtiko

B—Kashmirian Reading hesitatingly Adopted for the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Sloka	" Kashmirian reading"	Mss. giving " K " reading (Vulgate text, if different)
i. 28*b*	sīdamāno 'bravīd idam	Ś$K^{1}HT^{a}B^{1}B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}B^{8}$ —Vul. : viṣīdann idam abravīt
i. 28*cd*	Dṛṣṭvemān svajanān Kṛṣṇa yuyutsūn samupasthitān	Ś$K^{1}EHB^{1}B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}B^{8}AA^{4}$ —Vul. : .....imaṃ....svajanaṁ... yuyutsuṁ...... samupasthitam
ii. 3	Mā klaibyaṁ gaccha Kaunteya	Ś$AT^{2}A^{2}A^{4}T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}B^{1}B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}B^{8}$ —Vul. : Klaibyaṃ mā sma gamaḥ Pārtha
xi. 24*c*	Dṛṣṭvā hi tvā	$BB^{2}DB^{3}D^{n3}M^{2}D^{1}G^{3}$Ś$D^{n}T^{2}G^{1}HM^{5}$ $NGG^{2}P^{1}P^{2}G^{4}M^{1}M^{8}A^{1}A^{2}A^{4}T^{b}T^{e}$ $T^{f}T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}M^{8}M^{4}$ —Vulgate & Śaṅkara :......tvām

C—Vulgate Reading hesitatingly Retained in the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Śloka	" Kashmirian reading " Mss. in support	Vulgate reading Mss. in support
i. 8*b*	Kṛpaḥ Śalyo Jayadrathaḥ Ś$K^{1}AFHA^{4}$	Kṛpaś ca samitiṁjayaḥ All the rest
i. 8*d*	Saumadattiś ca vīryavān Ś$K^{1}AFHA^{4}$	Saumadattir Jayadrathaḥ All the rest
ii. 1	Sīdamānam idaṁ vākyam Ś$CFA^{2}B^{1}B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}$	Viṣīdantam idaṁ vākyam All the rest
x. 42*b*	jñānena Ś$K^{1}D^{1}ED^{n3}FD^{a}D^{n}G^{1}G^{2}P^{1}$ $A^{1}A^{4}T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}M^{4}$	jñātena All the rest
xi. 19*c*	Paśyāmi tvā Ś$G^{3}T^{2}G^{1}G^{2}G^{4}M^{1}M^{8}T^{e}T^{f}$- $T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}M^{3}M^{4}M^{5}$	Paśyāmi tvām All the rest; also Śaṅkara
xi. 22*d*	vīkṣante tvām	vīkṣante tvā*
xii. 18	Mānāvamānayoḥ Ś$D^{1}M^{2}G^{3}G^{2}G^{1}G^{4}M^{1}M^{8}M^{3}M^{4}$- $M^{5}T^{e}T^{f}T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}$	Mānāpamānayoḥ All the rest

* Śaṅkara reads tvā and is supported by Mss. $CM^{2}T^{2}G^{1}M^{5}T^{g}T^{i}T^{j}M^{3}M^{4}$.

D—" Kashmir Reading " Supported widely by non-Kashmir Mss.

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian reading" (Vulgate reading)	Mss. supporting " K"
ii. 10	*sīdamānam* idam vacaḥ (viṣīdantam......vākyam)	Ś$AT^2A^1T^fB^1B^2B^4B^3$ (See p. 23 above)
v. 21	vindaty ātmani *yaḥ* sukham (......... yat ....)	Ś$AFG^2M^8A^1A^3M^3M^4M^5$ (See p. 26 above)
v. 26	Kāmakrodhavi*mu*ktānām (...viyuktānām)	Ś$AA^2A^4T^bT^dT^f$
vi. 7	Mānā*va*mānayoḥ (cp. xii. 18 in App. 4C) (Mānāpa......)	Ś$D^1G^1G^2G^4M^1M^8A^3T^eT^fT^gT^iT^j$ $M^3M^4M^5$
vi. 21	Sukhaṁ ātyantikaṁ *yatra* (............yat tat)	ŚK^1H; $B^2B^3B^4B^8$ read yat tu; see p. 28 above
vi. 44	avaśo 'pi *san*; (......saḥ)	$K^1ACFHM^8M^3$
vii. 18	me *mataḥ* (see p. 28 above) (me matam)	Ś$AM^1A^1B^1M^4M^5$
xi. 17	*tvā* durnirīkṣyam; (tvām.........)	$D^1T^2G^2G^4M^1M^8T^eT^fT^gT^iM^5M^4M^5$
xi. 28	abhi*to* *jva*lanti; (abhivijvalanti)	Ś$A^2B^1B^2B^3B^4B^8$
xi. 30	pratapanti *Viṣṇoḥ*; (...Viṣṇo)	$BD^1M^2HNG^4M^8M^1M^3M^4$
xi. 48	*Śakyam ahaṁ* nṛloke (Śakya ahaṁ......)	$DD^1FM^2G^3T^2G^4A^4M^5$
xiii. *1 "Ca"	Prakṛtim puruṣaṁ caiva &c. (The extra stanza); puts this in Kṛṣṇa's mouth, and he is alone there	$K^1ABB^5CEFM^2D^aG^3D^nGT^2HN$ $G^2P^1A^1A^4$Ś$B^2B^3B^4B^8T^aT^cT^d$ $T^fT^gT^iT^j$
xiii. 1	kṣetra*jñam* iti; (kṣetrajña iti)	ŚABB^2CM^2A
xiii. 13	pāṇipā*dāntam*; (pāṇipādaṁ tam)	Ś$BCDHNP^2A^4T^e$
xiv. 25	mānā*va*mānayoḥ (see vi. 7 above)	Ś$D^1G^3G^1T^2G^2T^fT^gT^iT^jM^3M^4G^4$
xvi. 8	*ahe*tukam (see p. 30 above)	$K^1DHG^1G^2G^4$
xvi. 16	*niraye*; (narake)	$AGEA^2B^3B^4$
xviii. 6	etāny api *ca*; (.........tu)	$HA^4P^2G^2T^2M^5$
xviii. 22	*ahe*tukam (see p. 30 above)	K^1B^4ŚG^4HT^h
xviii. 25	ana*ve*kṣya; (anapekṣya)	$ABEFK^1B^3D^1D^nT^2G^4M^3M^4$
xviii. 68	asaṁśa*yam*; (asaṁśayaḥ)	$ADMA^1A^2T^aT^eM^5$
xviii. 77	mahā*rāja*; (mahān rājan)	FD^aTM^t; DHA^4Ś read mahā*rājan* (!)

APPENDIX 5 (A-B-C-D-E): List of Variants that can be regarded as Peculiar to Kashmirian Version

A—Cases where SCHRADER'S "K" is supported by Ś alone

Adhyāya Sloka	Reading of "K" and Ś (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 35	kim u mahīkṛte (kiṁ nu mahīkṛte)	
ii. 21	hanyate hanti vā katham (kaṁ ghātayati hanti kam)	See p. 24 above
ii. 42	Vedavādaparāḥ (Vedavādaratāḥ)	
ii. 43	janmakarmaphalepsavaḥ (janmakarmaphalapradām)	The use of *prati* (43 end) is peculiar: the construction is: Bhogeśvaryagatim prati yāṁ vācaṁ vadanti tayā &c. Prati = concerning. Gatim prati specifies vācam. The variant was due to misunderstanding
ii. 47	Karmaṇy astv adhikāras te (Karmaṇy evâdhikāras te)	
ii. 50	jahātîme; (jahātîha)	
ii. 54	vrajec ca kim; (vrajeta kim)	"ca" can easily be supplied
ii. 58	sthita(S., sthira) prajñas tadôcyate (tasya prajñā pratiṣṭhitā)	Influence of *55d*? Deliberate repetition of tasya prajñā &c. four times in the Vulgate
ii. 60	Yat tasyâpi hi; (Yatato hy api)	See p. 24 above
ii. 61	saṁyamya manasā; (sarvāṇi saṁyamya)	
ii. 63	tatparaḥ; (matparaḥ)	The variant may appear justified because here, without any preparation, Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with the Divinity. Cp. vi. 14*d*, where the ground is prepared. But Chap. ii already envisages the ultimate view-point
ii. 64	Rāgadveṣaviyuktas tu (Cr) (Rāgadveṣaviyuktais tu)	The repeated word has force
ii. 69*d*	sā rātriḥ; (sā niśā)	
iii. 22	pravarte 'tha ca (varta eva ca)	"varte" goes better with the following varteyam
iii. 27	guṇaiḥ karmāṇi bhāgaśaḥ (guṇaiḥ karmāṇi sarvaśaḥ)	It is doubtful if the guṇas can work bhāgaśaḥ. Action results from their togetherness.
iii. 35	paradharmodayād api (paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ)	"Paradharmodaya" can mean udaya of paradharma, not one's udaya in paradharma
v. 1	viniścitam; (suniścitam)	
v. 3	bandhād vimucyate (...... pramucyate)	

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of " K " and Ś (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
v. 17	jñānanirdhautakalmaṣāḥ (jñānanirdhūtakalmaṣāḥ)	
v. 24	Antaḥsukhaḥ; (Yo'ntaḥsukhaḥ)	
v. 26	Sa Pārtha paramaṁ yogam (Sa yogī Brahmanirvāṇam)	Cp. variant to ii. 72 in App. 3; gloss ousting text in both cases
vi. 7	parātmasu samā matiḥ (paramātmā samāhitaḥ)	See pp. 26–28 above
vi. 16a	Yogo 'sti naivâtyaśataḥ (Nâtyaśnatas tu yogo 'sti)	See p. 28 above
vi. 16b	nâtijāgarato 'rjuna (jāgrato naiva cârjuna)	" " "
vi. 19	yogam ātmani; (yogam ātmanaḥ)	
vi. 28	yogī niyatamānasaḥ (yogī vigatakalmaṣaḥ)	Obviously reminiscent of vi. 15b above
vi. 40	jātu; (tāta)	
vi. 43	Tato bhūyo 'pi yatate (Yatate ca tato bhūyaḥ)	
vii. 2	na punaḥ kiṁcit (neha bhūyo 'nyat)	
vii. 9	Puṇyaḥ pṛthivyāṁ gandho 'smi (Puṇyo gandhaḥ pṛthivyāṁ ca)	
vii. 18	mamaivânuttamām; (mām evânuttamām)	The sense intended is that he reaches not my goal, but me who am the goal
vii. 26	bhaviṣyanti; (bhaviṣyāṇi)	
vii. 28	antaṁ gatam; (antagatam)	
viii. 11	-âbhidhāsye; (pravakṣye)	
viii. 26	śuklakṛṣṇagatī; (śuklakṛṣṇe gatī)	
ix. 14	kīrtayantaś ca; (kīrtayanto mām)	The object mām is wanted
x. 19	vibhūtīr ātmanaḥ śubhāḥ (divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ)	
x. 22	Sāmavedo 'ham; (Sāmavedo 'smi)	
x. 25	japayajño 'ham; (japayajño 'smi)	
x. 27	Airāvaṇam; (Airāvatam)	Java version has Airāvaṇo
x. 41	avagaccheḥ; (avagaccha)	Potential weaker than Imperative
xi. 6	Pāṇḍava; (Bhārata)	
xi. 26	Amī sarve; (Amī ca tvām)	
xi. 44	priyasyârhasi; (priyāyârhasi)	See p. 29–30 above
xi. 54	śakyo hy aham; (śakya aham)	Attempt to avoid awkward Saṁdhi.
xii. 15	–bhayakrodhaiḥ; (–bhayodvegaiḥ)	
xii. 17	śubhâśubhaphalatyāgī (śubhâśubhaparityāgī)	See xiv. 25 below
xiii. 4	viniścitam; (viniścitaiḥ)	See p. 30 above
xiii. 29	Prakṛtyaiva hi; (Prakṛtyaiva ca)	
xiv. 17	jāyete tamaso; (tamaso bhavato)	Ś however reads jāyetām
xiv. 25	Sarvârambhaphalatyāgī (Sarvârambhaparityāgī)	See xii. 17 above
xv. 4	nivarteta; (nivartanti)	Attempt to mend grammar

B—Cases where "K" is Supported by only One allied–Kashmirian Ms. (K[1] or A)

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K" and one allied-Kashmirian Ms. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 32	na rājyaṁ na sukhāni ca (K[1]) (na ca rājyaṁ sukhāni ca)	
iii. 31	anuvartanti (A) ; (anutiṣṭhanti)	
x. 13	bravīṣi mām (A) ; (bravīṣi me)	
xiv. 10	Bhārata vardhate (A) (bhavati Bhārata)	
xv. 14	āsthitaḥ (A) ; (āśritaḥ)	
xvii. 2	tāḥ śṛṇu (A) ; (tāṁ śṛṇu)	Attempt of a grammatical purist
xviii. 24	kleśabahulam (A) ; (bahulâyāsam)	
xviii. 24	iti smṛtam (A) ; (udāhṛtam)	
xviii. 61	hṛdy eṣa vasate 'rjuna (A) (hṛddeśe 'rjuna tiṣṭhati)	

C—Cases where " K " is Supported by Two Mss., at least one of them Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of " K ", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 21	ubhayoḥ senayor (ŚK); (senayor ubhayor)	
i. 39	sampaśyadbhiḥ (ŚK^1); (prapaśyadbhiḥ)	
i. 47	utsṛjya (ŚK^1) ; (visṛjya)	
ii. 5*b*	cartum (ŚA^2) ; (bhoktum)	
ii. 5*cd*	Na tv arthakāmas tu gurūn nihatya (ŚK^1) (Hatvârthakāmāṁs tu gurūn ihaiva	See p. *22* above
ii. 41	buddhir ekaiva (ŚE) ; (......ekeha)	" iha " is wanted
iii. 23	na varteya (ŚF) ; (na varteyam)	See p. 25
iii. 41	prajahīhy enam (ŚF) ; (prajahihy enam)	
iv. 13	guṇakarmavibhāgataḥ (ŚB) ; (...vibhāgaśaḥ)	
iv. 23	Yajñāyârabhataḥ (ŚK^1) ; (Yajñāyâcarataḥ)	Ś reads ābharataḥ
v. 23	sa yogī sa sukhī mataḥ (ŚA) (sa yuktas......naraḥ)	ŚA however give paramo for sa sukhī
viii. 14	nityayuktasya dehinaḥ (ŚM^5) (.........yoginaḥ)	" dehinaḥ " is flat
ix. 7	yānti māmakīm (ŚF) ; (......māmikām)	
ix. 31	madbhaktaḥ (ŚA^1) ; (me bhaktaḥ)	
x. 29	saṁyaminām (ŚA) ; (saṁyamatām)	V. is *lectio difficilior*
xi. 4	Yogīśvara (ŚG^4) ; (Yogeśvara)	
xii. 8	yogam uttamam āsthitaḥ (ŚA) (ata ūrdhvaṁ na saṁśayaḥ)	"K" avoids hiatus mayyeva+ataḥ
xii. 9	athâveśayituṁ cittam (ŚA) (atha cittaṁ samādhātum)	Ś gives it on the margin
xv. 3	asaṅgaśastreṇa śitena (ŚA) (...........dṛḍhena)	"K" probably a gloss; cp. Śaṅkara on it
xvi. 8	***akiṁcitkam*** ahetukam (HK^1) (kimanyatkāmahaitukam)	See p. 30 above
xvi. 19	aśubhāsu (HK^1); (aśubhān)	See p. 31 above
xviii. 28	dīrghasūtraś ca (ŚG^4); (dīrghasūtrī ca)	

D—Cases where "K" is Supported by Three Mss. with at least one Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 24	ubhayoḥ senayor; (ŚK¹H); (senayor ubhayor)	See i. 21 (App. 5C)
i. 30	Sraṁsate Gāṇḍivaṁ hastāt (ŚK¹H) (Gāṇḍīvaṁ sraṁsate hastāt)	
i. 33	Ta eva me sthitā yoddhum (ŚK¹H) (Ta ime 'vasthitā yoddhum)	
ii. 12	na hy evâham (ŚA³A⁴); (na tv evâham)	See p. 24 above
v. 5	tad yogair anugamyate (ŚK¹H) (tad yogair api gamyate)	See discussion on pp. 32–33 above
viii. 17	ye Brahmaṇaḥ viduḥ (ŚK¹H) (yad Brahmaṇaḥ viduḥ)	See p. 29 above
ix. 8	Bhūtagrāmam idam (ADA²); (......imam)	
xi. 9	mahāyogīśvaro (ŚK¹T¹); (mahāyogeśvaro)	See xi. 4 (App. 5C)
xi. 21	Svastīti coktvaiva maharṣisaṁghāḥ (ŚK¹H) (Svastīty uktvā maharṣisiddhasaṁghāḥ)	Metre slightly improved by "K"
xi. 41	mahimānaṁ tavemam (SAB³); (....tavedam)	"K" regularises grammar
xii. 11	madyogam āsthitaḥ (ŚDᵃ) (madyogam āśritaḥ)	Noteworthy is the variant udyogam āśritaḥ of M³ & others
xv. 4	Tataḥ paraṁ tat (ŚDTᵃ); (..... padaṁ.....)	

E—Cases where "K" is Supported by Four Mss. with at least one Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 9	nānāyuddhaviśāradāḥ (ŚK¹HA⁴) (sarve yuddhaviśāradāḥ)	
i. 18	Pāñcālaś ca maheṣvāso Draupadeyāś ca pañca ye (ŚAFH) (Drupado Draupadeyāś ca sarvaśaḥ pṛthivīpate)	
ii. 26	Athavainaṁ (ŚM³M⁴M⁸); (Atha cainaṁ)	
ii. 35	Eṣāṁ ca tvam (HG¹G²M⁴); (Yeṣāṁ ca tvam)	See p. 24 above
xiv. 35	bhūtāny aśeṣāṇi (ŚAEM²); (........aśeṣeṇa)	"Case-attraction"?
vi. 13	acalaḥ sthitaḥ (ŚM¹M⁴G³) (acalaṁ sthiraḥ)	
i. 11	–mālāmbara– (ŚK¹HG); (–mālyāmbara–)	
xi. 26	sarvaiḥ sahaivâvanipālasaṁghaiḥ (ŚG³P¹M⁸) (sarve ....)	

APPENDIX 6 A–B–C : Additional Stanzas and Half-stanzas and Omissions in the Bhagavadgītā

A—Additions and Omissions in the " Kashmirian Recension "

Reference in Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After ii. 10	त्वं मानुष्येणोपहतान्तरात्मा विषादमोहाभिभवाद्विसंज्ञः । कृपागृहीतः समवेक्ष्य बन्धून् अभिप्रपन्नान्मुखमन्तकस्य ॥ (Given also by Ś)	–See p. 19 above
After ii. 48	यस्य सर्वे समारम्भा निराशीर्बन्धनास्त्विह । त्यागे यस्य हुतं सर्वं स त्यागी स च बुद्धिमान् ॥ (Given also by Ś)	–Seems to be a weak imitation of iv. 19
After iii. 37	भवत्येष कथं कृष्ण कथं चैव विवर्धते । किमात्मकः किमाचारस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व पृच्छतः ॥ श्रीभगवानुवाच । एष सूक्ष्मः परः शत्रुर्देहिनामिन्द्रियैः सह । सुखतन्त्र इवासीनो मोहयन् पार्थ तिष्ठति ॥ कामक्रोधमयो घोरः स्तम्भहर्षसमुद्भवः । अहंकारोऽभिमानात्मा दुस्तरः पापकर्मभिः ॥ हर्षमस्य निवर्त्यैष शोकमस्य ददाति च । भयं चास्य करोत्येष मोहयंस्तु मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ स एष कलुषः क्षुद्रश्छिद्रप्रेक्षी धनंजय । रजःप्रवृत्तो मोहात्मा मनुष्याणामुपद्रवः ॥	*N. B.*—The variants given by SCHRADER or by our own Kashmirian & allied-"K" Mss. are not repeated here –On the nature of this addition see p. 19 above –The stanzas are given also by our Mss. ŚA
After v. 17	स्मरन्तोऽपि मुहुस्त्वेतत्स्पृशन्तोऽपि स्वकर्मणि । शक्ता अपि न सज्जन्ते पङ्के रविकरा इव ॥ (Not given by any other Mss.)	–SCHRADER (p. 10) concedes that this may be a later addition
After vi. 9	Same as Vulgate v. 19	–Not in any other Ms.
After vi. 37	लिप्समानः सतां मार्गं प्रमूढो ब्रह्मणः पथि । अनेकचित्तो विभ्रान्तो मोहस्यैव वशं गतः ॥	–Given by ŚK^{1}E
After vii. 23*ab*	देवान् देवयजो यान्ति [सिद्धान् यान्ति सिद्धव्रताः । भूतान् भूतयजो. यान्ति] मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥ (Not in any other Ms.)	–Added half-stanza is shown within square brackets

Reference in Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
After viii. *22ab*	यं प्राप्य न पुनर्जन्म लभन्ते योगिनोऽर्जुन । (Not in any other Ms.)	
After ix. 6	एवं हि सर्वभूतेषु चराम्यनभिलक्षितः । भूतप्रकृतिमास्थाय सह चैव विनैव च ॥	–Given by A
After xi. 27	नानारूपैः पुरुषैर्योधमाना विशन्ति ते वक्त्रमचिन्त्यरूपम् । यौधिष्ठिरा धार्तराष्ट्राश्च योधाः शस्त्रैः कृत्ता विविधैः सर्व एव ॥ त्वत्तेजसा विहता नूनमेव तथा हीमे त्वच्छरीरप्रविष्टाः ॥ Given by Ś and A also	–It is a six-line Triṣṭubh verse
After xi. 39*ab*	अनादिमानप्रतिमप्रभावः सर्वेश्वरः सर्वमहाविभूते । (Given by ŚA)	–Half-Triṣṭ-ubh verse
After xi. 40*ab*	न हि त्वदन्यः कश्चिदस्तीह देव लोकत्रये दृश्यतेऽचिन्त्यकर्मा । (Given by ŚA)	– do –
After xi. 44	दिव्यानि कर्माणि तवाद्भुतानि पूर्वाणि पूर्वा(sic.) ऋषयः स्मरन्ति । नान्योऽस्ति कर्ता जगतस्त्वमेको धाता विधाता च विभुर्भवश्च ॥ तवाद्भुतं किं नु भवेदसह्यं किं वाशक्यं परतः कीर्तयिष्ये । कर्तासि सर्वस्य यतः स्वयं वै विभो ततः सर्वमिदं त्वमेव ॥ अत्यद्भुतं कर्म न दुष्करं ते कर्मोपमानं न हि विद्यते ते । न ते गुणानां परिमाणमस्ति न तेजसो नापि वलस्य नर्द्धः ॥	–Given also by SA
After xviii. 47*ab*	स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मोदयादपि । (Vulgate iii. 35 *cd* with a variant)	–Given also by A
	(ii) *Omissions*	
Stanzas ii. 66 and ii. 67	} Omitted	–See p. 20 above
v. 19	Omitted in proper place, but restored after vi. 9	
vii. 24	Conceded as accidental omission in Cr, as Ca comments upon it	

B—Additions and Omissions in Ms. Ś alone

Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After vi. 47	भगवन्नामसंप्राप्तिमात्रात् सर्वमवाप्यते । फलन्ति शालयः सम्यग्वृष्टिमात्रेऽवलोकिते ॥ (Found in Abhinavagupta's com.)	–Seems to be of the nature of a concluding summary
After vii. 30	स्फुटं भगवतो भक्तिर्विहिता कल्पमञ्जरी । साध्येच्छासमुच्चितां येनाशां परिपूरयेत् ॥ (Found in Ca)	— do —
After viii. 28	सर्वतत्त्वगतत्वेन विज्ञाते परमेश्वरे । अन्तर्बहिर्न सावस्था न यस्यां भासते विभुः ॥ (Found in Ca)	— do —
After xi. 27	सहस्रसूर्यात(प)संनिभानि तथा जगद्ग्रासकृतक्षणानि ।	Apparently to complete six-line Triṣṭubh (See p. 53)
	(ii) *Omissions*	
iii. 31*d* & iii. 32*a*	Omitted owing to eye-wandering from the three syllables (sūyanto) at the end of iii. 31*c* to the same syllables at the end of iii. 32 *a*	

C—Additions and Omissions in other Mss.
(Not an exhaustive list)

Adhyāya and Stanza	Additions and Omissions (Mss. giving them)	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After viii. 11	सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति तपांसि सर्वाणि च यद्वदन्ति । यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण ब्रवीमि ॥ (Given by A[1] alone)	–It is Kaṭha Up. I. ii. 15
After ix. 5	सर्वगः सर्वविच्चिद्यः सर्वकृत्सर्वदर्शनः । सर्वतः सर्वदर्शी च सर्वात्मा सर्वतोमुखः ॥ (Given by A alone)	
After x. 38	ओषधीनां यवश्चास्मि धातूनामस्मि काञ्चनम् । सर्वासां तृणजातीनां दर्भोऽहं पाण्डुनन्दन ॥ (Given by the Javanese version)	
	(ii) *Omissions*	
xi. 26	Stanza omitted by H alone	
xvii. 27	" " " N "	
xvii. 24*cd*	The half-stanza omitted by H	

MINISTERS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

B. BHATTACHARYA, Baroda.

Rightly or wrongly, writers on Ancient Hindu Polity did not believe as much in democracy as we do in modern days. They did not believe in Absolute Monarchy either, but in a Limited Monarchy, by which the power of the Monarch was limited or circumscribed by a Council of Ministers. Through this body and with the counsel of ministers regal orders could be transmitted for execution. It was considered a good administration where the King and the Council were mutually afraid of each other. Examples of conflict between the King and his Council are not rare, and sometimes King's orders were annulled by the Council of Ministers. One famous instance is that of the Kṣatrapa King Rudradāman of Junagad who was obliged to repair the dam of the Sudarśana Lake from his privy purse at an enormous cost simply because the Council of Ministers did not approve of the project.

Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra mentions the scrupulous care with which worthy ministers could be secured for the State. The process involves repeated examination of prospective candidates or persons already in service for a pretty long time by offering them various temptations to test their integrity, loyalty, character and ability. The test is described as fourfold and is done with the assistance of the Chief Minister and the High Priest.

The method advocated by Kauṭilya is not only unique but also interesting, and though by now well known, is worth repeating here in brief. The test consists in offering temptations or allurements in four different ways, and they are called by Dr. SHAMA SHASTRI as : (1) religious allurement, (2) monetary allurement, (3) love allurement, and (4) allurement under fear.

In the first case, a Brahmin priest should be publicly asked to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person. When the priest refuses to do so, he should be dismissed. Then the dismissed priest through the medium of spies instigates each minister with a view to remove the unrighteous king, and have a new king installed. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called religious allurement.

Secondly, a Commander in the army should be dismissed from service on the ground of having received bribes ("condemnable things"—SHAMA SHASTRI). The disaffected Commander, through the agency of spies, should cleverly incite each minister to murder the king and thereby acquire immense wealth. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called monetary allurement.

Thirdly, a woman spy in the guise of an ascetic highly esteemed in the harem of the king may allure each minister by saying that the queen is enamoured of him and that arrangements have been made for his entrance into her private chamber. She should also indicate that this will certainly

lead to a large acquisition of wealth. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called love allurement.

A minister should induce other ministers to join him in a pleasure cruise. Apprehensive of danger, the king should put all of them under arrest, and deprive them of their rank and wealth. A spy should, thereafter, cleverly incite them to remove the king and place another in his stead. If the ministers refuse, they are considered pure. This is called the allurement under fear.

Such tests likewise in a more or less accentuated degree could be applied to other grades of servants of the State. Those who did not respond to religious allurement were considered fit for civil and criminal courts ; those who passed the second test were employed in revenue collection and as a Chamberlain ; those passing the third test were kept in charge of pleasure grounds ; and finally, those who passed the fourth test were employed for personal work of the king. Ministers and others were required to pass through all the tests. But there were others who succumbed to either one or all allurements, and they were given appointments in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories.

The qualifications of a minister required by Kauṭilya are exacting, and our present day ideas do not differ much from his views. A minister should belong to a high family, and be influential, well trained in arts, possessed of foresight, wise, of strong memory, bold, eloquent, skilful, intelligent, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity and endurance, pure in character, affable, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health and bravery, free from procrastination and ficklemindedness, affectionate and free from such qualities as excite hatred and enmity.

Kauṭilya asks the king to ascertain carefully these qualities through different sources instead of believing in them without proper scrutiny. Family and position are to be ascertained through reliable persons ; educational qualifications from those who are equally qualified ; knowledge, foresight, memory, etc. should be tested from successful application in works ; eloquence, skilfulness, flashing intelligence through conversation ; endurance and bravery in troubles ; purity of life, etc. by frequent association ; conduct, strength, wealth, dignity, etc. through intimate friends ; affection and philanthropy by personal experience.

These are in fact, the qualifications of ministers as laid down in Kauṭilya, and in later times also, there was very little to add. The Rājanītiprakāśa of Mitra Miśra cites an elaborate quotation from the Mahābhārata describing the qualifications of a minister, and as far as I know, covers all the qualifications known to the authors of Ancient Hindu Polity. The verses in question are quoted below :—

मन्त्रनिश्चयतत्त्वज्ञः षाड्गुण्यगुणवेदिनः ।
शक्तान् कुलोन्चितान् भक्तान् अनाक्षारितपूर्वकान् ॥
नीतिज्ञान् व्यवहारज्ञानितिहासार्थकोविदान् ।
इङ्गितज्ञानुपायज्ञान् शूरान् वीरान् कुलोद्गतान् ॥

सर्वकार्येषु निपुणानिष्वस्त्रविधिपारगान् ।
दुर्गयन्त्रविधानज्ञान् धर्मशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ॥

अक्षुद्रान् क्षमिणः प्राज्ञाननागतविधायिनः ।
आपत्या प्रतिकारज्ञांस्तदात्वे दृढनिश्चयान् ॥

द्विषन्मित्राद्युदासीनभावज्ञान् शंसितव्रतान् ।
स्वभावगुप्तानचलानचलानिव भारत ॥

धर्मशीलानकृपणांस्तथा सर्वोपधातिगान् ।
धिया सर्वान् सम्परीक्ष्य राजा कुर्वीत मन्त्रिणः ।
योऽस्य राजधुरं वोढुं समर्था सद्गवा इव ॥

राजनीति प्रकाश (Chowkhamba edition p. 310.)

"Oh king! Have care thy ministers be men
Well versed in the lore of politics
And the application of the guṇas six;
Of noble birth, devoted, quit of faults;
Good politicians, clever lawyers all;
Learned in history, to whom the signs
Read like an open book; knowing full well
What should be done and when, heroic, strong,
Well born, keen witted, that succeed in all
They undertake; well versed in the art
Of warfare and the strengthening of forts,
To make them impregnable; deeply learned
In Dharma Śāstras; broad of mind and swift
To mercy; wise, endowed with foresight and,
The wit to circumvent all future ills
And strength to face the present and subdue it;
Divining well the motives of their foes
Their friends and indifferent kings alike;
That act not without purpose well defined,
Can guard their secrets, and like rocks are firm,
Strictly religious, generous and immune
From all temptations; in a word, are strong
And fit, like patient cows, to bear
The burden of the State upon their backs."

In olden days when there were no colleges and universities conferring degrees, capable men had to be selected with scrupulous care, and responsible work could then be entrusted to them. Even in modern days, degrees do not have much value in the selection of very high officers like Ministers and even heads of departments. Once a person is selected after the tests prescribed in accordance with the precepts of the Nīti Śāstra, they were respected even by the king who rarely disregarded their advice. With reference to the Purohita or the Chief Minister, Kauṭilya says that the king should follow

him "as a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master." The same principle applies to others of high rank.

I mention this fact in order to contrast this position with that obtained in later times, when a complete reversal of relations took place. This will be evident from a passage which is cited from a later work, namely, the Mānasollāsa of the Western Cālukya King Someśvara, who wrote the work in A.D. 1131. There it is said that there are three kinds of kings. The king who is absolute is the best, the king whose kingdom is under the dual control of the king and the minister is of the second variety, and the king who is controlled by his ministers is the worst.

The nature of administration can be understood from the manner in which the Minister talks to persons coming to him on business: The Minister says that the Rāj is entirely in his control and the Rāja follows him; and that there is none who can oppose him in his actions.[1] This at once settles the fact that such a king belongs to the third class.

In a second class State the Minister talks in this strain: "Whatever recommendations I have sent up to the King he is bound to approve."[2] Here dual authority is indicated, and, therefore, it is a second class State.

The Minister talks in an entirely different strain in a first class State. "I am without power, and I cannot do anything without the express order of my Master."[3] The King whose Minister talks in this manner decidedly belongs to the first class.

Many more interesting references on this fascinating subject can be collected but I hope this short article will at least indicate the vicissitudes through which our ancient ministers passed, and maintained their dignified existence. An attempt has also been made to indicate how through the ages the minister who was originally one of the limbs of the State and a genuine helper and well wisher, in the earliest times, passed on to the position of a dignified officer even before the Muhammadans invaded this country.

1. मदधीनमिदं राज्यं राजा च वशगो मम ।
मया यत् क्रियते कार्यं तत्कार्यं केन लङ्घ्यते ॥ ६८८ ॥

Op. cit. p. 91.

2. विज्ञप्तं यन्मया कार्यमवश्यं मन्यते प्रभुः ।
इत्यारोप्य द्वयोः स्वाम्यं सचिवो यत् तु भाषते ॥ ६९० ॥

Op. cit. p. 91.

3. प्रभोराज्ञां विना नाहं समर्थः कार्यसिद्धये ।
इति भीत्या नृपे भक्त्या सचिवो यत्र वक्त्यलम् ॥ ६९२ ॥

Op. cit. p. 91.

THE PLACE OF THE KṚTYAKALPATARU IN DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE

By

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, Bhatpara.

Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana are the two nibandhakāras whose works are the guiding authorities in the social and religious life of a modern Bengali Hindu. These two authors have quoted many times in their treatises a work called *Kalpataru*. Srīkrishna Tarkālaṅkāra, the eighteenth century commentator of Śūlpāṇi's *Śrāddhaviveka*,[1] while interpreting the word "*Kalpataruḥ*," occurring in the second page of the book, was at a loss to find out whether it meant a work or an author, in which latter case he suggested the supply of the word *āha* (has said) to make the meaning clear.[2] Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati Miśra and Vardhamāna are the three prominent writers of dharmaśāstra who flourished in Mithilā in the 14th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. The *Kṛtyaratnākara*[3] of Caṇḍeśvara in its 24th[4] and 25th[5] introductory verses explicitly says that this *Kṛtyaratnākara* (lit. 'ocean of duties',) free from defects, holding the *Kalpavṛkṣa* (lit. wish-fulfilling tree), *Kāmadhenu* (lit. wish-fulfilling cow) and *pārijāta* (lit. celestial tree) in appropriate places, teeming with quotations from Viṣṇu, Vyāsa and others, and filled with nectar, has been prepared by Caṇḍeśvara, who is conversant with the Smṛtis and nigamas ; and that the experienced master of Polity (meaning the author Caṇḍeśvara) has considered all the subjects in which nothing has been said by the *Kāmadhenu*, nothing good has been conferred by the *Kalpataru*, and no scent of which has been held by the *Pārijāta*. The body of the work *Kṛtyaratnākara* contains twenty-one quotations from the *Kalpataru* and three from Lakṣmīdhara, who, as we shall see later on, is the author of the *Kalpataru*. The

1. MM. CAṆḌĪCARAṆA Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's ed. in Bengali characters.

2. तत्र श्राद्धलक्षणप्रसङ्गे कल्पतरुः अथैतदित्यादिब्राह्मणस्याहवनीयतुल्यतेत्यन्तः कल्पतरुनाम ग्रन्थः । कल्पतरुपदस्य ग्रन्थकारपरत्वे आहवनीयतुल्यतेत्यनन्तरमाहेति क्रियाध्याहारेणान्वयः (Ibid p. 3)

3. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1925.

4. बिभ्राणः कल्पवृक्षं क्वचन परिसरे कामधेनुं दधानः
क्वाप्यन्तः पारिजातं क्वचिदपि च दधद्दोषयादोविमुक्तः ।
श्रीमच्चण्डेश्वरेण स्मृतिनिगमविदा तन्यते तेन तद्वत्
विष्णुव्यासादिवाक्यस्फुरदमृतमयः कृत्यरत्नाकरोऽयम् ॥

5. यस्मिन्न किञ्चिदपि शंसति कामधेनु-
र्यत्रेष्टमल्पमपि कल्पतरुर्न दत्ते ।
धत्ते न गन्धमपि कश्चन पारिजात-
स्तत्सर्वमेष विविनक्ति नयप्रवीणः ॥

quotations from the *Kāmadhenu* and the *Pārijāta* are two and ten in number respectively. In the *Gṛhastharatnākara*,[1] another work of Caṇḍeśvara, *Kalpataru* has been quoted six times, *Kalpatarukāra* (i.e. the author of the *Kalpataru*) twice and Lakṣmīdhara eleven times. In the *Vivādaratnākara*,[2] a third work of Caṇḍeśvara, *Kalpataru* has been quoted eleven times, *Kalpatarukāra* once and Lakṣmīdhara six times. Vācaspati Miśra's *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*,[3] a fifteenth century nibandha of Mithilā, in its second introductory verse,[4] says that having carefully perused the *Kṛtyakalpadruma, Pārijāta, Ratnākara* and other words and after having bowed down to Madhusūdana (i.e. the god Viṣṇu), Vācaspati has prepared his work on Pilgrimages. Vācaspati further says in his introductory verse[5] to *Gayāvidhi* on p. 268 of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* that after having seen the *Vāyavya* (i.e. *Vāyupurāṇa*), *Gārutmata* (i.e. *Garuḍapurāṇa*) and *Kalpavṛkṣa* (i.e. *Kalpataru*), having discussed in the light of the Shastric reasoning and having bowed down to the Ādigadādhara (a form of Viṣṇu), Vācaspati is laying down the procedure of the holy place of the Fathers (i.e. Gayā). In this *Tīrthacintāmaṇi, Kalpataru* has been quoted four times and *Kalpatarukāra* twice. The *Daṇḍaviveka*[6] is the only published work of Vardhamāna, another fifteenth century nibandhakāra of Mithilā. Its third concluding verse[7] says that the author consulted the *Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Halāyudha, Dharmakoṣa, Smṛtisāra, Kṛtyasāgara, Ratnākara, Pārijāta,* the two *Saṁhitās* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* with commentaries, *Vyavahāratilaka, Pradīpikā* and *Pradīpa.* The quotations from the *Kalpataru* in the *Daṇḍaviveka* are forty-one in number and those from Lakṣmīdhara in that very work are two. The four published works of Govindānanda, a sixteenth century nibandhakāra of Bengal, are the *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[8] *Dānakriyākaumudī*,[9] *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*[10] and *Śuddhikaumudī*.[11] The first of these works quotes *Kalpataru* thrice, the second work quotes it once, the third work quotes it eleven times, and the fourth work only once. The *Śrāddhakriyā-*

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1. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1928.
2. Edited by the same, B. I., 1931.
3. Edited by the same, B. I., 1912.
4. श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम-पारिजात-रत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् ।
प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिन्तनोति ॥
5. वायव्य-गारुत्मत-कल्पवृक्षान् दृष्ट्वा विचार्य्यापि च शास्त्रयुक्त्या ।
तनोति नत्वाऽऽदिगदाधराय वाचस्पतिः श्रीपितृतीर्थसंस्थाम् ॥
6. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, G.O.S., 1931.
7. कल्पतरु-कामधेनु-हलायुधांश्च धर्म्मकोषं
स्मृतिसार-कृत्यसागर-रत्नाकर-पारिजातांश्च ।
टीकासहिते द्वे संहिते मनुयाज्ञवल्क्योक्ते
व्यवहारे तिलकञ्च प्रदीपिकाञ्च प्रदीपञ्च ॥
8. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1902.
9. Edited by the same, B. I., 1903.
10. Edited by the same, B. I., 1904.
11. Edited by the same, B. I., 1905.

kaumudī also quotes the *Kalpatarukāra* five times. The quotations from the *Kalpataru* in the twenty-eight works of Raghunandana are too numerous to be counted here.

A MS. of *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, consisting of twelve *Kāṇḍas* (or sections), has been noticed in the Udaipur Durbar Library (Peterson's First Report, 1883) and is the most complete MS. at present known. It has 1108 folios. Mr. KANE, the author of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*,[1] consulted some *kāṇḍas* of this MS. in Udaipur and identified[2] it to be nothing but the *Kalpataru*, or the *Kalpavṛkṣa* or the *Kṛtyakalpadruma*, quoted by later nibandhakāras. The work originally consisted of fourteen *kāṇḍas* as can be gathered from the quotations in later authors, of which twelve are now forthcoming. The author, Lakṣmīdhara, was the minister for peace and war of king Govindacandra of Kanouj, who reigned from 1114 to 1156, and so the former must have flourished during that period, i.e. the first half ot the twelfth century. But copies of his work became scarce, in Bengal even in the 18th century as is evident from the ludicrous remark of Srīkṛṣṇa, quoted above, because of the wholesale incorporation of its contents in later works. The Oriental Institute of Baroda has secured the Udaipur MS. in 1934 and entrusted Principal Rangaswami Iyengar of Benares with the editing of this old, rare and important Smṛti work. The copious quotations of Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati, Vardhamāna, Śūlapāṇi, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, who flourished in Bengal or Mithilā between the 14th and 16th centuries of the Christian era, amply prove the great influence the *Kṛtyakalpataru* exercised over the Bengal and Mithilā Schools of Hindu Religious Law. But the quality of its importance cannot be properly estimated and the quantity of indebtedness of the later authors cannot be properly verified until this monumental Smṛti work is finally released from the press.

1. Vol. I., Poona, 1930.
2. P. 315, *History of Dharmaśāstra*.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF AN UNPUBLISHED ROMANTIC MASNAVĪ OF AMIR HASAN DIHLAVĪ

By

M. I. BORAH, Dacca.

Amīr Najm u'd-Dīn Ḥasan Dihlavī son of Khwāja 'Alā u'd-Dīn Sistāni was one of the most important Indo-Persian poets who flourished during the late seventh and early eighth centuries of the Muslim era. His works were read and admired even beyond the confines of India and high compliments were paid to his genius by the poets and biographers of Iran. He was a contemporary of Amīr Khusru and a disciple of Shaykh Nizam u'd-Dīn Awlīa. He was the author of several Dīvāns and a number of Masnavīs and other prose works. But all his writings have not come down to us. His Dīvān which is available to us consists of a little over ten thousand couplets containing Qaṣidas, Ghazals, Qiṭ'as, Rubā'īs and Masnavīs. These poems have not yet been published and are to be found only in manuscripts preserved in European libraries. The Bodleian Library possesses two of the earliest copies of his Dīvān yet discovered. One of these manuscripts contains a romantic Masnavī called Ḥikāyat-i-'Āshiq-i-Nāgūrī, a very interesting love poem which is not found in any other existing copies of his Dīvāns. I shall try to give an account of this poem in the following pages:

This romantic Masnavī known also as the 'Ishq-Nāma deals with the love episode of a handsome youth and a young virgin belonging to the city of Nāgūr of Eastern Rājputana, which now forms a part of Jodhpur State. The whole poem consisting of six hundred and six couplets, according to the statement of the Poet, was composed during a single night on Monday the first of Zū'l-Hijja, A.H. 700/A.D. 1301.

The poem is modelled on the romance of Laylá and Majnún of Niẓámí of Ganja, which is one of the most popular love-stories in the East, and particularly in India. Khusraw the contemporary of our poet had also written on the same theme of romance, and he had composed five Masnavīs of this type, collectively known as Panj-Ganj (Five Treasures), dealing with the same legends as those of Niẓámí. But our poet did not follow his predecessors blindly. There is no doubt that he is indebted to Niẓámí for the main idea of his poem, but he has selected a theme of his own. The old Persian legends, which had been worn threadbare by other writers, did not afford sufficient scope for his imagination. He wanted to discover a new field for his poetic interpretation, and he found it in the Hindu tales. So he selected one of the love stories of his homeland and struck out a new

departure. The episode, he says, is not an invention of his imagination but a story well known in the country.[1]

نه از خود کردم این افسانه منظوم
که مشهورست این قصه در آن بوم

"This story was not weaved out of my own fancy.
It is a story well known in that country."

This was rather a bold step on his part to depict the ideal nature of love from the life-story of a young Hindu couple, which was not likely to be well received by the orthodox opinion of the time. The poet anticipated this danger before he began the book, so he replies to this possible charge of heresy in the concluding verses of his poem in the following way :—[2]

شمار عاشقی کاریست جانی
ز کفر و دین برون ست این معانی

"The feeling of love is a theme of the soul
It soars beyond faith and infidelity."

The poem opens in praise of God and the prophet and there follows a short eulogy addressed to Ḥasan's patron, Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljí. Then begins the actual story, which runs thus :—

"During the reign of a certain king there lived a governor in the city of Nágúr. He had built a magnificent palace in the city, surrounded by beautiful gardens, springs and wells. This place was often visited by young damsels of exceptional beauty who used to draw water from the wells.

One day a youth happened to pass by it and he became enraptured by the beauty of a damsel who was drawing water. He fell so violently in love with her that he lost control of his senses. His condition gradually became wretched and the whole story became known to the people. Then some of the learned Brahmins came to him and urged upon him to abandon this desire. They proved from their knowledge of astronomy that this union was impossible. But the youth did not pay heed to their counsel and his love for the damsel became more intense than before.

At last when this affair became talked of as a social scandal, one of the relatives of the girl went to the Proctor of the city and complained against the youth, accusing him of bringing disgrace and infamy upon their family, and demanded justice. The Proctor then arrested the youth and sent him to prison. Thus he passed his days in lamentation and confinement for a period of one year.

1. D. H. Bodl f. 282.
2. D. H. Bodl (Ouseley) 122, f. 282.

The youth then obtained his release from prison on the occasion of the accession of Sultan Ghiyáṣu'd-Dín-Balban to the throne of Delhi, when he issued a *Farmán* (decree) proclaiming a general amnesty to all the prisoners in his kingdom.[1] The youth, as soon as he received his freedom, ran towards the well where he first saw his beloved. There he met her again and told her in a touching manner of his pitiable sufferings on her account. The damsel gave him a few words of consolation, and asked him to be patient for some time more. The youth thus patiently passed a period of fourteen years in great misery, always expecting to have his desire fulfilled. At last the girl took pity on his condition ; she came and met him and promised to be united with him within a short time. The youth was overjoyed and waited eagerly. But a few days after, the damsel became seriously ill and died. Her body was then taken to be cremated by the Brahmins. When the youth heard the news of the death of his beloved he went mad and ran to the funeral place. He uttered the words "If union with you is denied to me in this world, I shall attain it in the next." Then to the amazement of all, he jumped on to the funeral pyre and was burnt along with his beloved, and thus their ashes were mixed together.

As examples of the manner of this poem, I give below a translation of a few passages, where the poet describes the youth's falling in love with the damsel and his soliloquy after this event :—

I.

There lived a youth of the caste of the scribe
A youth of vigilant heart, praised by the wise.
Steward-like, Saturn stands in front of him,
Held by the Indians in great esteem.
One day he strolled towards that spot
Where his heart an enchanting mistress found.
Like one circling round the spring of Hút[2]
He fell a victim to the well of Hárút and Márút.[3]

1. D. H., Bodl. f. 270.

چو نو شد سال سلطان سلاطین × مغیث الحق غیاث الدنیا والدین
بتخت ملک دهلی بادشاه شد × بسی محتاج را حاجت روا شد
اشارت داد آن گیتی خداوند × که بردارند از هر بندگی بند
چه درشهر وچه دراطراف و(اکناف)× همه محبوس را فرمود اطلاق

This fact of Balban's general amnesty to all the prisoners of the state has been curiously overlooked by the historians of this period.

2. Chashma-i-Hút = Chasma-i-Máhí, name of a spring coming near which any living thing drops dead. (Burhán-i-qáṭí'.)

3. Names of two angels, who having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man is subject. They could not withstand them ; they were seduced by women, and committed every kind of iniquity ; for which they were suspended by the

A damsel standing brisk and gay he saw
Water from the well and blood from him did draw.
An idol of Hindu stock, cruel as a Turk,
Sweet with her lips but cruel with her gaze.
The rope she cast into the bottom of the well,
Served for a ring of love round his neck.
The pail she drew out of the well
From the stream of his eyes brought pails full of blood.
The youth heaved a sigh from his distressed heart
Hard as a fire sprung from a stony bed.
The cruel beauty saw the heart-sick one
Bewildered, with his feet stuck in the mire.
The stranger a captive she found to be
A prey to the noose of the strings of her locks.
She summoned her courage and looked around
A certain fear passed in her innocent mind.
The risk of scandal flashed in her thought,
She left the place and soon did depart.
Remained at the well that wounded-heart forlorn
Trembling like a fish at the departure of that moon.
In grief for that moon for three days and nights
Stars on earth he cast from his eyes.
He would talk his secret to the stars at night
And tell them the tale of his sorrowful plight.[1]

II.

Soliloquy of the youth.[2]

Thou haṣt killed me but did not tell me thy creed
What creed is there that sanctions the slaying of the helpless one ?
You saw me lying senseless on the ground
Waves of blood surging the breast around.
I was swimming in blood, thou a friend
Passed by me quite unconcerned.
What sweetheart art thou O, moon
That sheds the blood of people in the well ?
Why dost thou shed the blood of the poor by the charm
Whether you want to draw blood or water from the well ?

---

feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment. The well of Hárút and Márút is here compared to the chin-dimple of the damsel.

1. D. H., Bodl. (Ouseley 122), f. 261.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 261.

Why dost thou shed the blood, like this in the well
When thou hast another bloodthirsty dimple?
Dig a well and call it a tomb
Ask not whether its water be bitter or sweet,
Throw me down into it with thy hand
Abject dust am I ; unto the dust I return.
Make that resting place a pilgrim's house
Convert that brakish water to the fountain of life.
What shall I say? What relation have I with thee?
The pearl is dishonoured in mixing with the dust.

VĀCĀRAMBHAṆA

By

E. G. CARPANI, Bologna.

Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY, interprete sicuro e dottissimo del Veda, ha dato recentemente alla luce uno studio esegetico,[1] d'incomparabile valore, efficacemente l'interpretazione del upaniṣadico sopra riportato.[4]

Sull'uso di *vācārambhaṇa*—termine che occorre nella Chāndogya-Upaniṣad VI, 1. 4—[2] il COOMARASWAMY, a parer mio, dà un'interpretazione poco consona al pensiero delle antiche Upaniṣad.[3] La sua traduzione "Modification is a matter of wording, a giving of names to things" (*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*), nega evidentemente la pluralità del mondo affermandone, nello stesso tempo, l'irrealtà. II passo ṛgvedico X, 125. 8, citato e discusso dal COOMARASWAMY da un punto vista puramente psicologico. non svīluppa efficacemente l'interpretazione del upaniṣadico sopra riportato.[4]

La seguente traduzione mette chiaramente in rilievo il significato dell'intero passo :

> "Come, o caro, mediante un solo blocco d'argilla si può conoscere tutto quel che è (fatto) d'argilla, (*tutto essendo*) una pura distinzione verbale,[5] una modificazione, un nome, mentre la realtà è una sola, l'argilla.'.

Secondo il nostro eminente indianista Valentino PAPESSO, "la individualità dei singoli oggetti sta aggrappata unicamente alle parole, è affare di parole, non di sostanza : le singole cose non sono essenzialmente distinte, a sè, sono solo modificazioni dell'unica realità, sono, corrispondentemente, denominazioni. Le cose non esistono indipendenti dall'unica realtà. Il passo è inteso dal DEUSSEN e da altri differentemente : 'La modificazione è un appigliarsi alle parole, è un nome' ; si avrebbe così negata la pluralità è affermata la irrealtà del mondo (DEUSSEN, *60 Up.* 154, cir. *Allg. Gesh. d. Phil.* I, 11, 40 sg.) : ma non è questo il pensiero delle antiche Upaniṣad."[6]

II COOMARASWAMY si rende perfettamente conto dell'importanza di questa breve discussione, e da parte mia spero che egli ritoni sull'interpretazione del passo upaniṣadico, a favore dell'esegesi vedica.

1. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Vedic Exemplarism *HJAS.*, I. 44-64.
2. *yathā saumya ekena mṛt-piṇḍena sarvaṁ mṛn-mayaṁ vijñātaṁ syāt, vācā-ārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāma-dheyam, mṛttikā ity eva satyam* || II termine ricorre anche in VI, 1. 5-6 ; 4. 1-4.
3. Così gli indianisti DEUSSEN, HUME, SENART, ed. altri ancora.
4. ... (*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*, reminiscent also of RV. X, 125, 8, where the Word, Vāc, speaks of herself as *ārambhamāṇā bhuvanāni* ; *ārambha* has been defined as "mental initiation of action"). *art. cit.*, p. 61.
5. "*un appigliarsi alla parola*".
6. V. PAPESSO, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Bologna, 1937, p. 189.

SOME ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

By

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[1] Sanskrit *kareṇu* 'elephant.'

This is a fairly common word in late Sanskrit, and it would appear to be of Dravidian origin. At first sight one would be tempted to look upon it as an instance of what I have called *Polyglottism* in Indo-Aryan—a case of a 'translation-compound': in IA. there are words which are made up of elements from two different languages, each of these elements meaning the same or a similar thing (see S. K. CHATTERJI, *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference,* Baroda 1935, pp. 177-189) : Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit *karin, kari*) + Dravidian occurring in Tamil as *yānai,* in Malayalam and Kannada as *āna* and in Telugu as *enugu*). But a purely Dravidian origin can be postulated for this word with greater plausibility.

There is the Dravidian root for 'black', which occurs in Tamil as *karu* 'dark colour', *kari* 'charcoal, charred wood, black pigment for the eye'. In the compound form, as in Tamil *kariya-mān*, Malayalam *kari-mān* 'Indian antelope, black buck', we have the root or word for 'black' and the word *mān* = 'deer'. Similarly *kari* 'black' + *yānai, enu-* (as in Telugu *enugu*) 'elephant' could be a purely Dravidian formation on the line of *kariya-mān*, *kari-mān* : the adjective 'black' or 'dark' would be quite a fitting one for an elephant : cf. a modern Indian name for an elephant—*Kālā-nāg* 'black elephant.'

Kareṇu can in this way be explained as a Sanskritised Dravidian word which on analysis is found to be a descriptive term—a compound of a noun and its descriptive adjective. The Tamil initial *yā-* in *yānai* and the Telugu *e-* in *enugu* suggest that the original or primitive Dravidian form of the word had as an initial sound a front vowel, *e-* or *æ-*. A parallel case would be that of Sanskrit *Karnāṭa* = Dravidian (Kannada) *kare-nāṭu* 'black soil.'

The Sanskrit *karin* 'elephant', literally '(the animal) possessing a hand', may have been influenced by the Dravidian *kar-, karu-* 'black, dark' referring to the colour of the elephant. Sanskrit *karabha* 'the young of an elephant' (also 'the young of a camel'—this latter sense is possibly due to extension or confusion) may be a case of the Indo-Aryan affix *-bha* added to a Dravidian loan-word specialised to mean 'an elephant' from the general sense of 'black or dark'; and the Sanskrit words *kara-kaṭa,* 'elephant's forehead or temple' also *karaṭa* 'elephant's temple' (cf. Tamil *karaṭu* 'running *must* or ichoral fluid from the temple of an elephant'), and *karaṭin* 'elephant' are probably connected with *kareṇu, karabha* through the Dravidian base *kar-* 'black.'

[2] Sanskrit *gaura* 'a kind of buffalo.'

The word *gaura* has the usual adjectival sense of 'whitish, yellowish' or 'pale', but the nominal meaning of 'a kind of buffalo' is found from the Vedic downwards. The other connected words *gavaya* 'a kind of buffalo', *gavala* 'wild buffalo', *goṇa* 'ox' are not difficult of explanation; *gavayá*, found in Vedic, and *gavala*, are easily resolvable from *gau*, with affixes *ya* and *la*, and *goṇa* is a Prakritic form made up on the basis of the genitive plural form *gonām* for *gavām*. The *ra* in *gau-ra*, with its apparent full form, is a puzzle. Can it be that here we have a very early instance of Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan? *gaura* 'white, pale' and *gaura* 'buffalo' evidently, at least semantically, have no connexion. Can we look upon *gaura* 'buffalo' as a compound of an Aryan *gau*, *go* + Austric (Kol) * *ur-* 'cattle,' as in Santali and Mundari *uri* 'cattle, cows and buffaloes'?

[3] Sanskrit *tuṇḍi-cela* 'a kind of garment.'

This word occurs once only in the *Divyāvadāna*. The exact meaning is not known—but it probably means some costly stuff such as is commonly found in small strips. The word appears to be a translation-compound.

The word *cela* is common in Sanskrit to mean 'cloth, clothes, garment', and is found from the *Mahābhārata* onwards. It occurs in New Indo-Aryan also: e.g. Bengali *celi* 'a kind of coloured silk cloth.' It is connected with a root *cil* 'to put on clothes' which is found only in the *Dhātu-pāṭha*, and which therefore would seem to be an etymologist's creation. The form *cela* seems to be a Prakritic modification of Sanskrit *cīra* 'a strip, long narrow piece of bark or cloth, rag, tatter, clothes', found for the first time in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. *Cīra* is derived from an Uṇādi root *ci*, and this derivation merely expresses the uncertainty of the etymologists. With *cīra* probably is to be connected Sanskrit *cīvara* 'the dress or rags of a religious (especially Buddhist or Jain) monk', which occurs in Pāṇini and other fairly early documents. *Cīvara* is derived from a root *cīv* 'to cover', and this root *cīv* is equally an artificial back formation.

Cīra means primarily 'a rag', and the disparaging sense of 'a rag' is not wholly absent from *cela* either. The word *cela* is used as a pejorative affix, being compounded with certain words like *bhāryā* and *brāhmaṇa*, to mean a bad type or a bad representative of the same (e.g. *bhāryā-cela*, neuter, 'a bad wife', *brāhmaṇa-cela* 'a bad Brahman', *brāhmaṇī-cela* 'a bad wife of a Brahman', occurring in Pāṇini and others). *Cela* in this sense may be an extension of the word in its very likely original meaning of 'rag', and then 'useless or bad stuff': *brāhmaṇa-cela* 'clout of a Brahman, a Brahman ragamuffin, a wretched or bad Brahman'. We may compare the English word *ragamuffin* itself; and the Modern Hindustani expression, used at the foolishness or ungainliness of a person, may also be compared—*ādmī hai, yā ādmī-kā pājāma*? 'is he a man, or just a man's trousers, i.e. nether garments?'

There is the other word *cela* = 'servant, slave', found in the *Mahābhārata*, which occurs in New Indo-Aryan e.g. Hindustani *celā*; thus *cela* of Sanskrit is from *ceṭa* or *ceḍa*, meaning the same thing, and all these three,

ceṭa, ceḍa, cela, appear to be just Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) developments of an Old Indo-Aryan **cṛta* from √ *car, cṛ* 'to go or wander', i.e. at somebody else's bidding; a hypothetic **cṛta* can give not only *ceṭa, ceḍa, cela,* but also *caṭa* (further extended to *cāṭa* and *caṭṭa*), and this *caṭa-cāṭa-caṭṭa* occurs in late Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly in North-eastern India, in the expression *a-caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-* or *a-cāṭa-bhāṭa-praveśa* meaning 'where *cāṭas* and *bhāṭas,* i.e. soldiers or spies (*cāṭas* < *caṭas* < **cṛta*) and king's servants (*bhāṭas* < *bhaṭa* < *bhṛta*) shall have no access', used as a qualification for villages granted by kings to Brahman scholars who wished to live in an atmosphere of quiet and repose unhampered by police or military intrusion. *Cela* however is explained by Prof. Jules BOLCH in his *Formation de la Langue marathe,* Paris, 1919, p. 331-332, as being a Dravidian word meaning 'small' or 'little.' This *cela-* however is a different word from *cela* = 'cloth' which evokes *cīra, cīvara*: although from the sense of 'smallness', that of 'a rag' may easily evolve, and in that case *cela* 'cloth' and *celā* 'slave, disciple' would be connected; but that appears to be a bit far-fetched.

The group *cīra* : *cela* is paralleled by similar pairs of words in Sanskrit and Prakrit which show an alteration of *ī* : *e* : e.g., *krīḍā, kiḍḍa* : *khela; īdṛśa* : *erisa; kīdṛśa* : *kerisa; pīyuṣa* : *peyuśa; pīusa* : *peusa; vibhītaka* : *baheḍaa; pīṭha* : *peḍha.*

Cīra and *cela* are preserved in New Indo-Aryan also in the roots (Hindustani) *cīr,* (Bengali) *cir,* 'to tear, to pierce', in Bengali *celā* as in *celā kāṭh* 'wood split in long pieces for fuel.' The New Indo-Aryan root *cīr, cir* is explained as of denominative origin from Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan) *cīra;* and this *cīra* (probably connected with *cīvara*) of Old Indo-Aryan remains unexplained. In any case, *cīra* : *cela* originally indicated 'a piece of cloth,' 'a piece *torn off* from a bigger one,' and occurred fairly early in Indo-Aryan.

The first element in *tuṇḍ-icela* is easily explained as a Dravidian word, found in Tamil as *tuṇṭu* (or *tuṇḍu*), in Kannada as *tuṇḍu* and in Telugu as *tuṇṭa,* meaning 'a fragment, a piece, a bit, a small piece of cloth, a towel.' In Tamil there is *tuṇṭu-vīlu* = 'piece of cloth left over after a material has been cut into pieces of required length.'

Tuṇḍi-cela is therefore a translation compound, Dravidian *tuṇḍi* + Aryan *cela,* although this Aryan word is of uncertain origin. It may be compared with a New Indo-Aryan (Hindustani) word like *kapṛā-lattā* 'clothes' = *karpaṭaka-naktaka* (*laktaka*). From 'small piece of cloth', the sense of 'costly piece or stuff' can easily evolve.

The dictionary gives also *Tuṇḍi-kera* as the name of a people, e.g. in the *Mahābhārata* : this tribal name may be compared with *Hari-kela,* the name of the people inhabiting Samataṭa or Deltaic Bengal. The word *tuṇḍa, tuṇḍi* by itself is used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'beak, snout' (which is probably the basis of the word *tuṇḍi-kerin* 'a venomous insect'), and of 'a prominent navel' (whence by extension, we have the late Sanskrit word *tuṇḍi-keśī* = 'a large boil on the palate', as well as 'the cotton plant', and *tuṇḍibha* = 'having a prominent navel'). These other meanings of *tuṇḍa, tuṇḍi* appear

to belong to a different word, of uncertain origin, from the Dravidian *tuṇṭu, tuṇḍu, tuṇṭa* = 'a piece torn off, a piece of cloth.' *Tuṇḍa* = 'beak, snout,' has New Indo-Aryan representatives; and *tuṇḍa* = 'protuberance, prominent navel', probably a variant of Sanskrit *tunda* = 'belly', of uncertain origin, which, too, has cognates or derivatives in New Indo-Aryan.

[4] *Musāra-galva* 'a kind of coral, a kind of precious stone', in Buddhist Sanskrit; *masāra* 'sapphire, emerald', in the *Mahābhārata* (*masāraka* in the *Harivaṃśa*); *masāra-galvarkamaya* 'consisting of emerald (or sapphire) and crystal', in the *Mahābhārata*; *galvarka*, Prakrit *gallakka* also *gallaka* 'crystal, crystalline liquor-cup'.

In the above words, there are two elements—*musāra* or *masāra*, which means some kind of precious stone, sapphire or emerald or coral, and *galvarka, gallakka, gallaka, galva*, which evidently indicates crystal or some other kind of precious or semi-precious stone. Their occurrence in the *Mahābhārata*, in Buddhist Sanskrit (e.g. in the *Divyāvadāna*) and in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* would show that these words first came into prominence round about the time of Christ, probably during the first couple of centuries after Christ.

It does not seem that these words are of Indo-European i.e. Indo-Aryan origin. Names of precious stones—with their sense frequently vague and not definite—are among those which can normally be expected to be foreign loans. Both *masāra-musāra* and *gallakka-gallaka-galva-galvarka*, owing moreover to these variants, would from their look appear to be foreign.

In the absence of any other affiliation of *masāra-musāra*, I suggest that it is of immediate Chinese origin. Berthold LAUFER in his *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, pp. 525-527) discusses the Chinese term *pho-so*, with a variant *mo-so*, which means some kind of precious stone—in the Thang period "the term *pho-so* merely denotes a stone." The Chinese *pho-so* or *mo-so* has been identified by some scholars (HIRTH and PELLIOT, for instance) with the bezoar (*pāzahr* or *pādzahr* in Persian): the bezoar is "a calculus concretion found in the stomachs of a number of animals," and in early and medieval times it was believed in India, Persia, China and elsewhere to possess some special qualities. But LAUFER shows that the Chinese *pho-so* or *mo-so* cannot be the bezoar,—it is not of animal but mineral origin, according to early Chinese accounts.

The second character in the Chinese expressions *pho-so* and *mo-so* is identical : the ancient Chinese pronunciation of this *so* was * *sa* or * *sâ*, and its meaning is 'to dance, to frisk, to saunter.' The character for *pho* had as its old pronunciation * *bwa* (LAUFER) or * *bhuâ* (KARLGREN), and it means 'old woman' or 'step-mother.' The character for *mo* was pronounced in Ancient Chinese as **muâ* (Bernhard KARLGREN, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris 1923, under character No. 593, p. 191), and its meaning is 'to rub, to polish, to break, to touch, to feel with the hand.' It is evident that the terms *pho-so* = **bhuâ-sâ* and *mo-so* = **muâ-sâ* are just phonetic transcriptions in Chinese characters of some foreign word or words : the meaning of the Chinese characters does not give any clue to the sense of

the terms as 'precious stone': and *mo-so* = **muâ-sâ* is a secondary or late form of **bhuâ-sâ* (LAUFER, *op. cit.*, foot-note 2).

LAUFER also gives another Chinese compound *pho-sa* as the name of a kind of (precious) stone, which occurs in the Chinese work the *Pei-hu-lu* of TWAN Kuṅ-lu composed about 875 A.D. The first element *pho* in this compound is the same character as in *pho-so*; and the second element, the character now pronounced *sa*, was in ancient times * *sat* (it is the character which occurs in the Chinese compound *phu-sa* = **bhuo-sat*, contracted from a fuller *phu-thi-sa-to* = * *bhuo-dhiei-sat-tâ* = Sanskrit *bodhisattva*). Ancient Chinese * *bhuâ-sat* = *pho-sa* therefore, as noted in the *Pei-hu-lu*, meaning some kind of precious stone, and **bhuâ-sâ* = *pho-so*, are equally the transcriptions, in early Chinese of some foreign word. It seems likely that **bhuâ-sat*, **bhuâ-sâ* and **mud-sâ* are different forms of the same word, of which * *bhuâ-sat* would appear to be the oldest, because the fullest, form; of the other two, the loss of the final consonant gave * *bhuâ-sâ*, and the common change of initial *bh-*, *b-* (through a stage *mb-*) to *m-*, together with the loss of the final consonant, gave rise to * *muâ-sâ*.

The final *-t* of Ancient Chinese was dialectally pronounced as *-δ* (= *th* in English *then*), and also as *-r*, before passing away finally. Thus, * *sat* = * *saδ* = * *sar*. The Sanskrit *Buddha*, shortened to *Buddh*, gave Ancient Chinese * *Bhyuad* or * *Bhyuat*, and this developed quite early forms like * *Bhut* or * *But* (whence Persian *but* = 'idol', 'image', originally 'a Buddha image', and Japanese *Butsu* = 'Buddha,' written *Bu-tu*), * *Bhur* (whence old Burmese *Bhurā* = 'Buddha', now written *Bhurā* but pronounced in Modern Burmese as (Arakan) *Pha-rā*, (standard) *Pha-yā*, and * *Bhwat*, before it was reduced to Modern Chinese *Fo*, *Fu* and *Fat*.

Side by side with * *bhuâ-sat*, * *bhuâ-sâ*, * *muâ-sâ* as the ancient forms of *pho-sa*, *pho-so*, *mo-so*, we may be allowed to postulate other popular forms, current orally, i.e. in pronunciation, although the second character would be the same *sat* = *sa* : like, * *bhuâ-saδ*, * *bhuâ-sar* and * *muâ-saδ*, * *muâ-sar*, all meaning some kind of precious stone. These different forms would belong to different dialectal areas of Chinese, and at different periods : we do not know whether * *sat*, * *saδ*, * *sar* were contemporaneous, but obviously these pronunciations with a final consonant were older than * *sâ* which lost it.

There is in Persian the word *bussad* or *bissad* (*bussaδ*, *bissaδ*), which has been borrowed by Arabic (*bussad-*, *bussaδ-*, *bassaδ-*, *bassad-*) and Armenian (*bust*), meaning 'coral' or 'fine pearl.' The source of this word is not known : there are forms also with one *s*. It may be a genuine Iranian word; and the sense of 'coral' may only be a norrowed one, the original sense might also have been a wider and a generic one for precious stones in general. It seems exceedingly possible that the Chinese terms discussed above are merely the Chinese transcriptions of an early Iranian *busaδ* = 'precious stone', also 'coral.' The older transcription was undoubtedly the one written *pho-sa* = * *bhuâ-sat*, * *bhuâ-saδ*, noted in the *Pei-hu-lu*; between this, and *mo-so* = * *muâ-sâ* we have to place modifications like * *bhuâ-sar*, * *mbuâ--sar*, * *muâ-*

sar on the one hand, and *bhuâ-sâ* = *pho-so* on the other.

The Indo-Aryan *masāra-musāra* can then be regarded as the Iranian word indirectly borrowed through the Chinese, from an old dialectal form * *muâ-sar* which is not represented in the Chinese written language by the corresponding characters. It is to be noted that the Iranian specialised sense of 'coral' is present in the Indian *musāra* of Buddhist Sanskrit, although the generic sense of 'precious stone' (and then specialised into 'emerald, sapphire') is the one found in the *Mahābhārata.* In Chinese transcriptions from Sanskrit, *ma* of Sanskrit is frequently indicated by the character * *muâ* =*mo* : dialectal variations in early times of this * *muâ* are the reason for the alternation *musāra-masāra* in India.

Masāra-musāra would therefore be one of the rare instances of a Chinese word (although of foreign origin in the Chinese itself) adopted in Middle Indo-Aryan. So far, only two such Sino-Indian words are known—*Cīna,* the name of the country and people of China, and *kīcaka,* 'a kind of small bamboo.'

Galva-, galvarka, gallakka, gallaka may now be considered. In the absence of any other derivation, I suggest that the word is * *galla,* extended to * *gallaka* or * *gallakka* by adding the pleonastic *-ka* affix, which would change to *-kka* in Middle Indo-Aryan of a late period, and that it means 'stone', and is of Dravidian origin. There is the common Dravidian word for 'stone', occurring in South Dravidian (Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada) as *kal,* in Central Dravidian (Telugu) as *kallu,* and in Northern Dravidian (Brahui) as *xal.* In some ancient Dravidian dialect the existence of a form with initial *g-* instead of *k-* can be very well assumed, and Sinhalese borrowed it with the initial *g-*, possibly from Archaic Tamil (before the employment of the present alphabet of Tamil to write the language) : Sinhalese *galla* 'stone', singular, plural *gal.* (Compare, Modern Tamil *Tamiz* = 'Tamil', but Sinhalese *Damiḷa,* Greek * *Damir-ikē* = 'the Tamil Country,' Sanskrit *Dramiḍa, Draviḍa,* all of which suggest an ancient form * *Dramiẓa,* with initial *d-*, as opposed to the Modern Tamil form with *t-*).

Middle Indo-Aryan * *galla-* with extensions *gallaka, gallakka,* would thus be a Dravidian *deśī* word in Aryan. Originally meaning 'stone,' its modification to mean 'precious stone, crystal' would be quite normal : in Tamil (*kal*) as well as in Bengali and other New Indo-Aryan (*patthar, pāthar*) the word for 'stone' is commonly used to mean also 'precious stone.' A vessel of stone, or crystal can be very well indicated by an extension of the word for 'stone'—*galla* < *gallaka, gallakka* : in Bengali, *pāthar* 'stone' is commonly used to mean a plate or dish carved out of black stone or marble. *galva* and *galvarka,* otherwise unexplained, can be very well explained as false Sanskritisations of the Prakrit (*deśi*) words * *galla,* * *gallakka,* with a plausible restoration to a known *arka* 'brightness, splendour' qualifying an obscure *galva* or *galu* > *galla—galu, galva* being evolved out of the analysis ? + *arka*= *galvarka.*

Viewed from the stand-point of the etymologies suggested above, *musāra-*

galva and *masāra-galvarka* can be looked upon as another instance of Polyglottism in Middle Indo-Aryan, the first element of this 'translation-compound' being a foreign word from the Chinese (which itself borrowed it from Iranian) and the second being a native Indian word, Dravidian in origin and adopted in Aryan.

SOME PHONETIC TENDENCIES IN TAMIL

By

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Although Kanarese and Tamil are closely related, a sound favoured by the former appears to have been rejected, in certain connections by the latter. The Kanarese Velar explosive "k" occurring in combination with a palatal front vowel "i" or "e" was abandoned in favour of the palatal explosive "c" (pronounced in the initial part of words as the palatal spirant Ŝ) in Tamil. The Kanarese root "kem" meaning "red" found its parallel in the Tamil "cem" (pronounced as Ŝem). That "kem" is much more primitive is borne out by a comparison of the forms of the word for "redness" in the following table :—

Kanarese	Tulu	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil
kempu	keñja	kempu	cembu	cemmai

Similarly, "k" appears to have been replaced by "c" in such phonetic connections in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu :—

(Meaning)	Kanarese	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil	Tulu
(To do)	key or gey	chey	chey	cey	key
(Ear)	kivi	chevi	ceppi	cevi	keppi
(To scatter)	keda*r*u	cedaru	cidar	cita*r*u	
(Small)	ki*r*u	chi*r*u	ci*r*u	ci*r*u	kiru
(Small)	kinna	chinna		ci*nn*a	kinni

The corresponding forms for "to do" in the uncultivated Dravidian dialects Tuda, Kota and Gond are "kei," "kē," and "kī." The explosive velar is retained in the word for "ear" also in Tuda and Gond and Brahui : kevi, kavi, khaf.

The *palatalisation* in these Tamil words is probably due to the relative difficulty found in the articulation of the explosive "k." The tendency to relax the completeness of contact between the back of the tongue and the palate seems to be the cause of palatalisation here. Greater muscular effort no doubt is demanded in producing "k," for here the air-stream would be blocked. On the contrary, there would be less effort if entire contact were not insisted upon and if a fissure in the oral passage were left. This happens in the articulation of a spirant sound such as "Ŝ" and that is the reason why the vocal apparatus, with or without the consciousness of the speakers, adjusted

itself and produced a "c" which was nearer to the spirant "ś." This change therefore was in the direction of greater ease.

No student of linguistics will argue that since the sound "k" in these places is retained in Kanarese there is no difficulty in its articulation, for he knows that there is no absolute standard by which greater ease can be judged. The ancient Kanarese probably took the primitive Dravidian "k," kept it intact and found it easy by sheer force of habit, whereas the other people made a modification of it in the direction of greater ease relative to their own habits of speaking. But there is no change of "k" into "c" in such words as "koḍu" (= to give) "koḷ" (= to take) "kuṛi" (= a mark) and "kudirai" (= a horse) because the vowels occurring in combination, with the plosive here do not belong to the front series. Therefore the phonetic equation[1] is (the primitive Dravidan) k + i or e was equal to (Tamil) c + i or e at a certain period prior to the 5th century B.C.

In a similar manner, distinct easing seems to have been brought about by articulating the labial continuant "v" instead of the labial plosive "p." In the production of "p" the lips are to be entirely closed and hence greater muscular effort is demanded, whereas in the production of "v" there is only partial contact and consequently less muscular effort is called for. An excellent example of this sort of economy of effort is found in the ancient word for "cart," "paṇṭi" changing into "Vanḍi," in Tamil and Malayalam, while the old form has been weakened into "baṇḍi" in Kanarese and Telugu. Some other instances of this tendency are :—

Paku > Vaku (= to divide)
Pakir > Vakir (= to divide)
Pati > Vati (=to stay)
Parambu > Varambu (= embankment)
Paḍivam > Vaḍivam (= image or shape)

This tendency has begun but has not yet become general.

Apocope is another phonetic tendency found in Tamil. The primitive Dravidian words for ghee, butter and sesamum-oil were respectively ney, veṇṇey (=white ghee) and eṇṇey (= eḷ + ney). These doubtless possessed a terminal semi-vowel "y". It is in the Tamil literature alone that the final "y" in these words is preserved. But the modern tendency in Tamil is to apocopate or to weaken it. In the other main Dravidian languages the tendency long before started and has spread :—

Kanarese	Tulu	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil
beṇṇe		venna	veṇṇa	veṇṇai
yeṇṇe	yeṇṇe		eṇṇa	eṇṇai

1. Cf. Hudson WILLIAMS : *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Grammar* p. 3.

The tendency is extending its range in modern Tamil to other sounds such as the trill "r," as is evident from the disappearance of the final "r" in the word "taṇṇīr" (=cold water) (pronounced as "taṇṇi")

Syncope is much more common. The medial syllable "ku," after having been slurred over for sometime, is to-day completely omitted in the word "ā(ku)m" (yes; literally, will be or will happen). Very probably "ku" was fast corrupted into something like an aspirate "hu," or a sonant "gu" which in turn has been dropped. To the original root "ā" (= to become) the formative "ku" was added. "Āku" + "um" (the aorist particle) became "ākum" by rule. This has been simplified into "ām" because of the relative frequency of the occurrence in Tamil of the compound phoneme "ku," which happens to be the sign of the dative case. Furthermore, "ku" is found to have served sometimes for indicating a noun in the genitive case too, as in "arasaṛku makan" (= son to the king). These occurrences were in addition to its appearance in several words as a formative infix. Thus the number of times of the occurrence of "ku" in Tamil being proportionately large, it came to be slurred in articulation and was ultimately left out.[1] The same tendency is found in the words "pōm," for "pōkum" (= that which goes) "cām" for "cākum" (= that which dies) and "Vēvum" or "Vēm" for "Vēkum" (= that which warms).

Instances also of syncopation of the semi-vowel "y" are found: "Vā (y)kkarisi" (Vāykku + arisi = rice for the mouth) "Pā(y)ccal" (Pāy + (c) + al = that which rises or jumps).

Weakenings far in excess of normal phonetic change are also found. "Arumantapiḷḷai" is an instance in point. It is the result of the weakening of the old "arumaruntaṉṉapiḷḷai" (= a son as dear as a rare medicine). The articulating apparatus having slowly stinted its work of complete and exact enunciation, several slurrings and abbreviations should have taken place before the form "arumanta" was reached. But it is not possible now to explain this excess weakening, which is related in some manner to what Mr. L. BLOOMFIELD would call "the sub-linguistic status of conventional formulae."[2] At any rate, this excess weakening should be regarded as very different from sound change proper. It is a weakening similar to the weakening of the English "God be with you" into "good-bye."

Aphaeresis, the tendency to remove a letter or a syllable at the beginning of a word, was the cause of the loss of the initial "y" in such words as "(Y)āṛu" (= a river), "(Y)āṉai" (= an elephant) and "(Y)āḍu" (=sheep). Due to the same tendency "tāy" (= mother) seems to have been first weakened into "yāy"[3] and then into "ñāy"[4] ond "āy" (Cf. "Tāy" in Malayalam and Kanarese and "dāi" in Gond).

1. Cf. L. BLOOMFIELD: *Language* (Revised edn. 1935) p. 387.
2. *Language* p. 388.
3. *Puṛanāṉūṛu* verse 159 and *Aiṅkuṛunūṛu* verses 1-10 186, 280, 385, etc.
4. *Kuṛuntokai* verse 40.

"Tāy," however, was not completely crowded out. Slowly there appeared a preference for the old "tāy" which had once been simplified. "A later process may end by favouring the very same acoustic types as were eliminated by an earlier change" says Mr. BLOOMFIELD.[1] In accordance with this principle the old "tāy" has come back with greater vigour. At one stage in the history of the Tamil language, easing seems to have been brought about in the word by the *dropping* of the dental plosive "t" and at another by means of its *insertion*. "T" is produced by the tip of the tongue making a complete closure against the teeth-ridge.[2] The semi-vowel "y" is produced somewhere near the teeth-ridge and is the last in the series of front sounds produced without contact.[3] In between these two sounds there is to be produced "ā", the first vowel in the back series. In anticipation of the sound "y" that was to follow,[4] the articulatory organs seem to have produced the front semi-vowel "y" instead of the front plosive "t." Therefore it is that "tāy" originally changed into "yāy." But when "yāy" was in vogue for sometime, the vocal organs perhaps found it difficult to execute a rapid succession of identical movements for "y" and hence the palatal nasal "ñ" replaced the initial "y". The merit of "ñ" was that its place of production, the hard palate, was nearer to the place of production of the vowel "ā." This merit itself seems to have disserved it later, for this appears to have been the cause of ousting it. When "āy" came into being by the elimination of "ñ" and was in use for sometime, it was probably in danger of being lost unless some *body* was given to it. As Mr. VENDRYES[5] remarks, "very short words often lack expression and when phonetic changes tend to abridge words, these are especially prone to disappear." In order that the word might be preserved, lengthened forms such as "āyi," "āyā" and "ā(y)cci" arose in ordinary conversation. When the form "āy" was not serviceable in itself and when more "body" had to be given to it, the same sound "t" that was once before sought to be eliminated gained favour in order to supply the substance it lacked. About the tendency to insert a letter or syllable within a word, namely *epenthesis*, nothing more is proposed to be stated in this paper.

1. *Language* p. 368.
2. Vide *Tolkāppiyam* Eḷuttu rule 93.
3. Cf. *Tolkāppiyam* Eḷuttu rule 99; L. R. PALMER: *Introduction to Modern Linguistics* p. 24; Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA: *Elements of the Science of Language* p. 234; Dr. T. G. TUCKER: *Introduction to the Natural History of Language* p. 336.
4. Cf. Herman PAUL: *Principles of the History of Language* p. 46; PALMER p. 31 and Otto JESPERSEN: *Language its nature, development and origin* (1934 edn.) p. 280.
5. *Language, a Linguistic Introduction to History* p. 213.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE UNDER THE PALA KINGS OF BENGAL

By

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Apart from the prolific and peculiar Buddhist Tantric literature in the cultivation of which Bengal signalised itself in the 10th and 11th centuries, and which, both on account of its extent and importance, should form the subject-matter of a separate study[1], Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature and culture in the regime of the Pāla kings is neither sufficiently extensive nor outstanding. Nevertheless, it has an interest and importance of its own, and deserves a detailed investigation in its varied aspects. In the following pages an attempt is made to present a systematic outline of the subject and of the main problems, which still await further study.

The literary remains of the period immediately preceding are, unfortunately, extremely scanty and uncertain. We have nothing but the shadowy personality of Gauḍācārya or Gauḍapādācārya, the anonymous author of the well known Vedāntic Kārikās, and of Pālakāpya the mythical propounder of elephant-lore, whose works, however, exist and have been claimed, with some justification, for Bengal. There is also the Buddhist Candra-gomin[2], of whom much that is legendary has been related but of whose approximate date, authorship and place of origin we are perhaps on firmer ground. From the 5th to the 7th century A.D., we have indeed the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien, Yuang Chwang and Yi-tsing, regarding Sanskrit culture and learning in the eastern provinces, but there is no mention of any definite literary activity. On the other hand, the reference to the literary diction of the Gauḍas[3], which won for itself the distinctive designation of the Gauḍī Rīti, furnishes a good ground for the inference of a lost Gauḍa literature, which received recognition, as early as the 8th century A.D., from the theorists but over the merits of which they entertained a frank difference of opinion. But nothing of this literature has come down to us. Nor do the meagre inscriptional records of the Pre-Pāla period, which give us the only definite evidence of actual Sanskrit composition, bear out these indications of literary culture. The three lines of the lithic record of Candravarman, discovered on the Susunia hill in West Bengal, or the five short Damodarpur Copper plates, issued under the local government of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti during the times of Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhānugupta (roughly between 443-543 A.D.) are but brief

1. For an account of this literature by the present writer see *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, (1938). pp. 1-23.

2. On this writer see S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1938, pp. 56-60. On Pālakāpya see S. K. De in *Indian Culture* (D. R. Bhandarkar number) 1939.

3. See a note by the present writer on this question in *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. (1938), pp. 74-76.

and matter-of-fact prose documents which have hardly any literary value. It is not until we come to the 7th century that we find the high-flown Kāvya-style in prose and verse employed in epigraphic records, such, for instance, as is displayed in the Tipperah Copper-plate of Lokanātha or the Nidhanpur Copper plate of Bhāskaravarman.

When we come to the 10th and 11th centuries, the evidence becomes more definite that not only Sanskrit culture but also Sanskrit literature, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic, flourished in Bengal, although its contribution is still not sufficiently extensive nor outstanding. We have a larger number of more elaborate inscriptional panegyrics in Sanskrit, which are indeed creditable compositions; but since they display the ordinary characteristics of North Indian Praśastis of a similar nature, they do not call for special remarks as literary productions. Some of these epigraphic records, however, give us interesting glimpses into the assiduous culture of Sanskrit by persons who were not professional scholars nor men of letters but highly placed officials and politicians. The Garuḍa pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla[1], for instance, gives us a vivid account of the scholarly attainments of one of the minister families of the Pāla kings, which receives special commendation for its knowledge of Vedic literature. In this family Darbhapāṇi, who was the minister of Devapāla, and his grandson Kedāramiśra, who also held the same position, are said to have mastered the four Vidyās; while Kedāra's son Guravamiśra acquired proficiency in the Vedas, Āgamas, Nīti, and Jyotiṣa, and distinguished himself by his exposition of the Vedic works. The Bangad Copper-plate grant[2] of Mahīpāla I mentions the study of *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka, while proficiency in the Śruti and Smṛti, and in the Kauthuma recension of the *Sāmaveda*, is respectively referred to in Kamauli Copper-plate[3] of Vaidyadeva and the Manhali Copper-plate of Madanapāla.[4] The colophon to the *Hari-carita* kāvya of Caturbhuja states that the Varendra Brahmans of the time of Dharmapāla were experts in Śruti, Smṛti, Vyākaraṇa and Kāvya. That even the veterinary science was not neglected can be inferred from the statement of the author of the Janārdana Temple inscription[5] of the time of Nayapāla that he was a Vāji-vaidya. The most interesting record, however, of the political, literary and scholarly attainments of a striking personality of this period is to be found in the Praśasti[6] of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bālavalabhī, who flourished under Harivarma-deva and of whom more will be said in the following pages.

1. *EI*, ii, p. 160: *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, p. 71.
2. *JASB*, lxi, p. 77 ; *Gauḍa-lekkha*,° p. 91.
3. *EI* ii, p. 350 ; *Gauḍa-lekkha*,° p. 134.
4. *Gauḍa-lekkha*,° p. 148.
5. *JASB*, 1900, p. 190.
6. In the Bhuvanesvar Inscription, *EI*, iv, p. 203; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscription of Bengal*, iii, p. 32. For other inscriptional references to Sanskrit Studies in Bengal, see *Haraprasāda-saṃvardhana-lekhamālā* (Calcutta, B. E. 1339=1932 A.D.), ii, pp. 207-14.

These indications of cultural activity, however, are not fully borne out by the actual literary remains of this period; for, apart from Buddhistic Tantric writings, the literature which has survived is scanty and inadequate. In the sphere of poetical and dramatic literature, some of the well-known classical works have been claimed for Bengal, but the proofs adduced in support of such claims are slender and uncertain[1]. The assumption[2], for instance, that the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta is a Bengal work is purely gratuitous and hypothetical. A Bengal tradition of doubtful value, again, would credit Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Veṇī-saṃhāra,* to Bengal ; for he is alleged to be one of the five Kanauj Brahmans brought to Bengal by Ādiśūra ! Unless corroborated by independent evidence these traditions of Bengal match-makers and panegyrists of big families are hardly of much value for historical purposes, particularly for events of comparatively early times. There is no satisfactory evidence, again, to identify Murāri, son of Vardhamānāṅka of the Maudgalya-gotra and Tantumatī and author of the *Anargha-rāghava*[3], with the Murāri who is given as one of the progenitors of the Bengal Vaidika Brahmans. Equally uncertain is the similar tradition which connects Śrīharṣa, son of Hīra and Māmalla-devī[4] and author of the Naiṣadhīya-carita[5], with Bengal; for Śrīharṣa of the Bengal genealogists is described as the son of Medhātithi or Tithimedhā. This last claim has been argued[6] at some length, but the

1. Those who put forward such theories, without much justification, often forget that the onus of proof lies on them who make these assumptions and that the considerations of personal bias or local patriotism should not prompt or control the evidence.

2. *JASB,* 1930, pp. 241-45.

3. Of Murāri's place of origin and activity nothing is known; but he mentions Māhiṣmatī as the seat of the Kalacuris. See A. B. KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama,* pp. 225-26.

4. These are hardly Bengali names.

5. There are numerous editions with the different commentaries: (1) with the Prakāśa of Nārāyaṇa, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1928. (2) With the Jīvātu of Mallinātha, ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, 2 vols., Calcutta 1875, 1876; also ed. in parts, pts. i-ii (Cantos i-xii), Mangalodaya Press, Trichur 1924, 1926. (3) With the commentaries of Nārāyaṇa, Bharatamallika and Vaṃśīvadana (Cantos i-iii), ed. NITYASVARUP BRAHMACHARI Calcutta, B. E. 1326 (= 1920 A.D.). (4) The Bibl. Ind. ed. (Calcutta 1836, 1855) is in two parts; the first part contains Cantos i-xi with Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa's modern commentary, and the second part, edited by E. RÖER, contains cantos XII-XXII with Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The English translation by K. K. HANDIQUI (Lahore 1934) gives notes and extracts from several unpublished commentaries.

6. *The Sarasvati Bhavan Studies,* Benares 1924, iii, pp. 159-94. See also *IC* ii, pp. 576-79. Śrīharṣa's Bengal origin need not follow, as Nārāyaṇa in his commentary thinks, from his use (xiv. 51) of the word *ulūlu* as an auspicious sound made by women on festive occasions. Apart from the fact that the word appears to be as old as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (iii. 19.3), K. K. HANDIQUI (*op. cit.,* pp. 541-42) has shown that it is not an exclusively Bengali custom, being found in writers who had no connexion with Bengal, especially in some Jaina writers of Western India. Murāri uses the word in connexion with Sītā's marriage (iii. 55), but his Maithili commentator, Rucipati Upādhyāya, explains it as a South Indian custom. The

evidence is not conclusive. Some plausibility is afforded by the reference (vii. 110) to a Praśasti which the poet is said to have composed for some unnamed king of Gauḍa, but we also learn that he was patronised by the king of Kānyakubja (xxii. 26) and that his work received the approval of the Kashmirian scholars (xvi. 131)[1]. The king of Kānyakubja has been identified with Jayacandra of Kanauj, who flourished in the second half of the 12th century.[2] Śrīharṣa claims originality for his work (viii. 109) as that of "a traveller on a path unseen by the race of poets"; but as a poem his work displays more learning than real poetry. An elaborate and pedantic production of 22 cantos, it spins[3] out and embellishes only a part of the simple and attractive epic story of Nala and Damayantī out of all recognition; but the concern of the undoubtedly talented master of diction and metre is not so much with the poetic possibilities of the theme, as with the display of his own

Southerner Mallinātha, on the other hand, believes it to be a Northern custom! Similar remarks apply to the reference (xv. 45) to the custom of wearing conch-bangle, which is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭa xi 1) and *Kādambarī*. The argument based on the Gauḍi Rīti does not carry much weight, but more relevant, if not definitely conclusive, is the indiscriminate use, in alliteration and chiming, of the three sibilants, the two nasals, *b* and *v*, *y* and *j* as sounds of equivalent value. This, however, is sanctioned by rhetoricians and is, therefore, an evidence of somewhat uncertain character.

1. It is curious that this reference to the appreciation by Kashmirian scholars is found, not in its proper place at the end of the work but at the end of Canto xvi. It is also puzzling that both the poem *Naiṣadhīya-carita* and the philosophical treatise *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* appear to refer to each other, leading to the curious conclusion of their simultaneous production by the same author. The genuineness of the brief autobiographical verses, which contain these references and which are placed, in a scattered way, at the end of each canto, is therefore, open to considerable doubt; but it is possible that they embody a tradition the value of which need not be entirely rejected on account of their being spurious. We learn from these verses that Śrīharṣa was also the author of a Campū called Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita (xxii. 22), a Sthairya-vicāra-prakaraṇa (iv. 123), an Arṇava-varṇana (ix. 160), a Śiva-śakti-siddhi (xviii. 154), a Chinda-praśasti (xvii. 222) and a Śrīvijayapraśasti (v. 138). The punning reference to the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* is apparently justified by the express declaration (x. 137) of unrivalled labours in the science of logic, as well as by the philosophical digression in canto xvii. A late (and probably Bengal) commentator, Gopīnātha Ācārya, believes (MITRA, *Notices*, iv, p. 212) in his *Harṣa-hṛdaya* commentary on the *Naiṣadhīya* that the Vijaya-praśasti mentioned above is in praise of king Vijayasena of Bengal; but Caṇḍu Paṇḍita and other commentators, as well as Rājaśekhara Sūri in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (1348 A.D.), make Śrīharṣa a protege of Jayacandra of Kanauj.

2. G. BÜHLER in *JBRAS*, x, p. 31f, pp. 279-87. This date has been questioned, see R. P. CHANDA in *IA*, xlii, pp. 83f, 286f.

3. The contents of cantos vi, vii, xv, xix-xxii, as well as the greater portion of xvii, are matters not to be found in the epic. A whole canto of 109 verses is devoted to a description of the heroine's entire bodily charms, beginning from the top of the head and ending with the toe of the feet. The panegyric of the Vaitālīya occupies the whole of canto xix (67 verses), while Damayantī's Svayaṃvara extends over five cantos. The poem ends with the married bliss of Nala and Damayantī. Poetic merits apart, the work is written for a learned audience, and its chief interest lies in the fact that it is in many ways a repository of traditional learning.

skill and learning so characteristic of later decadent poets. It is no wonder, therefore, that, judged by modern standards, an impatient Western critic should stigmatise the work as a perfect masterpiece of bad taste and bad style. The work, however, has been regarded as one of the five traditional Mahākāvyas and has been favoured by a section of learned Indian opinion,[1] but it would be an acquisition of dubious value to Bengal if its Bengal origin were finally proved.

The problem is more difficult with regard to the *Caṇḍa-kauśika*[2] of Kṣemīśvara on account of the meagreness and uncertainty of the data for a definite conclusion regarding its place of origin. The drama deals in five acts with the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa legend of Hariścandra and Viśvāmitra, but there is hardly anything distinctive in its style and treatment. The story lacks dramatic quality and improves very little by the poor execution and mediocre poetry of Kṣemīśvara. A verse in the Prologue states that the work was composed and produced at the court of Mahīpāla. H. P. SHASTRI[3] is inclined to identify the dramatist's patron with Mahīpāla of Bengāl, chiefly on the ground that the king is said in the drama to have driven away the Karṇāṭakas, who, in SHASTRI'S opinion, were the invading armies of Rājendra Cola I in 1023,[4] or the Karṇāṭas who came in the train of the Cedi kings at a later time. If this were so, then Kṣemīśvara's place of activity would be Bengal; and it is noteworthy in this connexion that the two oldest complete palm leaf manuscripts of the drama, dated respectively in A.D. 1250 and 1387, are preserved in Nepal.[5] On the other hand, PISCHEL believes[6] Kṣemīśvara's patron to

1. Making allowance for artificiality and dubious literary taste, there are, however, forceful passages, e.g., the description of the personified vices in canto xvii, of the moon-rise in canto xxii, of the five Nalas in canto xiii, and the treatment of Nala's character in its emotional conflict in canto ix.

2. Ed. Jaganmohana, TARKĀLAṀKĀRA, Calcutta 1867; also ed. J. VIDĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1884; ed. in Litho MS form, Krishna Shastri, Gurjara Press, Bombay 1860. Translated into German verse under the title *Kauśikq's Zorn* by Ludwig FRITZE, Leipzig 1883. The name of the author is sometimes confused with the Kashmirian Kṣemendra. Kṣemīśvara, who designates himself as Ārya, does not mention the name of his father, but his grandfather is named Vijayaprakoṣṭha.

3. *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. Mss in the ASB*, vii, Calcutta 1934, no. 5315; R. D. BANERJEE *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 73 and *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, i, pp. 251-52; J. C. GHOSH in *IC* ii, pp. 354-56; but see K. A. NILKANTHA SHASTRI in *JORM*, vi, pp. 191-98 and *IC*, ii, pp. 797-99.

4. This has been contested by S. K. AIYANGAR in *Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, Pt. 2, pp. 559f, to which R. D. BANERJI replies in *JBORS*, xiv, p. 512f. See NILKANTHA SHASTRI in the articles cited above.

5. Now in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (H. P. SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, nos. 5315 and 5316). Other known, but comparatively modern, Mss are noticed in the same Catalogue as well as in the *Descriptive Cat.* of the Mss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, vi, nos. 222-23, pp. 134-5 (three Mss in Devanāgarī); in P. P. S. SASTRI'S *Tanjore Catalogue*, viii, Srirangam 1930, pp. 3390-93, Burnell's *Classified Index*, iii, p. 169 (three Mss); and in *Descriptive Catalogue of Govt. collections* in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, xiv, pp. 77-82 (five Mss in Devanāgarī).

6. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

by the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla I of Mahodaya (=Kānyakubja) under whom Rājaśekhara wrote his *Bāla-bhārata* (i. 7) and whom FLEET[1] identifies with the Mahīpāla of the Asni inscription, dated in 917 A.D. Kṣemīśvara's assertion of his patron's victory over the Karṇāṭas is explained as the courtier's version of the contest with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, who for his part claims victory over Mahodaya.[2] Kṣemīśvara was also the author of another drama, *Naiṣadhānanda*,[3] which deals in seven acts with the story of Nala.

A similar uncertainty attaches to the *Kīcaka-vadha*[4] of Nītivarman which may have been composed in Bengal or in the adjoining territory of Kaliṅga.[5] It is a short artificial poem in five cantos (177 verses) which deals with the well known episode of the Virāṭa-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*; but the simple and vigorous story of the epic is transformed into a pedantic means for the display of the author's skill and learning in the manipulation of the language, for the ingenious use of double meanings (Śleṣa) and clever chimings (Yamaka). The work, however, is singular in the attempt it makes to include both Śleṣa (canto iii) and Yamaka (cantos i-ii, iv-v) in its scope ; and it is the only Kāvya, so far known, which fulfils the rhetorcian's dictum about the Āśīḥ-prelude. As an early example of this type of Sanskrit composition it shows considerable talent ; and it is no wonder that it is quoted by a large numbei of grammarians, rhetoricians and lexicographers. One of the earliest of such quotations is made by Nami-sādhu who wrote his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* in 1069 A.D.[6] Nothing is known of the author, Nītivarman, except that he lived in the court of an obscurely mentioned prince who might have ruled in Bengal or in Kaliṅga.

The only writer whom we can reasonably claim for Bengal from his descriptive designation is Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is known to us from stray

1. *IA*, xxvi, pp. 175-78.

2. See Sten KONOW, *Indische Drama*, p. 87; P. PETERSON, *Second Report*, p. 63; R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report 1897*, p. xi; A. B. KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 239. The only Alaṃkāra work which cites the *Caṇḍa-kauśika* is the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which belongs probably to Orissa in the first half of the 15th century (See S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 233f.).

3. Ms. dated in 1611 A.D. noticed in PETERSON, *Third Report*, pp. 340-42, with extracts; but no personal account of the author is found in the work.

4. Ed. S. K. DE, with the commentary of Janārdanasena and with extracts from the commentary of Sarvānanda-nāga, Dacca University Oriental Series 1929.

5. In two verses of doubtful interpretation (i. 21; i. 7) the author refers to his patron, in connexion with Kaliṅga, either as a ruler or as a conqueror. A covert allusion appears to be made to this patron's name or designation in the word *vigraha* employed in the Yamaka, but considering the date of the work, an allusion to the Vigrahapālas of Bengal does not seem likely. For a discussion of this question see S. K. DE's edition, pp. xii-xiv and 93-94, 98-99. The poem has been preserved in Bengali Mss only, and all the known commentaries are of Bengal origin and indicate the currency of the poem in Bengal; and there is nothing, excepting the verse i. 21 mentioned above, which connects it with Kaliṅga.

6. For other early writers who quote this work see S. K. DE, introd. to the above edition.

quotation of his verses in the Sanskrit anthology of Śārṅgadhara[1]; but the question of his date and identity is not free from difficulty. He has been identified with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta and author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra*[2] on the ground chiefly that the author of this metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance describes one of his ancestors as a Gauḍa; but the evidence is obviously not conclusive, and none of the anthology verses ascribed to Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda is traceable in this work.[3] There is, however, no chronological obstacle in the way of the proposed identification. The author of the °*Kathā-sāra* informs us that his fifth ancestor, Śaktisvāmin, flourished under Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir towards the end of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century; and as the poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, is mentioned and quoted by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta[4] towards the end of 10th century, his date may be fixed at about the first half of the 9th century. The Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been of a much later date, having been quoted in the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*[5] which cannot be assigned to a period later than the 11th century[6]; but it is not clear if this Abhinanda is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is cited (along with Abhinanda without the descriptive term Gauḍa) in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*.[7]

1. The *Śārṅgadhara--paddhati* (dated about 1363 A.D.) quotes twice (nos. 1090, 3485; the first verse assigned to Śubhāṅga in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* iv. 53) Gauḍa Abhinanda, but it also quotes an Abhinanda (nos. 3763, 3917) without the descriptive title. An Abhinanda, and not Gauḍa Abhinanda, is quoted five times (nos. 75, 130, 313, 319, 457) in the *Kavīndra-vacana*° twenty-two times in the *Sadukti*° twice in the *Sūkti-muktāvali* of Jahlaṇa and once in the *Padyāvalī* (no. 149). Fragments of Abhinanda's verses are also quoted by Ujjvaladatta (on Uṇādi-sūtra i. 2, 48; ii. 103; iv. 117), who refers to Abhinanda's description of the Vindhya hills, and by Rāyamukuṭa (on Amara i. 1. 7; ii. 5. 4, 10). For a resume of these passages see F. W. THOMAS, *Kavīndra-vacana*°, pp. 20-22.

2. Ed. Kāvyamālā 11, NSP, Bombay 1899. (Also ed. in the *Pandit*, Old Series, 1866-68; ed. Acintyarāma Śarman, Lahore 1900).

3. For a discussion of the question see S. K. DE, *Padyāvalī*, pp. 182-84.

4. In the printed text (Kāvyamālā 25, Bombay 1911, p. 142) of Abhinavagupta's *Locana*, the work is ascribed to Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka, but the India Office Ms (no. 1008 E 1135), which we consulted, assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta. The Kashmirian Kṣemendra in the 11th century also quotes Abhinanda and his °*Kathā-sāra* (in his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* iii. 6 = °*Kathā-sāra* i. 16). Kṣemendra informs us (iii. 29) that Abhinanda was fond of the Anuṣṭubh metre, in which, for the most part, the °*Kathā-sāra* is composed.

5. F. W. THOMAS, *loc. cit.*, would identify this Abhinanda with the author of the °*Kathā-sāra*, as well as with Gauḍa Abhinanda; but no evidence is adduced.

6. On Abhinanda see AUFRECHT, *ZDMG*, xxvii, pp. 6, 27; G. BÜHLER, *IA* ii, pp. 102-6; PETERSON, *Fourth Report*, p. vii.

7. These Abhinandas are certainly to be distinguished from Abhinanda, author of *Rāma-carita* (ed. GOS, no. xlvi, 1930) who describes himself as the son of Śatānanda, and probably also from Abhinavapaṇḍita, also a Gauḍa whose *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha-saṃkṣepa* in six Prakaraṇas and forty-six Sargas is noticed by Weber (Berlin Catalogue, no. 643) and who is described in the colophon to the work as *tarka-vādīśvara-sāhityācārya-gauḍamaṇḍalālaṃkāra-śrīmat*.

Perhaps the only Kāvya of this period, the Bengal origin of which is known with certainty, is the *Rāma-carita*[1] of Saṃdhyākara Nandin, a curious but important work which belongs to the class of the so-called historical Kāvya. By means of constant play upon words (Śleṣa), sustained throughout in its 195 Āryā verses, it gives in four chapters, after the manner of Kavirāja's *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya,* the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* on the one hand, and the history of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, on the other. Each verse of the text has, therefore, a twofold application; but while the epic application is not difficult to make out, the local and contemporary allusions to Rāmapāla's exploits require elucidation. The Sanskrit commentary, which accompanies the text and which may or may not have been composed by the author himself, explains the historical details, but unfortunately it ends abruptly with ii. 35. There is a Kavi-praśasti in 20 verses at the end of the work, which informs us that the author was the son of Prajāpatinandin and grandson of Pinākanandin and belonged to Puṇḍra-vardhana in Varendra. Prajāpati was a Sāṃdhi-vigrahika of the royal court, and from the last verse of the text it is probable that the work was composed in the reign of Madanapāla. As a chronicle of almost contemporary events, of which the author must have possessed a direct knowledge, the work is of considerable importance for reconstructing the lost history of this period. The author tells us that he is not only a poet well versed in the art of rhetoric but also a great linguist. The skill he shows in the manipulation of words in a difficult metre, which, however, is possible only in an accommodating language like Sanskrit, is characteristic of later Sanskrit poets; but it certainly makes his work a marvel of verbal jugglery, especially as the author has to crowd within the limits of less than two hundred verses a great deal of matter concerning simultaneously Raghupati Rāma and Gauḍādhipa Rāmapāla. The author claims that his Śleṣa is not distressing (*akleśana*); it might not have been so to his contemporaries to whom the events narrated were probably familiar; but on account of this very limited and local interest it must have failed in its appeal to posterity and became forgotten. As an interesting example of the Śleṣa Kāvya, which includes both mythical and historical themes in its scope, it may be accepted as a singular *tour de force,* but the very purposive character of the work and its necessarily artificial form of expression make it a poetical curiosity rather than a real poem.

In the sphere of the technical Śāstras, on the other hand, we possess a fair amount of literature; but its total achievement cannot be rated too highly. The epigraphic records tell us a great deal about Vedic[2] and philoso-

1. The unique Palmleaf Ms of the text was acquired by Haraprasad SHASTRI in 1897, and an edition of the text with its incomplete commentary was published by him in *Memoirs of ASB,* Calcutta 1910. A new edition is now published under the joint editorship of R. C. MAJUMDAR, R. G. BASAK and N. G. BANERJEE, by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. Our references are to SHASTRI'S edition.

2. On Vedic Studies in Bengal, see *Haraprasād-saṃvardhana-lekhamālā,* ii, pp. 202-226. From the inscriptional references it appears that all the four Vedas were studied, but the Vājasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda prevailed.

phical studies in Bengal in this period, but no early work on Vedic literature has survived ; and of the early philosophical speculations of Bengal we know nothing. The only philosophical work of this period, of which however, Bengal may feel justly proud, is the well known *Nyāya-kandalī* commentary[1] of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa on Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* Bhāṣya on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*. From the concluding verses of this sub-commentary we learn that Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abboka (*v. l.* Abhroka, Ambhoka, Acchoka) and belonged to Bhūrisṛṣṭi in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha,[2] which has been identified with the village of Bhursut, Dt. Burdwan. The work was written at the instance of one Pāṇḍudāsa, and is dated in Śaka 913 (or 910)[3] which is equivalent to 991 (or 988) A.D. From references in the work itself it appears that Śrīdhara also wrote *Advaya-siddhi* (p. 5), *Tattva-saṃvādinī* (p. 82), *Tattva-prabodha* (pp. 82, 146) and a *Saṃgraha-ṭīkā*[4] (p. 159) ; but none of these works, which are concerned apparently with Vedānta, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā, has come down to us. It falls outside our scope to enter into the philosophical views of Śrīdhara, but the work is important for having placed for the first time a theistic interpretation on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.[5] It

1. Ed. Vindhyeśvarīprasāda Dvivedin, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, nos. 6, Benares 1895. Translated into English by Ganganath JHA in the *Pandit*, 1903-15, reprinted E. J. Lazarus : Benares 1916. Large sections of Śrīdhara's works have been translated by B. FADDEGON in his *Vaiśeṣika-system*, Amsterdam 1918.

2. The verse states that in addition to pious and learned Brahmans many Śreṣṭhis lived there (*bhūri-śreṣṭhi* [v. l. *sṛṣṭi*]*-janāśrayaḥ*). It is probably the same as Bhūriśreṣṭhika in Rāḍha mentioned by Kṛṣṇamiśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (ii. 7) as the seat of proud Brahmans.

3. The printed text reads : *tryadhika-daśottara-nava-śata-śakābde*, which is also the reading of BÜHLER'S MS (*Kashmir Report*, p. 76, and appendix p. cxliv), but *adhika-daśottara*, which is perhaps a mislection, is found in some Mss noticed by R. G. BHANDARKAR (*Report* 1883-84, p. 314) and R. L. MITRA (*Notices*, viii, p. 45, no. 2589, also x, p. 287, no. 4186).

4. Gopinatha KAVIRAJ (History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature in *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, iii, p. 115, note) believes that the *Saṃgraha-ṭīkā* was not an independent work but referred to the *Nyāya-kandalī itself*, which was a Ṭīkā on the *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* of Praśastapāda ; but the reference in the text does not appear to bear out his conjecture.

5. Śrīdhara's famous contemporary, Udayana, who dates his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in Śaka 906 (= 984 A.D.) and who is the author also of a sub-commentary, entitled *Kiraṇāvalī*, on Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, as well as of two independent polemical works named *Kusumāñjali* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka*, is sometimes connected with Bengal by a tradition which associates him with the Bhāduri Brahmans of North Bengal. But the unreliability of the tradition is indicated by Udayana's disparaging remarks about the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka who lacked a true knowledge of the Vedic texts. The reference may be to a school or to an individual ; but Varadarāja in his *Kusumāñjali-bodhinī* commentary (ed. Sarasvati Bhavana Tests, no. 4, Benares 1922, p. 123) explains this reference as a pointed allusion to the Pañjikā-kāra. The identification of this Pañjikā-kāra with Śālikanātha, author of *Prakaraṇa-pañjikā* (ed. Benares 1903-4) and a direct pupil of Prabhākara, is plausible but unproved. It is noteworthy that much later (c. 13th century) Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya refers to the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka in almost identical terms in his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibl. Ind. Śabda-pramāṇa, p. 88).

is curious, however, that this work found little favour in the country of its origin, and the two best known commentaries on it are respectively written by the Maithila Padmanābha and the Jaina Rājaśekhara.

The tradition of Candra-gomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well known Buddhist grammarians, Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreya-rakṣita; but the place of activity of these two authors cannot be definitely determined.[1] Jinendrabuddhi, who styles himself as Bodhisattva-deśīyācārya, was the author of an extensive commentary entitled *Vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (commonly cited as the *Nyāsa*)[2] on the *Kāśikā*, while Maitreya-rakṣita composed *Tantra-pradīpa* commentary[3] on Jinendrabuddhi's work, as well as *Dhātu-pradīpa*,[4] which professes to follow Bhīmasena's recension[5] of the Pāṇinīya *Dhātu-pāṭha*. The conjecture that Vimalamati, author of the *Bhāga-vṛtti*, belonged to Bengal, is too fanciful to require serious consideration.[6] The fact that these grammatical treatises were popular in Bengal furnishes an argument of uncertain value; for Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammar, including the Kātantra, the Mugdha-bodha, the Saṃkṣipta-sāra and the Sārasvata. Of lexical writers, we know nothing about the date and identity of Subhūticandra,[7] a part of the Tibetan version of whose commentary on the

1. D. C. BHATTACHARYA (Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal in *Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, pt. i, pp. 189 f) suspects the Bengal origin of these writers from the fact that all the commentaries of the Nyāsa, for instance, are by Bengal writers. S. C. CHAKRAVARTI in the works cited below appears to be of the same opinion. The extraordinary argument (D. C. BHATTACHARYA p. 201), however, that Maitreya was the title and Rakṣita the real name, and that a clan of Varendra Brahmans are called to-day Maitra or Maitreya requires no serious consideration; for one might as well as argue that Rakṣita being the cognomen of some Rāḍhīya Kāyasthas at the present time, our author was a Bengal Kāyastha! The arguments from modern cognomen is unwarranted and hasty. As a Buddhist writer the name Maitreya-rakṣita is quite intelligible by itself.

2. Ed. (in 3 vols.) Srish Chandra CHAKRAVARTI, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1913, 1919-24, 1925. This work is to be distinguished from the *Anu-nyāsa*, a rival commentary by Indu or Indumitra (*IHQ*, 1931, p. 418), who is probably earlier than Maitreya-rakṣita but who need not be assumed gratuitously to have belonged to Bengal.

3. On this work see S. C. CHAKRAVARTI in the works cited, and D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.* A fragmentary Ms is noticed in MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 140, no. 2076, and another incomplete Ms exists in Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. It is referred to in the author's *Dhātu-pradīpa*; and the author is quoted by a series of grammarians and lexicographers (Ujjvaladatta, Rāyamukuṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Sarvānanda, Śaraṇadeva etc.), Sarvānanda (1160 A.D.) being the earliest known writer to cite Maitreya-rakṣita.

4. Ed. Srish Chandra CHAKRAVARTI, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1919. Ms. in EGGELING, *Catalogue of India Office Mss*, ii, p. 182, no. 687/434a.

5. Referred to in the opening verse.

6. Assigned to a period between 850 and 1050 A.D.

7. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 465. Th. ZACHARIAE, *Die indische Wörterbücher*, GIPA, Strassburg 1897, p. 21.

Amara-kośa, entitled *Kāmadhenu*,[1] exists in *Bstan-hbyur* and who is sometimes assigned[2] to Bengal. He is quoted four times by Rāyamukuṭa and once by Śaraṇadeva.[3]

Among exponents of technical Śāstras the medical writers of Bengal deserve mention. The well-known medical authority, Mādhava,[4] son of Indukara[5] and author of a learned work on pathology and diagnosis, entitled *Rug-viniścaya*[6] (or simply *Nidāna*), is assigned[7] to this period; but whether Bengal can really claim him is doubtful.[8] It is true that mediaeval Bengal

1. Ed. Satis Chandra VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA. Bibl. Ind. 1912 (only one fasc. published of the Tibetan text). According to VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA (p. ix), Subhūticandra is also cited by Liṅga Bhaṭṭa, another commentator on Amara.

2. *IC*, ii. p. 261.

3. Ed. Trivandrum 1909, p. 82.

4. In the work itself the name is given as Mādhava, and not as Mādhavakara, which is found only in some commentators; and it is doubtful whether *-kara* was at all a cognomen; for his father's name Indukara is intelligible in itself and need not lead to any supposition of Bengal origin. Cf. the name Bhānukara, author of *Rasika-jīvana* who never belonged to Bengal.—The evidence of Arabic sources (JOLLY, *Medicin*, p. 7) points to the 9th century as the date of Mādhava.

5. There is no evidence for presuming that Indukara was a medical writer and identifying him with Indu (where *-kara* is dropped) who is cited by Kṣīra-svāmin in his comment on the Vanauṣadhivarga of the *Amara-kośa*. He wrote, as the quotations show, on the topic of Vanauṣadhi, but the supposition (*IC*, *ii*, pp. 153-4) that his work was named Nighaṇṭu is entirely gratuitous. Indu is by no means an uncommon Indian name, and hazarding of guesses of identity of authors having similar names is hardly of any use.

6. The work has been printed very often in India. Ed. (Text only) with a Hindi commentary, by R. P. SITARAMA, Ganapat Krishnaji Press: Bombay 1884; Ed., with the Madhukośa-vyākhyā of Vijayarakṣita and his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta and with Ātaṅka-darpaṇa-ṭīkā of Vācaspati-vaidya, by J. T. ACHARYA, NSP, Bombay 1932. Vijaya-rakṣita commented on i-xxxii; Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the rest. Eight commentaries on this work are listed by AUFRECHT.

7. *IC*, ii, pp. 153-55; but see S. K. DE, *ibid*, iv, pp. 273-76.

8. The *Cikitsā* (MITRA, *Bikaner Catalogue*, no. 1413, pp. 647-48) of Mādhava is not, as suggested in *IC*, *loc. cit.*, a separate work, but is either identical with *Rug-viniścaya* or represents a version of it. The two opening verses quoted by Mitra are nothing but verses 3 and 4 of the *Rug-viniścaya*, while the only concluding verse cited, which is too corrupt for identification, deals apparently with Viṣa-roga-nidāna, which forms the subject-matter of one of the concluding chapters of the *Rug-viniścaya*. All the available Mss of the small work on Dietics, called *Kūṭa-mudgara*, are in Devanāgarī, and there is nothing to identify its author Mādhava with our Mādhava, who is probably also to be distinguished from the Mādhava or Mādhavas, who wrote *Āyurveda-rasa-śāstra* (BÜHLER, *Catalogue of Mss in Gujarat, Sindh etc.*, iv, p. 218), *Rasa-kaumudī* (MITRA, *Notices*, iv, no. 1616, p. 178), *Bhāva-svabhāva* (BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 230; see AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cata.* ii. p. 93, iii, p. 89), and *Mugdha-bodha* (EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v. p. 943, no. 2680|807). The only other work which can possibly be assigned to our Mādhava, son of Indukara, is the *Paryāya ratnamālā*, noticed by MITRA, *Notices*, ix, p. 234, no. 3150; but here, again, there is a great deal of uncertainty with regard to the work itself. In MITRA's description (*Notices*, i, p. 111, no. 207) of another Ms of the same work the name of the author is given as Rājavallabha. The India Office Ms (EGGELING,

developed peculiar names, surnames and titles, but the arguments based chiefly on the cognomen *-kara*, which, however, is not found attached to Mādhava's name in any of his known works, as well as on the extensive use of his works in Bengal, are hardly conclusive. It is, however, beyond doubt that Cakrapāṇidatta, the well known commentator on Caraka and Suśruta, belonged to Bengal. In his compendium of therapy, entitled *Cikitsā-saṃgraha*,[1] he informs us that his father Nārāyaṇa was an officer (Pātra) and superintendent of the culinary department (Rasavatyadhikārin) of the king of Gauḍa, that he was a Kulīna of the Lodhravalī family[2] and that his brother Bhānu was an Antaraṅga or learned physician of good family.[3] The commentator Śivadāsasena Yaśodhara, a Bengal writer, who belonged to the 16th century,[4] explains that the king of Gauḍa was Nayapāla. If this is so, Cakrapāṇidatta should be placed in the second half of the 11th century. Besides older authorities, the work professes to draw upon the *Gūḍha-bodha-saṃgraha* of Heramba, as well as upon the *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛnda,[5] which last in its turn follows the order of diseases and treatment of Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. Besides being an authoritative work on the subject, it possesses importance in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations,[6] which had been introduced from the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛnda.

v. p. 976, no. 2740|1511c) omits the name of the author, and ends differently. On Mādhava see A.F.R. HOERNLE, *Medicine of Ancient India* (Oxford 1907), pp. 13f; J. JOLLY, *Medicin* GIPA, (Strassburg 1901), pp. 6-7, where his relation to Vṛnda, author of the *Siddha-yoga*, is also briefly discussed. The suggestion that Vṛnda is the true name of the author of the *Rug-viniścaya* (HOERNLE in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 288f; 1908, p. 998) is groundless and unproved. The *Siddha-yoga* is sometimes called *Vṛnda-mādhava* probably because Vṛnda has made a very large use of Mādhava's work in writing his own. The real names of the work and the author as given in most Mss are respectively *Siddha-yoga* and Vṛnda (See EGGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 937; AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 315b; PETERSON, *Fourth Report*, p. 399; KIELHORN, *Catalogue of Mss in the Central Provinces*, p. 222 etc.).

1. Ed. by J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1888; but it is printed very often.

2. Explained by Śivadasa as the Lodhravalī branch of the Datta family. Tradition locates his birthplace in the district of Birbhum. Haraprasad SHASTRI in his *School History of India* (Calcutta 1896) gives 1060 A.D. as the definite date of Cakrapāṇi, which has been repeated by most writers (JOLLY, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and in ZDMG liii, p. 378; HOERNLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 16); but we have no proof for this exact date.

3. *Vidyā-kula-saṃpanno bhiṣag antaraṅgaḥ* (Śivadāsa). On this word see *IC*, i, pp. 684-86.

4. The commentary is entitled *Tattva-candrikā* and is professedly based upon a previous *Ratna-prabhā* commentary. From the genealogy and personal details given in the concluding verses we learn that Śivadāsa was the son of Ananta and grandson of Uddharaṇa, and that he belonged to Mālañcikā in Gauḍa (Pabna District). His father Ananta is said (*IC*, iii, p. 157) to have been a court-physician of Barbek Shah in the 16th century.

5. Ed. Ānandāśrama Sank. Series no. 27, 1894, with the *Vyākhyā-kusumāñjali* commentary of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta. On the sources of Cakrapāṇidatta see JOLLY in *ZDMG*, liii, p. 377f.

6. P. C. RAY, *Hist. of Hindu Chemistry*, i, introd., p. liv.

Cakrapāṇidatta also wrote a commentary on Caraka, entitled *Āyurveda-dīpikā* or *Caraka-tātparya-dīpikā*,[1] in the introduction to which he mentions Naradatta as his preceptor. His commentary on Suśruta is entitled *Bhānumatī*.[2] Two other useful works of his are *Śabda-candrikā*,[3] a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances and compounds, and *Dravya-guṇa-saṃgraha*,[4] a work on dietics.

It would be convenient in this connexion to notice two other medical writers of some importance who flourished in Bengal at a somewhat later date. The first is Sureśvara or Surapāla who wrote a glossary of medical botany, entitled *Śabda-pradīpa*,[5] in which he gives an account of himself. His great-grandfather and father were respectively Devagaṇa, who was a court-physician to king Govindacandra, and Bhadreśvara, who served in a similar capacity to king Rāmapāla (called Vaṅgeśvara). He himself was a physician to king Bhīmapāla, and should from these accounts be placed in the first half of the 12th century. He also wrote a *Vṛkṣāyurveda*[6] on a similar subject, and a *Loha-paddhati* or *Loha-sarvasva*[7] on the medical use and preparation of iron. The other writer is Vaṅgasena, whose very name would assign him to Bengal. He wrote *Cikitsā-sāra-saṃgraha*,[8] in which he is described as the son of Gadādhara of Kāntika or Kāñjika. The lower limit of his date, viz., the 12th century, is supplied by Hemādri's profuse quotations from this work in *Āyurveda-rasāyana* commentary on Vāghbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*.[9] Vaṅgasena relies upon Suśruta but borrows freely and extensively from Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. It is not certain if the later medical commentators,

1. Ed. ŚRĪNĀTHA VIŚĀRADA, Calcutta 1892-1895. Also Ed. V. K. DATAR, NSP, Bombay 1922; ed. N. N. SHASTRI, 2 vols. Lahore 1929. See MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 223, no. 2160 (incomplete Ms.)

2. Ed. in parts by Gangaprasad SEN, Vijayaratna SEN and Nishikanta SEN, Calcutta 1888-93. See AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cat.* i, p. 175*a*.

3. Mss in AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Cat. no.* 453, pp. 195-196; EGGELING, *op. cit.* v, p. 974, no. 2738|987*b*. Also see MITRA, *Notices*, ii, p. 25, no. 562.

4. Ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta (2nd Ed.) 1897, with the commentary of Śivadāsa. See MITRA, *Notices*, ix, pp. 43-44, nos. 2931-32.

5. Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 974-77, nos. 2739/1351*c*.

6. Ms in AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, no. 768, pp. 324-25, where an analysis of contents is given.

7. Ms. in H. D. VELANKAR, *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. and Pkt. Mss* in the Bombay Branch of the RAS, i (Bombay 1926), p. 65.

8. Ed. Nandakiśora GOSVĀMIN, Calcutta 1889. For Mss see AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cat.*, i, 186*b*; ii, 38*a*, 199*b*; iii, 40*b* and especially EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 951-52. The work is also called Vaidya-vallabha. The *Cikitsā-mahārṇava* mentioned by R. G. BHANDARKAR (*Report 1884-1887* p. 93, no. 918) is probably the same work. The *Ākhyāta-vyākaraṇa* mentioned by R. K. MITRA (*Descriptive Cat.* of Skt. Mss in ASB, pt. i, Grammar, Calcutta 1877, no. 29) may or may not be by the same author.

9. P. K. GODE in *IC*, iii, p. 535 f. The Cambridge Ms. (Add. 1707), as EGGELING notes, was copied in the Nepali era 396 = 1276 A.D.

Aruṇadatta,[1] Vijaya-rakṣita,[2] Niścalakara,[3] and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta[4] really belonged to Bengal.[5] We have no proof for such a conjecture; in any case, they are not independent writers of importance, and also fall chronologically outside our period.

Like the speculative Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the practical Dharmaśāstra literature achieved a distinction of its own in mediaeval Bengal, but of the early history of the latter, like that of the former, we know very little. That the study of the Mīmāṃsā, allied to the *Dharma-śāstra*, was not neglected is apparent from the epigraphic records, as well as from the references, however disparaging, of Udayana and Gaṅgeśa, already mentioned above.[6] We also know that the two important Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Bhavadeva and Aniruddha, were well versed in the teachings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* informs us that although Bengal paid little attention to the Vedas, she studied Mīmāṃsā; and he himself wrote a *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva* which is now lost. But the subject is actually represented in this period by only one work, namely, the *Tautātitamata-tilaka*, to be dealt with presently, of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, which exists only in fragments. The study of the Vedic ritual is similarly evidenced by a single extant work composed by a little known scholiast, Nārāyaṇa, son of Gona (or Goṇa)[7] and grandson of Umāpati. It is a commentary, entitled *Prakāśa*, on Keśava Miśra's *Karma-pradīpa* or *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*,[8] which is a compendium of Sāmavedic Gṛhya ritual as described by Gobhila. The author's ancestors belonged to Uttarā Rāḍhā. His grandfather Umāpati, who excelled in his knowledge of the teachings of Prabhākara, is described as flourishing under Jayapāla; while Nārāyaṇa was also a follower of the views of Prabhākara and was well versed in Smṛti and Purāṇa. But the work itself is not of great merit.

Of the two earliest Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Jitendriya and Bālaka, whose works are now lost, our information is scanty, being derived from citations in later authors. They are quoted and criticised by the Bengal

1. Wrote Sarvāṅga-sundarī on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (Ed. A. M. KUNTE. 2 vols. Ganapat Krishnaji Press: Bombay 1880). His date is variously given as c. 1220 (HOERNLE), 13th century (CORDIER), 15th century (JOLLY).

2. Wrote, with his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, the Madhu-kośa on Mādhava's *Nidāna*. HOERNLE dates him at c. 1240 and Jolly at the 14th or 15th century.

3. Wrote *Prabhā* on Cakrapāṇi's *Dravya-guṇa*°. Date not known.

4. See note 4 above. Also wrote *Kusumāñjali* on Vṛnda's *Siddha-yoga*.

5. As claimed without much justification in *IC*, ii, pp. 157-58.

6. The mislection *nigūḍhācārya* for *uvaṭācārya* in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (śl. 20-21) led H. P. SHASTRI (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 173) to the supposition that there was an early author on Vedic ritualism named Nigūḍhācārya; but the reference is undoubtedly to Uvaṭācārya, the well known author of the Vājasaneyi *Mantra-bhāṣya* (See *IHQ*, 1930, p. 783).

7. The Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *tasyānujaḥ* (=younger brother of Umāpati), with the v. l. *tasyātmajaḥ*, which last is the reading also of the India Office Ms.

8. Ed. Bibl. Ind. 1909, 1923 (only two fasc. published). Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 92-93, no. 1028 (incomplete).

authors, Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi, and are therefore conjectured to have flourished in Bengal before the 12th century A.D. In his *Kālaviveka*[1] Jīmūtavāhana mentions Jitendriya among writers who dealt with the subject of auspicious time (Kāla) appropriate for ceremonies, and quotes in several passages his very words.[2] Jitendriya's views on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta are also quoted in the *Dayā-bhāga* and the *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* of Jīmūtavāhana, as well as in the *Dāya-tattva* of Raghunandana. It would seem, therefore, that Jitendriya's lost work was fairly comprehensive in its scope ; and as only these Bengal writers, and no other, quote him, the supposition that he flourished in Bengal in the first half of the 11th century is not unlikely. The other forgotten author, Bālaka, is known entirely from references by Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi,[3] who discuss his views mostly on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścita, Jīmūtavāhana going even to the length of sometimes punningly ridiculing them as childish (*bāla-vacana*).[4] If the Vāloka mentioned six times[5] in his *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* by Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, also a Bengal writer, be the same as our Bālaka, then his date would be anterior to 1100 A.D. There is also another Dharma-śāstra writer named Yogloka[6] who is known similarly from the references made by Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He appears to have treated the subject of Vyavahāra and composed a long (Bṛhat) and a short (Laghu) treatise on Kāla. He is quoted mostly for the purpose of being refuted, but since Jīmūtavāhana refers to old (*purātana*) manuscripts of Yogloka's work, he might have been even an older author than Jitendriya and Bālaka.

If not a great writer, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was versatile and was certainly one of the most interesting personalities of his time. A great deal about him is known from an inscription[7] found in the magnificent temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, which eulogises Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as a politician, scholar and author, and as a constructor of reservoirs and builder of temples and images, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga, applied to both.[8] This Praśasti of Bhavadeva and his family composed by

1. Ed. Bibl. Ind. 1905, p. 380. See *JASB*, 1915, p. 315.
2. For the passages see KANE, *Hist. of Dharma-śāstra*, i, Poona 1930, pp. 281-83, where they are given in full.
3. These passages are quoted in KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84, which also see on the question of Bālaka's identity with Bālarūpa, pp. 284-86.
4. *JASB*, 1915, p. 320.
5. *JASB*, 1912, p. 336. Vāloka may be a common mislection of the Bengal scribe for Bālaka. The printed text (pp. 42, 44, 74, 81, 83, 106) apparently found the correct form Bālaka, but it does not utilise the Mss of the text mentioned below.
6. See KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87.
7. *EI*, iv, pp. 203-07 ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, pp. 25-41. On Bhavadeva see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 332-48, which account has been corrected and supplemented by N. G. MAJUMDAR, *loc. cit.*, and KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-06.
8. The epithet has been the subject of much speculation (besides the work cited above, see R. D. BANERJEE, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 99 and *Bāṅgalār Itihāsa*,

Bhavadeva's friend Vācaspati-kavi,[1] consists of thirty-three elegantly written verses. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarṇa-gotra (of the Kauthuma school of the *Sāmaveda*) and came from the Siddhala-grāma in Rāḍha.[2] His ancestors were all learned men, and one of them received the Śāsana of Hastinībhiṭṭa from an unnamed king of Gauḍa. His grandfather Ādideva was likewise a minister of peace and war to some king of Vaṅga. His father was Govardhana ; and his mother Sāṅgokā was the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman. Bhavadeva himself served for a long time in a similar capacity under king Harivarmadeva and probably also under his son, whose name is not given. Bhavadeva is described as prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy, conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), an antagonist of the Buddhist and heretic dialecticians, well versed in Artha-śāstra, Āyurveda, Astra-veda etc., proficient in Siddhānta, Tantra and Gaṇita, and called the second Varāha because of his special keenness for Astrology and Astronomy, having himself composed a work on the Horā-śāstra. He is said to have also composed a work on the Dharma-śāstra, which superseded the already existing texts, and, following Bhaṭṭa (*bhaṭṭoktanītyā*), to have written a guide to Mīmāṃsā in one thousand *nyāyas*.

Although exaggeration is usual in such eulogistic enumeration, we have the means of verifying at least a part of this remarkable catalogue of accomplishments. No work of Bhavadeva on the Horā-śāstra or Phala-saṃhitā has yet been discovered, but a fragment of his work on Mīmāṃsā is available. This is entitled *Tautātita-mata-tilaka*[3] and is known from a fragmentary manuscript in the India Office Library. It discusses the *Tantra-vārttika* of Tautātita or Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the fragment covering only *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* ii. 1. Bhavadeva's works on the Dharma-śāstra, however, are better known. These are, so far known, three in number and respectively embrace the three im-

p. 288, and references cited therein). Bālavalabhī is obviously a place-name which occurs as such in the commentary on Saṃdhyākara Nandin's *Rāma-carita* (p. 36), but the exact situation of which is unknown. A place called Vṛddhavalabhī, situated in the Gauḍa country, is mentioned in the colophon to a Ms of *Sarvadeva-pratiṣṭhā-paddhati* of Trivikramasūri (SHASTRI, *Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss*, iii, p. 529), which makes the meaning of Bāla in Bāla-valabhī intelligible. The word Bhujaṅga means 'a lover' or a Nāgaraka, and not a serpent, as M. CHAKRAVARTI and N. G. MAJUMDAR are inclined to interpret (*JASB*, 1912, pp. 341-42).

1. R. L. MITRA'S conjecture that this is the well known philosophical writer, Vācaspati Miśra, is unfounded. Six verses are ascribed to one Vācaspati in the Bengal anthology, *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, but as one of these verses (ii, 33.2) is quoted anonymously in *Daśa-rūpaka* (on ii, 29), he is probably a different person.

2. The Sāvarṇa-gotra, as well as Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍha, is mentioned in the Belava copperplate of Bhojavarman (N. G. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

3. EGGELING, *op. cit.*, no. 2166|1591, p. 690. Another Ms probably of the same work noticed in *Triennial Cat. of Madras Govt. Mss Library* for 1919-22, p. 5527. The work is mentioned by Hall in his *Index to the Bibliography of Indian Philosophical System*, p. 170. Hemādri in his *Caturvarga*° (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 120) disapproves of Bhavadeva's explanation of some views of Kumārila. The Sūtras actually dealt with in the India Office Ms are ii, 1.1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40, 46-49.

portant branches of Ācāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta. The work on Vyavahāra or judicial procedure, called *Vyavahāra-tilaka*, is now lost; but it is known from citations in the *Vyavahāra-tattva* of Raghunandana,[1] the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra[2] and *Daṇḍa-viveka* of Vardhamāna.[3] The other Dharma-śāstra work is the *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*,[4] which deals in six chapters with the modes of expiation for various sins and offences. The first chapter (Vadha-pariccheda) concerns itself with the murder of men and women and slaughter of animals; the second (Bhakṣyābhakṣya-p°) treats of forbidden food and drink; the third (Steya-p°) discusses various kinds of theft; the fourth (Agamyāgamana-p°) is occupied with sexual union with forbidden persons; the fifth (Saṃsarga-p°) is devoted to such topics as taking of improper gift from outcasts, contracting of forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden food and contact of untouchable persons; while the sixth chapter (Kṛcchra-p°) concludes with the discussion of expiatory rites and penances. It gives a fairly full treatment of the subject and cites more than sixty authorities.[5] The reputation which the work enjoyed is indicated by the respect with which it is cited by such Smṛti-writers as Vedācārya,[6] Govindānanda and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.[7] On the Sāmavedic rites and ceremonies relating to the Saṃskāras, Bhavavede wrote *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*,[8] also variously called Daśa-karma-paddhati, Daśa-karma-dīpikā or Saṃskāra-paddhati. Its contents are devoted to Kusaṇḍikā, Udīcya-karman, Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, Puṃsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Soṣyantī-homa, Jāta-karman, Niṣkramaṇa, Pauṣṭika, Anna-prāśana, Putra-mūrdhābhighrāṇa, Cūḍā-karaṇa, Upanayana, Samāvartana and Śālā-karman. From literary sources[9] Bhava-

1. Ed. Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, ii, p. 207, also p. 208. A Ms entitled *Dattaka-tilaka* exists in the Varendra Research Society's collection (see the society's edition of Bhavadeva's *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa*, introd. p. 2). The first Maṅgala-śloka of this work is identical with the opening Maṅgala-śloka of his *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhana°*, while the second verse refers to his Vyavahāra-tilaka; but it is a later fabrication passed off in Bhavadeva's name inasmuch as it quotes such later writers as Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura (14th century).
2. Ed. Chaukhamba Skt. Series, p. 85.
3. MITRA, *Notices*, p. 226, no. 1910. The work belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. It has been edited in GOS (1931) by KAMALA-KṚṢṆA Smṛti-tīrtha.
4. Also called *°prakaraṇa*. Ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1927. Mss in EGGELING, iv, p. 554, no. 1725|561; MITRA, *Notices*, ix, pp. 214-15, no. 3138, where an abstract of contents is given. Also Mss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, nos. 183-84. The colophon calls the author Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga and Sāṃdhivigrahika.
5. For a list see *JASB*, 1912, p. 336; also index of works and authors to the printed edition.
6. For reference see KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
7. In his *Prāyaścitta-saṃgraha* (EGGELING, op. cit., pp. 473, 555).
8. So named in the second introductory verse. Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 94, no. 452|5*a* (cf. no. 394); in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, no. 52; Bhandarkar Institute Mss no. 9 of 1895-98 and no. 263 of 1887-91. The epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga occurs in the colophon.
9. On this question see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 342-45, KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-06.

deva's date would be earlier than the first quarter of the 12th and even the last quarter of the 11th century; and this is supported by the palæography and internal evidence of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription[1] concerning Bhavaveda.[2]

To this period probably belongs Jīmūtavāhana, who is indeed the first of the three leading authorities of the Bengal school of Dharma-śāstra, the other two being Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi who came later. Extremely divergent opinions, however, have been held on the question of his date, and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 11th to the 16th century.[3] It is clear, however, that he could not have been earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century because he mentions Dhāreśvara Bhoja and Govindarāja; and since he is himself quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Raghunandana, he could not have been later than the middle of the 15th century. Relying on astronomical as well as literary evidence, Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI would place him tentatively in the beginning of the 12th century, while P. V. KANE would approximate the date still further to a period between 1090 and 1130 A.D. Of Jīmūtavāhana's personal history not much is known. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya, while at the conclusion of his *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* and *Dāya-bhāga* he informs us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (Kula). It is said that this name belongs to a section of Rāḍhīya Brahmans, still called Pārihāl or Pāri-gāi.[4] An astronomical reference in his *Kāla-viveka* (p. 290) appears to support the inference that Jīmūtavāhana belonged to Rāḍha.

Of Jīmūtavāhana's three works,[5] all of which have been printed, the most well known and important is his *Dāya-bhāga*, which is the basis and paramount authority on the Hindu law of inheritance, partition and Strī-

1. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

2. Our Bhavadeva should be distinguished from several other later Bhavadevas who also wrote on Dharma-śāstra, viz., Bhavadeva, author of *Dāna-dharma-prakriyā* (middle of the 17th century), Bhavadeva, author of *Smṛti-candrikā* (first half of the 18th century) and Bhavadeva, author of *Saṃbandha-viveka* (on Sapiṇḍa relationship). These works do not mention either the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga or the official designation Sāṃdhi-vigrahika of Bhavadeva.

3. For an examination of the various dates, see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1915, pp. 321-27, Panchanan GHOSH in 26 *Calcutta Law Journal*, pp. 17 f (journal portion) and KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-27.

4. See Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1915, pp. 320-21. H. P. SHASTRI (*Descriptive Catalogue* of *ASB Mss*, iii, p. xv) thinks that since the Pārihāls were reduced in status by Ballālasena, Jīmūtavāhana could not have paraded his being a Pāribhadrīya unless he flourished before Ballālasena.

5. It appears that these three treatises were meant to form a part of an ambitious work on Dharma-śāstra called Dharma-ratna; hence the colophons read: *iti dharma-ratne dāya-bhāgaḥ* (or *kāla-vivekaḥ*, as the case may be). The ignoring of this fact has led to inaccuracies in the description of Jīmūtavāhana's works in some catalogues of manuscripts. Thus, the *Dharma-ratna* mentioned in MITRA, *Notices*, v, pp. 297-98 (no. 1974) and in the *Descriptive Cat.* of Madras Govt. Oriental Library, vi, pp. 2385-88, nos. 3172-74 are respectively the *Kāla-viveka* and the *Dāya-bhāga*.

dhana in Bengal, except in cases where the *Mitākṣarā*, from which it differs in some fundamental points,[1] is applicable. The work is widely known through H. T. Colebrooke's English translation[2] and has been often printed in Bengal. Its popularity and importance are indicated by the large number of commentaries[3] which exist, including one by Raghunandana who has utilised it also in his own authoritative works. The work defines and discusses the general principles of Dāya or inheritance and proceeds to the exposition of father's power over ancestral property, partition of father's and grandfather's property and division among sons after father's death. It then deals with the definition, classification and devolution of woman's property (Strīdhana), after which it treats of persons excluded from partition and inheritance on grounds of disability, of property which is impartible, of the order of succession to sonless persons, of reunion, of partition of coparcenary property concealed but subsequently discovered, and of settlement of partition disputes by the court. It is a work of great learning and acuteness, and freely criticises a large number of authorities,[4] ancient and modern, some of whom are not known otherwise.

His *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā*,[5] as its very name implies, deals with judicial procedure. Its importance is evidenced by references to it by Raghunandana and Vācaspati Miśra.[6] It divides the subject into four Pādas, with an introductory exposition (Vyavahāra-mukha) dealing with the eighteen titles of law, the function and qualification of the judge (Prāḍvivāka), the different grades of court and the duties of the Sabhyas. Of the four stages of Vyavahāra, the first (Bhāṣā-pāda) deals with the plaint (Pūrva-pakṣa) of the plaintiff (Arthin) and with surety (Pratibhū); the second (Uttara-pāda) treats of the four kinds of reply (Uttara) by the defendant (Pratyarthin) ; the third (Kriyā-pāda) is devoted to proof or burden of proof (Kriyā) and various kinds of evidence, human (Mānuṣī) and divine (Daivī), the author purposely omitting the divine which consists of trial by ordeal ; and the fourth (Nirṇaya-pāda) concludes with the topic of the decision and order of the

1. See KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 323 for a summary of these distinctive doctrines. Jīmūtavāhana does not quote or mention the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, but he appears to know the doctrines of the school.

2. Reprinted, Calcutta 1910. Edited Golapchandra SARKAR Sastri, Calcutta 1883, along with COLEBROOKE'S translation of the *Mitākṣarā*.

3. The work was edited by Bhārata Candra ŚIROMAṆI with seven commentaries, 2 vols., Calcutta 1863-66 (an earlier edition with the commentary of Kṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra, Calcutta 1850, in Bengali characters). In some editions, as for instance in that of Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, the work is divided into sections but there is no such division in the Mss.

4. For a discussion of these citations see M. CHAKRAVARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20, KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 f.

5. Ed. Asutosh Mookerjee in *Memoirs of ASB*, iii, no. 5, Calcutta 1910-14. This name of the work is given in the first introductory verse, and is found in later citations ; but colophons name it variously as Nyāya-mātṛkā or Nyāya-ratna-mālikā.

6. For references see M. CHAKRAVARTI and KANE in the works cited.

court. The work abounds in quotations,[1] calculated as about six hundred in number, and proves the learning and dialectic abilities of the author. Jīmūtavāhana's third work, *Kāla-viveka*,[2] declares in its second introductory verse its object of elucidating the topic of Kāla or appropriate time for particular ceremonies, which has not been properly understood and treated by previous writers, seven of whom are directly mentioned in one verse.[3] It deals accordingly with the question of appropriate season, month, day and hour for the performance of religious duties and ceremonies, the determination of intercalary months, the suitability of lunar and solar months, and the auspicious time for various festivals, including the Kojāgara and the Durgotsava. The work shows the same skill and learning of the author and abounds in quotations, references and criticisms of previous authors, while its reputation is indicated by its wide recognition by such later writers as Raghunandana, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Govindānanda.

1. Discussed by M. CHAKRAVARTI and KANE, as above.
2. Ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1905.
3. P. 380. They are Jitendriya, Śaṅkhadhara, Andhuka, Saṃbhrama, Harivaṃśa, Dhavala and Yogloka.

SULTANS OF MYSORE AND THE SṚṄGERI MUTT

By

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That toleration was the keynote of the religious policy of the Sultans of Mysore is evident from several records which have been happily preserved and handed down to us. The Sultans of Mysore with whom we are concerned are Hyder Ali and Tippu. It was in 1761 that Hyder became *de facto* ruler of Mysore and continued to rule until his death in December 1782 in camp in the Carnatic. His officers who were loyal to him did not make a public announcement of the death of the Nawab until his son Tippu Sultan who was then in Malabar was sent for and placed on the throne. Hyder enjoined upon his son Tippu Sultan to follow in his own footsteps and attach the affection of the people to himself as much as he could.

The administration of both Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan was marked by activities of a healthy kind. Though Mussalmans by faith, they respected the feelings of their Hindu subjects and their institutions. The *inam* lands, villages, and *agrahāras* which had been granted in former times by previous Hindu rulers were left untouched. Hyder allowed those who had been enjoying them undisturbed.[1] In the same way Tippu Sultan is said to have restored a grant of twenty villages given to the Dattātreya Pīṭha by the Kings of Ānegoṇḍi.[2]

But if one examines the records now in the possession of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, and traces the relations which existed between these Nawabs and the authorities of the Mutt, one is struck by the tolerant spirit which imbued the two rulers. The records demonstrate that their relations were something more than mere toleration. They actively helped the heads of the Mutt in pursuing their old traditional modes of religious worship and conduct. There are many records in the Śṛṅgeri Mutt which are in the form of sanads, *nirūpas* or letters addressed to the Heads of the Mutt by the Kings of Mysore from time to time, ranging in date from 1737 to 1878. Of these records which number more than 150, three are by Hyder Ali, and about 30 by Tippu Sultan. Taking the three records which relate to Hyder, one which is dated in 1769 reads thus: 'You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for everyone to cherish a desire to pay respect to you.' The letter which is a request to the Svāmiji to undertake an embassy to Sahib Raghunatha Rao, the Peshwa, informs us that for this trip, the Nawab sent an elephant, one palankeen, five horses and five camels besides cash of Rupees ten and a half thousand for expenses. The Nawab also pre-

1. *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore* 1930, p. 101.
2. *Ibid.* 1931, p. 21.

sented on this occasion gold cloth for the goddess, five pieces of silk cloth for the standard (*nisani*), and a pair of shawls for the use of the Svāmiji. In the second letter the Nawab assures the Śvāmiji of the continuance of the *inams* etc., due to the Mutt and this letter is accompanied by presents by Hyder Ali to the *maṭha*. As the letter insists on the Śvāmiji returning to Śṛṅgeri and living happily as before, it appears that due to some disturbance, the Śṛṅgerisvāmigal had to abandon his residence and live outside. Under what circumstances that event happened we are not in a position to know. But it is definite that Hyder assured him of the safety of both person and property. A third letter of Hyder is a *nirupa* of date 1780 addressed to all his officers concerned. They were ordered to see that the contributions to the Mutt were properly realised. The contributions mentioned are among others two *Śricaraṇa kānike* and *dīpārādhana kānike*. The tax-collectors of the Mutt were helped by the officers of the Nawab in realising the amounts due to the Mutt.[1]

An examination of Tippu's records shows how he esteemed the Śṛṅgeri svāmi, and was anxious to ensure his welfare. These records of which there are twenty-nine in the Mutt range in date from 1791 to 1798 bearing the years of the Mauludi era, commencing from the birth of Muhammad. The letters addressed to the svāmis generally begin thus : 'To Sachchidānanda-Bhārati svāmi of Śṛṅgeri, possessed of the usual titles Śrimat-paramahamsa and so forth, the *salām* of Tippu Sultan Badshah.' The Mysore Archæologist who has taken pains to investigate these records tells us that of the records of Tippu at Śṛṅgeri, 17 are dated in 1791, five in 1792, one in 1795, one in 1796, and two in 1798. The general contents of these letters betray the fact that Tippu who was harassed by three enemies— the Mahrattas, the English and the Nizam wanted the Śṛṅgeri svāmi to perform religious ceremonies with a view to the destruction of the enemies and for the welfare of their country. The names of some such religious ceremonies are mentioned—*Śatacaṇḍi japa* and *Sahasracaṇḍi japa*. The first was a rite in honour of Caṇḍi to be repeated one hundred times and the second, the same to be repeated one thousand times. The belief was that the more a mantra was meditated upon and repeated, the more efficacious it was. When the Svāmiji wrote to the Sultan that he had decided to perform the ceremony known as *Sahasracaṇḍi japa*, Tippu was overjoyed and he offered to meet all the expenses incurred in that connection. He seems to have been anxious that the ceremoney should be conducted on proper lines, according to the prescribed rules. One item of the ceremony was to feed a thousand Brahmans every day. Adequate provision was made by the Sultan to see that disturbance of any sort should not attend the rite when it was being performed, extending over a maṇḍala or forty-eight days. The records which relate to the performance of the rite of *Sahasracaṇḍi japa* bear out the keen and absorbing interest of the Nawab in the matter.

1. *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore*, 1916, pp. 71 and 73.

Another letter records the Nawab sending to the Mutt two palankeens, one for the goddess and the other for the personal use by the Svāmiji, together with a pair of *chauris* with silver handles. Still more interesting is the letter of 1793 which says 'you are the Jagadguru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and that the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity. In whatever country holy personages like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops. Why should you live so long in a foreign country? Please finish your work soon and return.' The letter speaks for itself and requires no comments. This one letter is enough to indicate Tippu Sultan's regard for the occupant of the pontifical chair at the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha, and his solicitous care for Hindu religion and its accredited institutions. The Sultan is so much all veneration when he expresses his desire that the Svāmiji must as far as possible reside in his own country. The reference to the Svāmiji outside his own place may be to the occasional tours taken by the Maṭhādhipatis for the welfare of the people at large.

That Tippu Sultan believed in the blessings of a holy personage of the status of the Maṭhādhipati at Śṛṅgeri, and wrote to him to send his blessings is evident from another letter dated 1791 which says: "you are a holy personage and an ascetic. As it is your duty to be solicitous about the welfare of the many, we request you to pray to God along with the other Brahmans of the *Maṭha,* so that all the enemies may suffer defeat and take to flight and all the people of our country live happily, and to send us your blessings." Again, when the Śvāmiji wrote that consequent on the raid by Maratha horsemen on Śṛṅgeri, a reconsecration of the Śāradā was necessary, the Nawab generously sanctioned 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration ceremony.[1] These all point out to the solicitude on the part of the two Muhammadan rulers of Mysore towards the Hindu religious head of Sṛṅgeri.

1. *An R. Arch. Survey of Mysore,* pp. 73-76.

YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA ON THE MEANS OF PROOF

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Introductory Remarks.

The second chapter of the *Yogāvāsiṣṭha* entitled "Mumukṣu-prakaraṇa" is as it were the key-chapter of that work because although its immediate and declared purpose is to lay down the qualifications which an aspirant must acquire before he can be initiated into the teaching of Vasiṣṭha contained in the remaining four chapters, which it does in four Sargas,[1] it also contains a Sarga[2] in which the total number of chapters in the work, the total number of stanzas therein, the doctrine expounded therein, the name of each chapter including even the previous one, the number of stanzas therein and the nature of the contents thereof and the inter-connection between those of each of them, have been stated. Over and besides that it contains 4 Sargas[3] intended to prove that Puruṣārtha (human-effort) if well-directed and backed up by a strong will must succeed in spite of obstacles of all sorts being thrown in the way by Daiva (fate) because the latter is nothing else but an imagined result of actions in a previous birth and such a result can be avoided if actions are done in this birth resolutely and persistently, without believing that there is any other or higher source of power than the self itself, not only on the physical but on other planes as well. This subject is intimately connected with that of the Pramāṇas, the means of cognition, because after the acquisition of the necessary qualifications by a persistent self-effort backed up by a grim determination, what one has to acquire is correct knowledge, which is capable of leading an aspirant to the desired goal. In order that such knowledge may be acquired it is necessary to know which is or are the unfailing means of proof. This author has discussed that subject in two of the Sargas in this chapter.[4] The accepted means of proof are (1) 'Pratyakṣa' (direct perception), (2) 'Anumāna' (inference) (3) 'Upamāna' (analogy) and (4) 'Śabda' (authoritative word). I propose to set forth the views of this author with regard to the nature of each of them and their relative values.

(1). *Direct Perception.*

2. He says that just as the ocean is the principal source of all water so Pratyakṣa amongst the means of proof is the principal source of knowledge.[5]

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 13 to 16.
2. *Ibid.* 17.
3. *Ibid.* 4 to 9.
4. *Ibid.* 18 and 19.
5. *Ibid.* 19. 16.

According to him this is so not only in the matters pertaining to Vyavahāra (our daily intercourse) but also in those relating to Paramārtha (the highest object of man's attainment), *i.e. to say*, not only in the matter of cognition of the objects of the phenomenal world but also in that of the absolute reality. The process of reasoning by which he demonstrates this proposition is indeed subtle and original.

3. It may be summed up thus :—According to the wise that knowledge can be deemed to have been derived from direct perception which arises from the contact of an object with the eye which is the principal organ of sense-perception. These are however outward manifestations of an inner reality, which becomes both the Pramātā (knower) and the Prameya (thing to be known), the subject and the object. The subject is of the nature of the consciousness "I" and the object is of the nature of a Vṛtti (modification) of the mind, which itself is also a product of a Vṛtti which had originally arisen in the pure consciousness. This Vṛtti, whether it arises in the individual mind or as it had arisen in the universal mind, is known as the 'Saṁvit.' In the latter it had arisen without any specific reason but once having arisen it had given rise to numerous Saṁkalpas and Vikalpas (changing thoughts) and had thereby given motion to it, as the result whereof, just as water itself assumes the forms of bubbles, ripples, waves &c., by the action of wind, diverse objects of the material world had come into existence and become manifest. These objects consist of beings in different grades of development. In their material forms they seem to be distinct and of variegated natures but these forms are like mere bubbles, having only a transient existence, which they owe to their substratum, the underlying reality.

4. Thus from the standpoint of the Absolute both the sentient and insentient creatures are unreal, mere conventional names and forms, but since the absolute permeates all of them they partake of its nature in a greater or less degree and therefore we can avail ourselves of the knowledge about them in order to rise from the known to the unknown, from the manifest to the unmanifest. Such knowledge arises in the case of an ordinary individual from the contact of his sense of perception with an external object but that is only a physical act and knowledge as such does not arise unless it is followed by a psychical process, which differs in the case of different individuals according to their psychical development. An ordinary individual is, on seeing an object, reminded merely of a similar object which he had seen or heard of. He has an eye only on its outer form, not its inner kernel. A philosopher, on the other hand, has his eye on the latter, which is the same in the case of all objects, physical or metaphysical. Thus, whenever he sees any object even with his physical eye, he is reminded of the First Cause (Parama Mahat), which, as said above, had assumed the form of objects. This does not mean that he is incapable of dealing with the object as such but only means that his mind remains placid even on seeing it, deals with it only so far as it may be necessary for an immediate purpose and does not allow his mind to be coloured by the impression produced therein, so that it may not disturb him in his

repose when it is no longer necessary. As for himself too, he knows that the Pramātā (Knower) in himself, making himself felt as self-consciousness in the form "I" is also an assumed form of the same First Cause. Thus unlike an ordinary man, a philosopher has even in objective perception an Anubhūti (experience) of the self by the self. In this work therefore the term 'Pratyakṣa' has been used in the sense of 'Anubhūti' i.e. an actual realization of the truth. And just as one sees things externally when the senses are turned towards the external world one can also see several things internally when one's senses are drawn inwards, as in the case of the dream-experience, which is common to all human beings. The only difference between such vision and a dream-vision is that the soul is in the sub-conscious state in the latter and in the conscious state in the former. The consciousness can be kept up even when the senses are drawn inwards, by the cultivation of a habit of deep thinking, while in such a state (Abhyāsa). But one who cultivates that habit does so not for the sake of seeing the abstract forms of objects but for realizing by intense thinking the substratum underlying them. He therefore does not take them at their face-value and satisfy his greed in that manner but cultivates the habit of detachment (Vairāgya) by reflecting over their source, mode of origin &c. By this dual means, Abhyāsa and Vairāgya, he ultimately reaches the First Cause, which appears to him inwardly as having a body made up of the universe extended in space and time. On reaching it he finds that there is no distinction between himself and that object, his own individuality merging in the universality of the object, and the universal consciousness itself alone survives in the form "I myself am the cause of all that was, is and will be, there is naught else except my self." This kind of consciousness arises then as confidently as the consciousness "I exist" in the waking state. This therefore is also 'Pratyakṣa' of the nature of 'Anubhūti.' Without such direct perception or actual realization, all knowledge however derived, is a burden on the brain, a mere intellectual exercise which increases egoism instead of decreasing and ultimately dissolving it. Without its dissolution true knowledge cannot arise as shown in this work by the illustrations of Śikhidhvaja and Kaca in the first half of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa.[1] This is the reason why this author says that 'Pratyakṣa' is the principal Pramāṇa (instrument of knowledge).[2]

2. *Inference.*

5. Consistently with the above view he says that "Anumāna (inference) and others," by which he probably means 'Upamāna' (analogy), are the offshoots of 'Pratyakṣa'.[3] It can also be seen from the etymology of those words that the first means "that which follows the Māna" *i.e.* the 'Pratyakṣa' and the second, "that which is subsidiary to the Māna" and that therefore when the terms were first coined these two means of proof must have been

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 19. 18-32, IV. 77-111.
2. *Ibid.* II. 19. 16-17.
3. *Ibid.* 33.

intended to be made use of as auxiliaries to the principal means of proof. Even from the ways in which they come into operation they appear to be so, because we draw an inference as to a thing not before us because it is removed from our ken either by space or time, only from some data before us in addition to our past experience based on direct perception at some other time and place and we try to give an idea of a thing which is not familiar by drawing a comparison between it and a thing which is familiar and therefore perceived several times before, on the strength of a property which is common to both. It thus appears that this author's view that the principal means of knowledge is the 'Pratyakṣa' and that 'Anumāna' and 'Upamāna' are its offshoots is in accord with the accepted notions about the nature of those means but that his view as to what is meant by 'Pratyakṣa' is peculiar to himself.

6. Although thus he does not, like the Cārvākas, disapprove of taking the assistance of the means of knowledge other than direct perception, he has not discussed in his work the different problems connected with knowledge derived by inference. The reasons for not doing so may perhaps be that the Pratyakṣa in his wider sense involves to some extent a consideration of the method of simple reasoning by inference, and that an elaborate discussion of that subject was fruitless and unsettled the mind instead of settling it in a definite position, which is the purpose of all philosophical thought.[1]

3. *Analogy.*

7. He has however a lot to say about the method of evaluation of an argument by analogy drawn on the strength of a common attribute between two objects, as he has made a very lavish use of illustrations drawn from a variety of the objects of our daily experience. This is as it should be because in the commencement of philosophical studies abstract principles are not easily grasped if stated baldly but if they are supported by comparisons drawn between generally-known objects and the unknown object to be made known, the principles are quickly grasped and progress becomes easy. This author therefore commences his discussion as regards the utility of this means of proof by defining what is called a 'Dṛṣṭānta' (an illustration). He says that the wise call that a 'Dṛṣṭānta' which yields a fruit in the form of the beneficial knowledge of a thing which has not been seen or experienced through that of one which has been seen or experienced, because an invisible object cannot be known without a 'Dṛṣṭānta' just as one cannot see household furniture in a house at night-time without a lamp. Each of those illustrations which have been given in this work relates to a thing which has a cause but they lead to the knowledge of that which is without cause because there is a relation of cause and effect between that which is compared and that with which it is compared, a kind of relation which exists in the case of all objects but since Brahma is an exception to that rule owing to its being

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, II. 18. 67.

without cause, any illustration used while imparting a teaching as to that must be understood to have a common attribute only in one part of it.[1] He then considers an objection of a rival school to the effect that Brahma being without form, an illustration of a thing having a form cannot lead to any knowledge of the former which can cause deliverance from bondage. In refutation thereof he says in effect that the illustrations are given not because we believe that the objects of this world from which they are drawn are eternal or real like Brahma but because the nature of Brahma is partially reflected therein and so they are real so long as they seem to exist, like the objects appearing in a dream and have a connection with the ultimate reality and produce a desired result with reference thereto just as meritorious acts done even in a dream, in meditation &c., do produce results in the material world. Moreover it is not possible to get any other illustration except those of objects produced for the time being in dreams, and of those produced by imagination, contemplation &c., in the waking state because the nature of the phenomena as a whole is under consideration and because there is nothing which can be deemed to be similar to the ultimate reality. The illustrations do not agree with the thing to be illustrated in all respects but that is not essential also even when the objects of the world are compared with one another, as when a jem is compared with a lamp, what is meant is that the gem has a lustre similar to that of a lamp, not also that it has in it things corresponding to oil, wick, &c. Therefore it is no use raising frivolous objections to this method of proof.[2]

4. *Authoritative Word.*

8. Lastly, we come to a very debatable means of proof, namely, the 'Śabda-pramāṇa.' The 'Śabda' (word) here meant is not that of anybody but that of the Āptas *i.e.* of those on whom we can rely for our guidance. Such a word may be either written or oral. Under the first category would come all the Vedas and Śāstras and under the second the oral instructions imparted by teachers. The recognised writers of the Advaita Vedānta school give a preponderating weight to this means of knowledge. But the author of this work gives such weight, as we have already seen, to direct perception, though by such perception he does not mean physical perception of a concrete object by the occular organ but the direct realization of the First Cause, which is the source of both the subject and the object, by the individual soul purged of all the crusts of imaginary sheaths foolishly adhered to for eons and eons.[4] This does not however mean that this author approves of the method

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 18. 50-54.
2. *Ibid.* II. 18. 55-65.
3. *Br. sū.* I. 1. 3 and II, 1. 11 and Śaṅkrara's Bhāṣya thereon, Vācaspati's gloss on the latter &c., (N. S. P. edition, pp. 95 to 100 and 448-49); also Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya with the gloss of Abhyankar thereon (Jñānprakāśa Press edition, 1904) pp. 192-205.
4. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 19. 16-33.

of arriving at the truth by personal effort unaided by a study of any ancient works or by instructions from a teacher. He is alive to the danger of men of different grades of intellect arriving thereby at different conclusions to which Śaṅkara draws attention while commenting on *Brahmasūtra* II. 1. 11. He therefore draws a distinction between Pauruṣa (human effort) which is "Ucchāstra" (contrary to the scripture) and that which is "Śāstrita" (approved by the scripture) and states that the former leads to a harmful object and the latter to the highest object [1] and further on says that if an effort approved by the scripture leads to a harmful object it must be inferred that one's previous effort (luck) likely to do harm is more powerful and that in that case one should not give up the attempt but make a grim determination to succeed and grinding one's teeth overpower the harmful effort by the beneficial one. At another stage too while expounding the topic of human effort he says that the wise call that 'Pauruṣa' which consists of the movement of the limbs following upon that of the mind after a desire arises in the heart to attain the lasting and well-known fruit, which is conceived as the result of discharging such religious duties appropriate to the province in which one lives, as are expounded in the Śāstras and as are gathered from the conduct of the good and that knowing the result of such human effort as the 'Puruṣatva,' one should attain the highest fruit as so conceived, looking to one's personal efforts alone for that purpose though it may be aided by a study of good scriptures and by association with good and learned persons.[3] As to what kinds of scriptures and good persons are to be resorted to, he later on says that the wise call that 'Paramārtha' (highest object) which consists of the 'Ānanda' (exultation) arising from an unending complacency and that those scriptures and good people should be resorted to from whom such 'Paramārtha' can be secured.[4] As to how the benefit derived from such an application and the individual intellect developed by personal effort aid each other in the attainment of the goal, he says that they act and react on each other and contribute to mutual progress with the lapse of time like a lake and the lotuses therein. Lest one should hug the delusion that this effort is required to be made for a very limited period only, he says that the goal is reached as the result of such effort only if continued right from childhood onwards and in order that the reader may not feel disheartened by that assertion he adds that Viṣṇu had conquered the Daityas, established order out of chaos in this universe and evolved these worlds not through the force of Daiva but through personal efforts.[5] Then after explaining how the mind can be persuaded to take to this path he lays down a time upto which one should regulate one's conduct according to the dictates of the Śāstras and teachers and that limit is the stage of spiritual development in which the

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 5. 4.
2. *Ibid.* II. 5. 8-9.
3. *Ibid.* II. 6. 40-41.
4. *Ibid.* II. 7. 28.
5. *Ibid.* II. 7. 29-31.

mind acquires an equilibrium and remains unruffled by objects of sense and the knowledge of the essence is perfectly assimilated. Once that stage is attained one stands unmoved by the disturbance of mind likely to be created by the Śrutis and Smṛtis like the ocean without the mount Mandara in it.[1]

9. There still remains the question which Śāstras this author approves of and whom he calls good men. As to that although he lays special stress on Puruṣārtha and claims to teach a doctrine of mixed knowledge and action, which Vasiṣṭha having learnt from Brahmā had, like Sanatkumāra, Nārada and others formerly imparted to royal sages of yore,[2] the goal according to him is to realise the purport of the Mahāvākyas, "Tattvamasi," "Aham Brahmāsmi" and others.[3] Moreover, although it is but rarely that he cites authorities, he has expressly mentioned "all the Vedāntas (Upaniṣads) such as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and others"[4] as an authority for one of his propositions, for another he relies upon a "Śruti,"[5] at a third place he calls the instruction given by Vasiṣṭha as "the purport of the Vedāntas,"[6] at a fourth place he says :— "How can the Ātmā which has been proclaimed by the sonorous verses of the Vedas, Vedāntas &c., be forgotten once its realization has occurred,[7] at a fifth Vasiṣṭha says that Dāśura instructed a son of a sylvan deity born on account of his boon with *inter alia,* conclusions drawn from the Vedas and Vedāntas,[8] at a sixth Bhuśuṇḍa calls Vasiṣṭa, "the knower of all the Vedāntas,"[9] at a seventh Rāma cites the authority of the Vedas, Āgamas, Purāṇas and Smṛtis in support of the proposition that the word of a Guru is an injunction,[10] at an eighth he cites the authority of the Śrutis, and the Smṛtis besides the common experience of men of all ages as to a dream-experience narrated by him and says that if the Cārvāka view is accepted the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Smṛtis &c., together with the Vedas would be rendered purposeless[11] and lastly, the author seems to have incorporated certain Upaniṣad texts *ad hoc* in his work at certain places,[12] taken pithy sentences from others[13] and to have as it were, written a Vārttika on certain Upaniṣad texts.[14] These citations and allusions, few as they are in view of the vast extent of the work, are, in my opinion, sufficient to prove that Ānandabodha Yati, who has commented on this work, was on solid ground in assuming that the author thereof not only accepted the Śrutis, Smṛtis, Purāṇas and Itihāsas, as authoritative works but in addition to that believed that there was only one consistent doctrine underlying all of them inspite of some minor differences in details and that the said doctrine was the same

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 9. 41 ; 19, 11.
2. *Ibid.* II. 10. 11-44 ; 11. 1-19.
3. *Ibid.* II. 18. 67.
4. *Ibid.* V. 71. 57.
5. *Ibid.* III. 61. 34.
6. *Ibid.* VII. 127, 3.
7. *Ibid.* V. 36. 20.
8. *Ibid.* IV. 51. 32.
9. *Ibid.* VII. 24. 11.
10. *Ibid.* VII. 128, 103.
11. *Ibid.* VI. 2.79, 16 and 22
12. *Ibid.* III. 7. 10.
13. *Ibid.* III. 5. 5.
14. *Ibid.* III. 5. 7. 112 &c.

as had been elaborated by the orthodox Vedāntins of the Aupaniṣad school, each in his own way, and in view of the requirements of his own age, namely, that the purport of the Upaniṣad teaching lay in the essential identity of the individual soul with the supreme, which has been summed up in the four Mahāvākyas, " Tattvamasi " and others. If still further proof were needed it is afforded by the facts that times without number this author has designated the ultimate reality pervading the universe as Brahma and the Absolute as Paraṁ Brahma, and that he has made a very lavish use of the episodes contained in some of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads *e.g.* those of Janaka, Bhuśuṇḍa and Uddālaka and in some of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas such as those of Arjuna, Prahlāda, Śukra, Kaca, Gādhi, Viśvāmitra, Nandi, Marutta and others. Ānandbodha has also quoted some stanzas from Chapter XV of the *Āditya Purāṇa* in which there is a reference to a work which was in the form of a dialogue between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha and the substance of the teaching embodied wherein was that knowledge was not an attribute of the self but was identical with it, that it was eternal, all-pervading and tranquil and that it was the self of all animate and inanimate beings which were one in essence and brought into existence as separate entities only by imagination.[1] I too have discovered that there are many common stanzas between the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Mauktikopaniṣat,* a decidedly very late Upaniṣad and come to the conclusion that the latter must be the borrower.[2] Lastly Ātmasukha and Mummaḍideva, who have written commentaries on the *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha,* have also interpreted the text thereof throughout as expounding the doctrine of the Aupaniṣadas, Vidyāraṇya in his works, *Pañcadaśī* and *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and Madhusūdana Saraswati in his *Siddhāntabindu,* have accepted this work as an authoritative work of the Advaita doctrine and taken copious extracts therefrom. This evidence goes to establish that the ortho-

1. *Ānandabodha's Commentary on Y. V.* I. 1. 18. (N. S. P. edition pp. 4-5).

2. For instance vide *M. U.* II. wherein after the remark " Atra ślokā bhavanti " several stanzas are quoted which on even a superficial comparison can be confidently believed to have been taken bodily from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* e.g. *M.U.* II. 1 is the same as *YV.* II. 5. 4., *M.U.* II. 2-4. have a close resemblance with *Y.V.* II. 9. 25-27, *M.U.* II. 5. with *Y.V.* II. 9. 30-31, *M.U.* II. 7-8 are almost identical with *Y.V.* II. 9. 32-33 and 35, *M.U.* II. 10-15 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 17-23, *M.U.* II. 15 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 15, *M.U.* II. 26 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 53-54, *M.U.* II. 27 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 48, *M.U.* II. 29 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 26, *M.U.* II. 32-37 with *Y.V.* V. 90. 4, 16 20, 23, *M.U. II.* 43-47 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 33-39, *M.U.* II. 48 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 14, *M.U.* II. 57-60 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 29-32., *M.U.* II. 61 with *Y.V.* I. 3. 11-13 and son on. Besides these there are certain stanzas in the former in which whole distiches seem to have been taken bodily from the latter. The differences that appear between some of the parallel stanzas and in the order in which they appear in both the works are attributable to no other cause except that mentioned by me in my articles on the date of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental . Conference, Baroda* pp. 15-30, and *Poona Orientalist,* April 1938, pp. 29-44) namely, that there must be a different and earlier recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* than that commented upon by Ānadabodha, namely the *Devadūtokta Saṁhitā.*

dox Vedāntins of earlier dates than that of Ānandabodha were convinced that the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was one of their class, for otherwise they would not have made use of extracts and summaries made from that work, and that therefore apart from the above internal evidence, Ānandabodha had a good reason for taking it for granted that the doctrine of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was one of the many ways in which the orthodox belief, that the purport of the Upaniṣads lay in teaching the essential identity of the individual and the supreme souls, had been interpreted upto the time of its author. This conclusion does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a difference between that doctrine and that of one branch of the Śaṅkara school headed by Sureśvara as regards the interpretation of Śaṅkara's dictum that salvation can arise only through knowledge. The author of this work may therefore have to be classed either with those of the other branch of that school headed by Vācaspati Miṣra, if he was at all a follower of Śaṅkara. Judging from certain data mentioned in my paper on "The Date and Place of Origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha," referred to in foot-note 2 on p. 109, my present view is that he was not. There are also other reliable data leading to that conclusion. That point however requires a more elaborate elucidation than I can make in this paper. Nor is it necessary to do so here as the issue at present is only whether the author of this work was an Advaitin of the orthodox school or an apostate. What has been stated above is enough for demonstrating that he was one of the former class.

10. Although that was so, it is a point worthy of note that he was not a blind respecter of the scriptures or of persons. Like a thorough rationalist he says that the guidance given by that scripture alone should be accepted which puts forth reasons in support of the propositions contained therein while one which does not do so should be shunned even though propounded by a Ṛṣi and that even a word of a child, if such, should be accepted while that which is not such should be shunned even if it is uttered by Brahmā, for, "who would not overpower one, who having an extraordinary attachment towards old things, drinks the water of a well saying that it alone is drinkable by him because the well belongs to his father, disregarding the water of the Ganges in front of him?"[1] Reverting to the same subject in Chapter V. wherein there is the episode of Prahlāda tending to show that it is rather the grace of God than self-effort that leads to salvation, the author explains that Prahlāda was a Mahātmā, that whatever he achieved he did by personal effort alone, that the soul of man is Nārāyaṇa himself, being related to him like oil to its seed and even like whiteness to a cloth and fragrance to a flower, that the words 'Viṣṇu,' and 'Ātmā,' are synonymous like the words 'Viṭapī' and 'Pādapa,' that the soul named Prahlāda was impelled by the soul himself,

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 18. 2-4.

i.e. by his Parā Śakti, to become devoted to Viṣṇu, that he himself having made himself an object of contemplation understood the nature of the mind, that even Viṣṇu is not able to impart knowledge to one who cannot think about his own self even though he may have propitiated Him for a long time and may be extremely devoted to Him, for, in the realization of the self the principal factor is contemplation about one's self made by self-effort, that this is accomplished by vigorously bringing under control one's senses, which again can be done only by putting into action one's own inherent powers and by no other method, that if the Lord were revealing himself to any being without personal effort, there seems no reason why he does not release from bondage the beasts and birds, that similarly if a Guru can make one cross the ocean of misery without one's own effort there is no reason why he can not help a tame camel or bullock to cross it, that the fact is that nothing of importance which is achieved through one's own self on bringing the mind under control can be achieved through Hari or through a Guru or through external objects, that one's own self becomes the source of all the powers after the serpent of the senses is brought into control by a mind devoted to the goal and weaned from the objects of sense-perception and that therefore what one is required to do is to be devoted to one's self and to worship one's self, so that one can realise one's self by itself and repose in it, devotion to Viṣṇu having been prescribed only for the purpose of turning to the right direction the minds of those dull-headed men who are not inclined to study the scripture, make a personal effort and think of their own self.[1]

OTHER MEANS OF PROOF

11. Besides the above four means of proof, which are the only ones recognised by the Vaiśeṣikas and Naiyāyikas, the Mīmāṁsakas and Vedāntins recognise two others namely Anupalabdhi (non-perception) and 'Arthāpatti' or 'Anyathānupapatti' (presumption or necessary implication). None of them however deserves to be considered a separate means of arriving at correct knowledge because the first is a mere negation of perception and the second a particular variety of inference. That being so, it can readily be taken for granted that the author of this work, who considers even the 'Anumāna' and 'Upamāna' as off-shoots of 'Pratyakṣa,' could not have recognised 'Anupalabdhi' and 'Arthāpatti' as separate means for arriving at correct knowledge. As a matter of fact also he has not done so.

CONCLUSION.

12. It is apparent from what has preceded that out of the six means of proof recognised by the followers of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, this author recognises the first four only, namely 'Pratyakṣa' 'Anumāna' 'Upamāna' and 'Śabda', that his 'Pratyakṣa' is not the direct perception of an ordinary individual but that of a Yogi which is synonymous with 'Anubhūti' (per-

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* V. 43. 5-20.

sonal experience), which is the result of a sustained personal effort of a qualified aspirant made under the guidance derived from the written and spoken authoritative word of such masters of the Adhyātmavidyā (science of ontology), of which all the other branches of metaphysics are auxiliaries, as treat him like a Dvija worthy of being guided by persuasive precepts supported by rational explanations involving inferences and analogies, not like a Śūdra amenable only to an iron discipline and stern command, that therefore the latter three means of knowledge are according to him only auxiliaries of the first, which is the principal one, that all the ancient scriptures, the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, are, in his view, fit to be studied subject to the above limitation, that none should be accepted as a teacher, however high his position in the world of letters, unless he satisfies the above test and that the guidance that such scriptures and teachers can give should be resorted to only so long as the true purport of the Mahāvākyas, the identity of the self of the individual with that of the universe as a whole is not realized by 'Anubhūti.'

CLOSING REMARKS.

13. The author of this work can, in view of the above, be described in one word as *an Orthodox Rationalist* or *a Rational Sanātanist* and his views on the several problems of life must therefore commend themselves in this age of rationalism to all the educated persons who can think for themselves and of their selves and desire a re-organisation of the present convulsed social fabric on sound lines. It might appear strange that a work on philosophy and that too, one of which the predominant doctrine is that of *Absolute Monism,* which involves a negation of aught else except the One Essence, should have any solutions of such problems to offer. It is nevertheless true that this vast ocean of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* contains several useful priceless jems whose lustre is likely to throw considerable light on the solution of several problems which agitate the minds of the thinkers in all ages. It is my ambition to dive deep into that ocean on some future occasion, extract the gems from their hidden recesses therein, polish them a little so as to enable them to expose their lustre and arrange them like exhibits in a sort of word-museum for the gaze, admiration and, I hope, enlightenment also, of those with a developed sense of appreciation.

A NOTE ON NA STANĀN SAMMṚŚATI

(ĀPASTAMBA-ŚRAUTASŪTRA VI. 4. 2)

By

P. E. DUMONT, Baltimore.

In a passage of the Āpastamba-śrautasūtra, in which the author gives the rule for the milking of the cow that must yield the milk for the agnihotra-offering, we find the following strange statement : "*na stanān saṃmṛśati.*"

According to the dictionaries, *saṃ-mṛś* has the same meaning as the simple *mṛś* "to touch." Therefore one is at first inclined to translate literally : "He (the man who has to milk the cow) does not touch the teats" ; and in fact CALAND has translated : "Er berührt die Zitzen nicht." But it is of course impossible to milk a cow without touching her teats.—"*sarvathā saṃmarśanapratiṣedho na yujyate 'śakyatvāt*" says a commentator.—CALAND explains the passage by saying : "Nachdem durch das Kalb die Milch zum Fliessen gebracht ist, berührt er nicht, wie im gewöhnlichen Treiben, *mit der befeuchteten Hand,* die Zitzen."—That is : "After the milk has been caused to flow by the calf, one does not touch the teats with the wet hand, as is done in ordinary circumstances."

This explanation is evidently founded on the commentary of the parallel passage of Hiraṇyakeśin : "*na saṃmṛśati* : *prasavārthaṃ sodakena pāṇinā 'dho na saṃmṛśati.*" It seems, however, impossible to admit that, in the text of Āpastamba and in the parallel passages of Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana, the words "*sodakena pāṇinā*" (with the wet hand), the words which, according to that interpretation, would express the principal idea of the rule, must be understood.

The source of that passage of Āpastamba and of the parallel passages of Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana is surely the following text of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa : "*pūrvau duhyāj jyeṣṭhasya jyaiṣṭhineyasya* ...... *aparau duhyāt kaniṣṭhasaya kāniṣṭhineyasya* ... ; *na saṃmṛśati, pāpavasyasasya vyāvṛttyai.*"

In this text, and consequently also in the passages which have this text as their source, *saṃ-mṛśati*, accordingly to etymology, means "to touch two or more things at the same time," and there is no question of a wet hand.—"For somebody who is the oldest son of the oldest wife of his father, one should milk the two teats in front ; for somebody who is the youngest son of the youngest wife of his father, one should milk the two teats behind. In order to avoid confusion (in order that one may not make any mistake in the due order), one does not touch simultaneously (that is, one does not touch more than one teat at a time)."

It is true that the commentator of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa explains *saṃmṛśati* by *mardayati* (one crushes, one squeezes) and *pāpavasyasa* by *pāpayuktaṃ vastu* (bad matter). He says: "In ordinary life, before milking, after the sucking of the calf, for greater stimulation, they squeeze the teats (of the cow) with fingers. Here (at the sacrifice) one prohibits that. One does not squeeze (the teats), for the exclusion of *pāpavasyasa*. The *pāpavasyasa* is the bad matter obtained by violence done to the teats. In order to avoid that, the squeezing of the teats does not take place (there is no squeezing of the teats)." But these explanations are of course inadmissible. *Saṃmṛśati* does not mean "he squeezes," and *pāpavasyasa* does not mean "bad matter." The meaning of *pāpavasayasa* is well established. It means "confusion; mixture of bad and good." For example: "They do so lest there should be a confusion of classes, and in order that society may be in proper order" (Śat. Br. 5. 4. 4. 19).—"The gods arranged the metres so, as it ought to be, lest there should be a confusion" (Śat. Br. 1. 8. 2. 10).—"Now, confusion occurs in that they perform the same thing with a better and a worse instrument; for the ass is worse than the horse; they lead the horse in front to avoid confusion; therefore the worse follows after the better" (Taitt. Saṃh. 5. 1. 2. 2-3).

na stanān saṃmṛśati means: "He does not touch the teats simultaneously; he does not touch more than one teat at a time."

In other passages concerning the rules of the agnihotra, *saṃmṛśati* has the same meaning. It means: "He touches at the same time." For example in Āpastamba-śrautasūtra VI. 8. 4. b. The adhvaryu has drawn four or five spoonfuls of milk from the agnihotra-pot, and has poured them into the large agnihotra-spoon. Then, *gārhapatye hastaṃ pratapya, saṃmṛśati*, having warmed his hand at the gārhapatya fire, he touches simultaneously (the milk contained in the agnihotra-spoon and the agnihotra-pot).

The parallel passage of Hiraṇyakeśin has: "*unnītaṃ sthālīṃ cābhimṛśati*"—"he touches that which has been drawn *and* the agnihotra-pot." And the parallel passage of Baudhāyana has: "*athai 'te saṃmṛśati*"—"then he touches simultaneously the two things" (Baudh. Śr. s. III. 8. 18). And the commentator (Baudh. Śr. s. XX. 20) explains: "*ubhayaṃ saṃmṛśed yac ca sthālyāṃ sruggataṃ ce 'ti*"—"he should touch, at the same time, the two things, that which stands in the agnihotra-pot and that which is contained in the agnihotra-spoon."

A NOTE ON A UNIQUE IMAGE OF YAMA

By

A. S. GADRE, Baroda.

The object of this note is to bring to the notice of scholars a sculpture of Yama, which is so very common in Gujarāt and which at the same time has never before been noticed and illustrated in the standard works on Hindu Iconography. The accompanying plate shows an image of Yama which is seen as a *dik-pāla* in the main niche of the southern *maṇḍovara* of the famous temple of Hāṭakeśvara, the Lord of Gold, the tutelary deity of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, in Vaḍnagar, an ancient historical town in the Mehsāṇā District of the Baroda State. Such images are to be seen in many Śiva temples in Baroda proper as well. The photo illustrates Yama in the so-called *tribhaṅga* pose, with a crown, circular ear-rings, necklaces, anklets and sandals. He has four hands and holds a *gadā* in the upper right hand a pen or *lekhanī* in lower right hand. A bird, possibly a cock, is perching on the rod he holds in his upper left hand and a book appears in his lower left hand. There are two female chowrie-bearers standing cross-legged on his sides. A *mahiṣa* (?) stands between his legs. The folds of his upper garment are visible.

It was originally not possible to identify this image as no *dhyāna* fully or partially agreeing with it was traceable in most of the standard works on iconography which were published upto 1935, when I came across this image during my tour to enlist monuments in the Kherālu taluk of the Mehsāṇā prant of Baroda. I was helped in the correct identification of the sclupture by the *Devatamūrtiprakraṇam and the Rūpamaṇḍanam* published later on. Yama, except as a *dik-pāla*, is rarely described independently. In the description of the *Kālāri* aspect of Śiva,[1] Yama is described as paying homage to Śiva with two hands. The *Aṁśumad-bhedāgama*[2] lays down that Yama should have two hands. This and other details do not tally with our image as illustrated in the accompanying photograph. However, its one detail, viz. द्वे चामरधृते स्त्रियौ —there should be two females with chowries—is observed in our sculpture. The *Viṣṇudharmottarīyaṃ*[3] describes Yama seated on a *mahiṣa*, with Dhūmorṇā, his consort, seated in his left lap. Though he has four hands, he is said to hold different weapons, e.g. *triśūla* and *Akṣamālā* in the left hands. His secretary, Chitragupta, is said to carry a pen and a book—a feature noticeable in our image of Yama. The *dhyānas* of this deity given in the *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇam and Rūpamaṇḍanam*[4] of Maṇḍana

1. T. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. 2, *pratimālakṣaṇāni*, Skt. text, p. 79.
2. *Ibid*, page 256. (Skt. text).
3. *Ibid*, page 527.
4. *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam and Rūpmaṇḍanam*; (Calcutta Sanskrit series Vol. XII.). By U. M. Sankhyatirtha; pp. 72 and 11.

(15th cen. A.D.) almost completely agree with the description of our sculpture given above. These *dhyānas* are :—

लेखनीं पुस्तकं हस्ते कुक्कुटं दण्डमेव च ।
महामहिषमारूढः कृष्णाङ्गश्च यमो भवेत् ॥

[देवतामूर्त्तिप्रकरणम् अ० ४, श्लो० ६१]

'(He should have) in his (four) hands a pen, a book, a cock and a rod. Dark of complexion, Yama should ride a big buffalo.'

An almost identical *dhyāna* from the *Rūpamaṇḍanam* is as follows :—

लेखनीं पुस्तकं धत्ते कुकुटं दण्डमेव च ।
महामहिषमारूढो यमः कृष्णाङ्ग ईरितः ॥

अध्याय २, श्लो० ३३ ॥

One slight variation is that the upper right hand of the deity of our sculpture holds a *gadā* whereas in the upper left hand we see the *kukkuṭa* perched on the *daṇḍa* or the rod.

Yama[1] is described in the *Ṛg-veda* as the son of Vivasvat and Śaraṇyu. He is described as the first man who died and was an object of terror. It is implied that Yama is a god. He is not expressly called a god but only a king (*R. V.* IX.11.8) who rules the dead. In later mythology he is reduced to the position of a *dik-pāla* and the guardian of the *mṛtyu-loka.* He is the acknowledged judge of the dead and metes out punishments. As the dispenser of justice he is called Dharmarāja and this aspect of his is fully borne out in our sculpture by the *lekhanī* and *patra* he is shown holding in his lower two hands. Death is the path of Yama (*Ṛ.V.* I.38.5) and in *Ṛ.V.* I.165.4 he appears to be identical with death (*mṛtyu*).[2] A bird either the owl (*ulūka*) or pigeon (*kapota*) (*Ṛ.V.* X.165.4) is said to be the messenger of Yama. This fact may account for the presence of a bird, possibly mistaken for a cock in later period, perching on a rod in his hand. Thus we see that Vedic tradition is continued in later mythology with slight and inevitable changes.

It will be clear from the above discussion that for correct identification of Hindu images in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ especially, works like the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam* and the *Rūpamaṇḍanam* of the eminent architect Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana are quite indispensible and very reliable. Sculptures difficult of identification can be accurately identified with the help of these works of Maṇḍana, whose treatises on iconography give *dhyānas* of certain rare images which cannot be found described in other works on Indian Iconography or which are peculiar to this part of India. Maṇḍana as also his father Śrīkshetra were under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbha (15th cen. A.D.) of Mewād, who was a famous builder of monuments.

1. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*; T. Gopinath Rao's, Vol. II, pt. 1 p. 525
2. *Vedic Mythology* by A. A. MACDONELL, p. 172.



[*With the kind permission of the Director of Archæology, Baroda.*

SCULPTURE ON THE OUTSIDE OF A WALL OF THE HĀṬAKEŚVARA TEMPLE, VADNAGAR.

USE OF GUNS AND GUNPOWDER IN INDIA FROM A. D. 1400 ONWARDS.

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

Sir P. C. RAY in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*[1] has collected much valuable information about Gunpowder, Saltpetre and the Mineral Acids. In connection with the belief entertained in some quarters that the ancient Hindus had the knowledge of the art of manufacturing gunpowder he quotes a passage from *Śukranīti*[2] or the Elements of Polity of Śukrācārya, containing mention of *Agni-cūrṇa* or fire-powder (gunpowder) and to *Nālāstra* or gun, but concludes by the remarks that "Śukranīti is a patch-work in which portions of Chapter IV were added sometime after the introduction of gunpowder in Indian warfare during the Moslem period." [3]

1. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902, pp. 95-103.

2. Ed. by VIDYASAGARA pp. 555-57 verses 201-211. Verse 202 mentions *agni-cūrṇa* or gunpowder. *Nālāstra* or gun is mentioned in verses 203, 205, 210. *Golaḥ* (*lohamayaḥ*) or cannon-ball is mentioned in verses 204, 209, 211. *Laghunāla* or a gun with a light barrel is mentioned in v. 204. Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābhārata (Between 1650-1700 A.D.) refers to *nāla* in the following passage :—

"यन्त्राणि आग्नेयौषधबलेन सीसकांस्यदृषद्गोलप्रक्षेपकाणि लोहमयानि भाषायां नालशब्दाभिधेयानि तेषां सूत्रं सूचकं शास्त्रम् "

This is a description of iron guns. *Āgneyauṣadha* = *agnicūrṇa* = gunpowder (Vide *Sabhāparvan*, v. 21. Chitrashala Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, Poona, 1929, p. 17).

3. "Dr. R. L. MITRA, judging from the description of guns alone, concludes this portion to be spurious *vide* Notices of Sanskrit MSS Vol. V, p. 155." Vide p. 145 of "Chronology of Modern India (A.D. 1494-1894) by James BURGESS, London 1913 :—

"A. D. 1702 Gunpowder first manufactured at Madras." Obviously this entry refers to the English manufacture of gunpowder at Madras. It would be useful to investigate and record references to the manufacture of gunpowder in India earlier than A.D. 1702 by either Moslems or Hindus between, say, 1400 and 1702 A.D. A Maratha in the employ of Tipu Sultan by name Shivaji Mahadeva has recorded some information about Tipu Sultan's army while at Kalmeri in the province of Kopal near Tungabhadra. According to this information Tipu manufactured guns for his army and ceased purchasing guns imported by the English.

("नव्या बंदुका करावयास कारखाने लाविले आहेत. तेथें नव्या बंदुका तयार करवीत आहे. इंग्रजांकडील वगैरे बंदरी बंदुका घेत नाहीं."—*Vide* ऐतिहासिक टिपणें—No. 22 (Pub. by PARASNIS in इतिहाससंग्रह Jan. 1911.)

The Peshwas purchased pieces of cannon from the English in *December 1759*. Ramaji Mahadeva was asked to purchase these pieces of cannon from the English

The above conclusion raises the question about the earliest reference to guns and gunpowder as also their use in Indian warfare. About this question Dr. P. C. RAY makes the following remarks :—

"The first record of the use of cannon and gunpowder in Indian warfare is in the memoirs of Baber. In 1528 he forced the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj with the aid of artillery[1]".

Let us now record some authentic references to the invention and use of gunpowder and guns in the European records. According to *Encyclopædia Britannica*[2] "we have authentic information of guns in France in 1338 and in Florence in 1326 and that the Oxford MS *De Officiis Regum* of 1325 gives an illustration of a gun." This information clearly proves that Baber's use of guns and gunpowder in 1528 in his Indian warfare is about 200 years after their invention in Europe about 1325.

We are concerned in this paper with the earliest reference to the use of guns and gunpowder in the Indian warfare by Moslems or their enemies.

The *Rās Mālā*[3] states that Mahomood Begurra, the celebrated Mahommedan king of Gujarat in his fight against the pirates of Bulsar used a force consisting of *musketeers* and gunners about A.D. 1482.[4] He also *cannonaded* the city of Champaner according to the Muhammadan account of the fall of Champaner recorded in the *Rās Mālā*.[5]

In the history of the Vijayanagar kings we find references to *pyrotechny*[6] in which gunpowder may possibly have been used.

at Bombay weighing more than 20 seers (*Pesh. Daftar Selection*, No. 45, p. 101).

"तोफाचे करार केले आहेत तरी वीस सेरापासून वर्त असतील ते घेणें."

In *Pesh. Daft.* No. 39. Letter 70 of 6-9-1766 repair to guns and manufacture of ammunition is mentioned.

1. Vide article on early Asiatic fire-weapons by Maj. Gen. R. MACLAGAN in the Journ. As. Soc. Bengal. Vol. XLV, pp. 30ff.

2. *Fourteenth Edition*, 1929, Vol. II, p. 3.

3. This book is also known as the *Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujarat* by A. D. FORBES, founder of the Forbes Goozerathi Sabha, Bombay. (Born July 1821 and died at Poona on 31st August 1865).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Vide also p. 65 BRIGGS : *Feristha* (History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till A.D. 1612) Calcutta, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 65 BRIGGS remarks about the use of musketeers in the siege of Champaner as follows :—

"This is the first mention of artillery and musketry in the Guzerat history. They were probably introduced by the Arabs and Turks from the Red Sea and Gulf of Persia," p. 69. Use of a *shell* against Raja Beny Ray's palace in the siege of Champaner is mentioned. BRIGGS' note on the word *shell* reads :—

"The word is *hooka*. The use of shells at this early period is remarkable, although it is mentioned that the Moslems employed *grenadoes* in their ships at the time the Portuguese reached India."

6. The following reference to the use of fireworks at Vijayanagar is noteworthy: A.D. 1443, 'Abdur Razzāq, the ambassador from the Court of Sultan Shāh Rukh who stayed in Vijayanagar from end of *April* A.D. *1443 till the 5th of December* A.D.

In the historical poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam*[1] composed in A.D. 1648 we have references to guns (*pirangi*) carried on carts together with thousands of bags of gunpowder taken with the army in the expedition of Raṇadullakhan against the king of the Karnatak and his feudatories.

In a work called the *Yāvanaparipāṭī-anukrama* composed by Dalapatirāya under his patron Mādhavasimha about A.D. 1764[2] we have the draft of a letter to be addressed by the king to the officer in charge of the king's artillery called *Analādhyakṣa* ordering him to make the artillery ready for action. This draft as given in the *Yāvanaparipāṭī anukrama* makes interesting reading and hence may be reproduced from MS No. 409 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

Folio 10—

" अनलाध्यक्षं प्रति **यंत्रशाला** सज्जीकरणाय राज्ञः ॥ पत्रं ॥ शौर्यधैर्यनिधेश्वरनीकसत्तादिदृक्षया निर्यास्याम इति भवान् स्वनियोगे समवहितः ॥ सपताकवह्निबाणधृतः पदातिनः करभांश्च लंबछटानां **लघुनालिका**नां शतशतार्द्धनालिकानां च मुधा निसर्गशुद्धानां विहारवाह्यानां शकटिका **गुलिकांगारचूर्णद्वरिका**गुछाग्रकंददंडपताकायुगनिसर्गशिल्पिसारथिसुवृषभकल्पितानासीरे प्रथमेंद्रध्वजगजानुगामितया नियोजयतु ॥ द्वितीयेंद्रध्वजकारेण**मुष्ट्रनालिका हयनालिका गजनालिका**श्च निजनिजोपस्करसज्जाः स्वयमपि कवचिभिः ससन्नाहतुरगैर्भटैः परिवृतो वर्मास्त्रभृत् स्वाधिकारनियुक्तपरिजनयुक्तोनुसरतु किं बहुना समुचितज्ञे ॥

From the above passage we get some Sanskrit equivalents of terms denoting the artillery and its equipment. *Yantraśālā* is evidently the place or building where the guns and their accessories were stored. *Gulikāṅgāra Cūrṇa* means gunpowder and reminds us of the term *agnicūrṇa* mentioned in the *Śukranīti* as we have seen above. We further get the terms *uṣṭranālikā* meaning portable guns carried on camel's back, *hayanālikā,* those carried on horse-back, and *gajanālikā,* those carried on the back of elephant.

It appears that the term *nālikā* had become current since the importation of guns into India as we find the usage of the term in the above passage from a work of the 18th century. I shall now quote a passage from a 17th century poem called *Śambhurājacarita* composed by Harikavi alias Bhānu-

1443 during the reign of Devarāya II mentions the use of *pyrotechny* in the *Mahānavamī festival* (See Elliot. *His. of India,* IV, pp. 117-118). Perhaps in the pyrotechny referred to above gunpowder may have been used. According to Sir P. C. RAY (*His. of Hindu Chemistry* Vol. I. p. 100 f. n. 4). "Saltpetre has been in use from time immemorial as the basis of Rocket and other *fireworks* both in China and India."

1. *Śiva-caritra-vṛtta Saṁgraha* (Khaṇḍa I—Kānadī Vibhāga). B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1938, p. 4. The author of the poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam* is Govinda Vaidya. He was a resident of Srirangapattan and a court-poet of the Mysore kings. He wrote this poem at the instance of Nanjarājendra, the general of Kaṇṭhīravanarasarāya in the Śaka year 1570 (Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara) = A.D. 1648. He was a Smārta Brahmin, well versed in Sanskrit and Kanarese languages. His patron, K. Narasarāja ruled from A.D. 1638-1659.

2. Vide Mr. M. M. PATKAR's article in *IHQ,* XIV, No. 1, pp. 153-57.

bhaṭṭa[1] in A.D. 1685. The poet describes in the following stanzas of the *Śambhurājacarita* (MS No. 191 of 1875-76) folio 71[a] the thundering of guns on the battle-field, where Sambaji, the son of Shivaji the Great, is shown as being surrounded by the army of the enemy :—

" ततः समभवद्रवः प्रहतभूरिभेरीभवः
सुतालनिभ**नालिका**गडगडारवभ्राजितः ।
विलोलितमहीतलो बहलगर्जिताभ्रस्थलो
निनाद इव मेघजः कुलिशरावसंराजितः ॥ २८ ॥ "

Folio 72b—

" सशस्त्रवरसंभृतां बहल**नालिका**संकुलां
सकंकठभटोद्धरां प्रबलकुंजराग्रेसरां ।
रणोद्धततुरंगमोद्गमतरंगरंगोत्तरां
चकर्ष परवाहिनीं प्रतिवरूथिनीं स्वां ततः ॥ ७१ ॥ "

Folio 92—

" ततो नृपतिसैन्यतो बहल**नालिकावक्त्रतो**
महारवविदारितश्रवणमस्तका निर्ययौ ।
सुगोलकततिश्चलद्युमणिमालिकेवोद्गता
रिपुव्रजपत्ताकिनीं सपदि निर्दहंती हठात् ॥ ९१ ॥ "

Verse 91 quoted above contains a good description of the series of cannon-balls (*sugolakatati*) issuing from the mouths of cannons (*nālikāvaktrataḥ* ....*udgatā*) and looking like a row of suns, destroying the army of the enemy.

From the 17th century we shall now go to the 16th century and quote a passage from a Sanskrit poem, called the *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṁśamahākāvya*[2] composed by a *Dākṣinātya* poet of the name Rudrakavi at the court of the Bāgalāṇ king Nārāyaṇa Shah in A.D. 1596. In Chapter XX, v. 52 we have the following description of red-hot cannon-balls issuing from the mouths of guns :—

" शितशरैरुपलैरथ **नालिका**विनिहतज्वल**दायसगोलकैः** ।
मिलितयोरुभयोरथ सेनयोः प्रववृते समरस्तुमुलस्तयोः ॥ ५२ ॥ "

It appears from the above verse of A.D. 1596 that the iron cannon-ball (*āyasagolakaiḥ*) with which the gun was charged (*nālikāvinihata*) contained within it sharp arrows (*śitaśaraiḥ*) and stones or gravel (*upalaiḥ*). This description finds its analogue in Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's description of guns in the latter part of the 17th century in which he describes guns as machines (*yantrāṇi*) made of iron (*lohamayāni*) and capable of throwing away (*prakṣepakāṇi*) by the force of gunpowder (*āgneyauṣadhabalena*) balls of lead (*sīsa*) bell-metal (*kāṁsya*) and stones (*dṛṣadgola*).

1. Vide my paper on Hari Kavi *Annals*, Vol. XVI pp. 262-291,
2. *Gaikwad Ori. Series*, No. V, Baroda, 1917.

A further reference to *nālikā* is found in a work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra[1] which appears to have been composed during the prosperous days of the Vijayanagar Empire, most probably before A.D. 1550. In the 60th chapter of this encyclopædic work the king is advised to worship 32 weapons on a particular day. Among these weapons *nālikā* is mentioned as No. 23 :—

Folio 189 (of B. O. R. I. MS No. 43 of 1925-26).

" *Trayoviṁśam nālikāstram svāstikam tadanantaram.*"

As Abdul Razzāq, who visited the Vijayanagar Court in A.D. 1443 mentions the use of *pyrotechny* at the Mahānavamī festival, the use of gunpowder appears to have been current in the Vijayanagar Empire about the middle of the 15th Century and this fact would justify our interpretation that the expression "*nālikāstra*" in the above passage means a gun and nothing else, especially in view of the reference to musketeers and gunners about A.D. 1482 used by Mahmood Begurra in cannonading the city of Champaner.

In the Deccan also the use of gunpowder appears to have been introduced about 10 years earlier than that made in the siege of Champaner in 1482 A.D. Mahmud Gawan during his second campaign against *Belgam* in A.D. 1472 made use of mines successfully to make a breach in the walls of the fort. The account of this campaign[2] given to us by Prof. SHERWANI on the authority of *Burhānu-ī-ma'āthir*[3] and *Ferishta*[4] reads as follows :—"*Second campaign* ; *Belgām*—1472 : The Khwajah informs the King that Parkētah of Belgām and the chief of Bankāpur want to raise an insurrection and invade Goa and offers to lead the expedition himself, but His Majesty decides to command the expedition in person and orders a vast army to be collected at the capital. Immediately when everything is ready he marches direct to Belgām, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep moat full of water. Besieging the place he orders that the moat should be filled up with rubble and wood in order to facilitate the entry of the royal army when time comes ; but the Khwajah's work to that end in the day is frustrated by the Rai's men during the night as they clear the moat of the rubble under cover of darkness. On this the whole strategy is changed and *mines* are laid under the walls of the fort under cover of a new wall erected parallel to the former

1. In a paper submitted by me to the Karnatak Historical Conference (May 1938) I have proved that the work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra (MS No. 43 of 1925-26 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute) has nothing to do with Tantra, but that it is a work dealing with the inner life of the kings of Vijayanagar in elaborate detail and bearing on all its aspects, civil, religious, political and cultural. The original of this copy is in the Tanjore MSS Library.

2. Vide pp. 263ff. of the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XVI. Article by Prof. H. K. SHERWANI on "Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in the Maharashtra."

3. Published by the Persian Texts Society, Hyderabad (Deccan). It contains a number of diplomatic letters to the kings of Gujarat and Jaunpur as well as to the rulers of Turkey, Persia, Hirāt etc.

4. Ferishta's History of India was written at Bijapur in the time of Ibrahim Ādilshah II, (1579-1626).

and *as this laying of mines is entirely a new thing in the Deccan,* the Rai is not aware of the significance of the new walls being created. Anyhow *three mines,* those from the posts of the Khwajah Yusuf ' Adil Khān and Faṭ-hu'l-lāh " Imādu'lmulk burst open the wall and breaches are effected."

As stated in the above account the laying of mines for bursting open the walls of forts was a new thing in the Deccan in A.D. 1472. The use of mines presumes the importation of gunpowder or its manufacture in India, if such manufacture could be proved to have been carried out in the 15th century in Gujarat, Deccan and at the Vijayanagar court.

From A.D. 1472 we now go to A.D. 1406, when *guns* were available in Bengal according to an account of Mahaun, a Chinaman[1] who visited Bengal at that time and who was attached as an interpreter to the suite of Chêng Ho, sent by the Chinese Emperor, Yung-lo with a party of 30,000 soldiers in a fleet of 62 ships to the various kingdoms of the western Ocean in order to show that China was rich and strong. Mahaun describes the language of the people as Bengāli and states that Persian also was spoken in Bengal. He states that " not having any tea they offer their guests the betel-nut in its place." He further records : " The mulberry tree and silk worms are found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, GUNS, knives and scissors are all to be had there. They manufacture a white paper from the bark of a tree, which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin."

The reference to " GUNS " in the above extract is very important as it proves that *guns* were to be seen in Bengal about 1406 A.D. when Mahaun visited the country. This reference, therefore, takes the antiquity of GUNS in India and consequently of gunpowder upto say 1400 A.D. I shall feel grateful if any scholar publishes reference to GUNS or *gunpowder* in Indian literature earlier than A.D. 1400.

I shall now summarize in chronological order the reference to guns, gunpowder, mines, etc. recorded by me, in the following lines :—

European References

A.D. 1325—Picture of a *gun* in an Oxford MS.

A.D. 1326—*Guns* in France and Florence.

Indian References

A.D. 1406—References to " *guns* " in Bengal by Mahaun, a Chinese Interpreter.

1. Vide *JRAS* 1895, Mahaun's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala (Bengal) by Geo. PHILIPS, pp. 523ff. Cheng Ho was ordered to go on the expedition in the 6th month of the year 1405. The party visited Cochin China, Straits and India and gave presents to the princes and chiefs. Mahaun has given us an account of 20 kingdoms visited by the expedition. Mahaun's *Travels* are just like those of Marco Polo, Friar Odoric and Ibn Battuta. Mahaun's book contains also an account of Calicut, Ormus, Aden, the Maldives and many other places in the Indian Ocean,

A.D. 1443—"Pyrotechny" at Vijayanagar Court mentioned by Abdur Razzaq.

A.D. 1472—Use of "*mines*" at the siege of Belgām in the Deccan (for the first time) by Mahmud Gawan.

A.D. 1482—A force of *musketeers* and *gunners* at the siege of the fort of Champaner by Mahmud Begda.

A.D. 1528—Baber's use of *cannon* and *gunpowder* near Kanauj.

A.D. 1596—*Nālikā* = Gun, mentioned by Rudrakavi, the Court-poet of Nārāyan Shah of Bāglan.

A.D. 1648—References to *guns* carried on carts together with bags of gunpowder by Govinda Vaidya.

A.D. 1685—Hari Kavi's description of guns (= *nālika*) and gunfire in the *Śambhurājacarita.*

A.D. 1764—Dalapatirāya's Sanskrit draft of a letter to be addressed by a king to his *analādhyakṣa* or the officer-in-charge of artillery to keep the *yantraśālā* ready for action.

I believe the above references would be found sufficiently authentic and instructive as they take the antiquity of the use of guns and gunpowder in India upto, say, 1400 A.D. I shall be happy to know from veteran researchers any references to *guns* and *gunpowder* as used in India between A.D. 1300 and 1400.

P. S.—Since this article was sent to the press I have been able to note a few more references to Guns. These are as follows :—

(1) Three iron *Guns* bearing inscriptions and recording the names of Fāruqi Kings Mubārik and Adil Shāh. One is dated 1554-5 A.D. while another is dated possibly 1589 A.D. (Vide p. 73 of *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* by HIRA LAL, Nagpur, 1916) *Item 102*—Khandwa Gun Inscriptions—*Item 94* on p .68—Asirgadh Gun Inscriptions (a bronze gun made at Burhanpur in A.D. 1663 and another in A.D. 1664.)

(2) Barbosa (A.D. 1515) refers to riders of elephants with bows, arrows and *handguns* (Vide p. 259 of *History of Gujarat* by COMMISSARIAT, Vol. I, 1938).

(3) The *Campūbhārata* of Anantakavi (c. 1500 A.D.) describes gunfire as follows (Stabaka III, v. 54—p. 113 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1903):—

" कालाम्बुदालिनलिकात्क्षणदीप्तिवर्त्यां
संधुक्षितात्सपदि सध्वनि निःसरद्भिः ।
वर्षाश्मसीसगुलिकानिकरैः कठोरं-
घर्माभियातिमवधीद्घनकाल योधः ॥ ५४ ॥ "

(4) Prof. RAMANAYYA (Vide p. 129 of *Vijayanagar : Third Dynasty*) states that the Vijayanagar army was weak in artillery, which comprised a corps of musketeers and several cannon. The Mussalmans made use of

artillery fully with the help of Turkish gunners trained in European wars.

(5) Sir E. Denison Ross (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, 1928) refers to guns (p. 220), shot and ball (p. 453), broken gun-carriage (p. 497), five hundred brass guns in the army of Gujarat (p. 568), 12000 muskets in Gujarat, etc.

(6) On November 1, 1526 Baber witnessed the casting of a gun by Ustād Ali Kuli (Vide pp. 343-344 of *Memoirs of Baber* by ERSKINE, London, 1826).

(7) In the Rabari Songs of Kathiawar recorded by B. L. MANKAD p. 66 of *Bombay Univ. Jour.* VII (New Series) Pt. IV, we find a reference to guns in connection with a marriage party :—

"Drums are beaten and *guns are fired* as the bride-groom's marriage party starts from the house of the bride."

(8) Principal Dr. BALKRISHNA sometime ago published an article on *Fire arms in the Mahābhārata* in the Rajaram College Magazine called the *Rajaramian*. Dr. V. S. SUKHTHANKAR has shown to me a reprint of it but I have not examined the views of Dr. BALKRISHNA stated in this article.

(9) About Saltpetre, vide pp. 66-67 of *The Travels of John Albert de Mandelso from Persia into East Indies* (London, 1669). Sir P. C. RAY regards this as the earliest account of Saltpetre on a commercial scale, (vide *Hindu Chemistry*, I, p. 100). Regarding *Transport of Saltpetre in India in the Seventeenth Century* by land and Sea, vide *Jour. of Beh. and Orissa Res. Society*, XXV, Pt. I (March, 1939)—article by J. N. SARKAR, Feb. 6th, 1627—about Rs. 2,500 were exacted from the English factories at Surat as taxes on Saltpetre and Sugar conveyed by a caravan.

TERMS IN STATU NASCENDI IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

BETTY HEIMANN, London.

The Bhagavadgītā is still today in India a kind of people's Bible. It is well suited for this purpose by its manner of expression completing every thought generally with the half-verse, emphasizing once and again a few fundamental ideas, using no elaborate scholarly Sanskrit, but popular terms so that its diction is concrete and never abstract—all these are means to bring the Bhagavadgītā near to the common understanding. On the other hand, it can please no less the mind trained by Upaniṣadic speculations and by later systematics.

Being a kind of transition from the Upaniṣads to the following philosophical systems, the Bhagavadgītā contains the terms and concepts around which the later philosophical and religious literature circle, but they are given in a stage of instructive development, where they are not presupposed to be generally known, but still need attributes, i.e. explanations, for being fully grasped.

What is the means of later commentators of systematic texts, e.g. of the Nyāya-literature, that is to be found in the Bh. G. still in the text itself. Just as the early hymns of the Ṛgveda emphasize the meaning of the words applied in repeating, as possible, in the very sentence the verbal root from which they are derived, just so explains the Bh. G. its terms by putting them together with their root; in a similar manner commentators of later systematical texts prefer to explicate the terms in hand more often by adding the verbal forms to which the nouns belong than by providing their synonyms. The Bh. G. accordingly uses in the very same verse beside the substantive either its verb or—quasi as a form of transition between the full verb and noun—the respective participles.

The concreteness of earlier dynamic language is not lost in the Bh. G.; the past participle, for instance, still stresses the fact that the preceding action is finished, while in the later texts this dynamic feeling of Time is partly effaced.

Just as dynamically as the character of Time is felt in the Bh. G. are the dynamics of Space; the prepositions which are added to the simplex are carefully and significantly chosen: *sam-*, *vi-*, differentiate the verbs and their participles in polar directions and prove the simplex, resp. the noun, as a kind of *media vox* embracing in this manner the fullness of the ambiguity of the word itself.

The very concreteness, and at the same time vagueness of the term, the noun, is enhanced not only by the above-given means, but also by another method which is already known from Brāhmaṇa- and Upaniṣad-times. One plays on similarity of sound; roots which are not philologico-

gramatically related, but articulated in their essential sounds at the same place, i.e. belong to the same phonetical group, are put together within one and the same verse to inspire associations not easily to be grasped by the Western Sanskritist, for which, however, the Indian who knows his Texts more by heart and ear than by script, is fully alive. The so-called etymological plays on sound of early Indian texts are taken seriously into consideration by their original commentators, the Indians. They, with their unimpaired capacity of perception, have preserved a keen ear for the *rasas* of the dark and the bright, hard and soft sounds and of their impression on the hearer. Just so as to ear (and eye) is the Indian fully conscious of the inner processes (circulations of breath, blood, gall, etc.). Similarly he is attentive, and reacts accordingly, to the process of articulation, the impression so-to-speak on the place of articulation by the formation of a sound. Therefore a word formed by hard articulation, for instance, produces the feeling of relation of this word with a second one similarly articulated. This phonetic-psychological association is to be taken into account beside the grammatical relation.

And yet another Indian peculiarity which plays its part in hindering a too quick deadening of a noun into a fixed term—a development which, according to its general "Weltanschauung," the West was only too inclined to accelerate—: in the Bhagavadgītā, but also in later systematics, the Indian has a predilection for *śleṣas*, for interconnection and ambiguity of meaning of words. A noun, a term, is once and again in India taken back into manifoldness, is never a 'terminus' in its literal Latin meaning as 'end in itself.' A special aim of Indian rhetoric is to insert so many *śleṣas* that in one and the same text several different continuous contents can be traced. This is an expression of India's view in general and not an accidental and artificial play on words and sounds. The West, since the time of the Sophists has isolated Man from his natural surroundings, has made him and his special gift of reasoning the "measure of all things" (cf. about this in detail my 'Indian and Western Philosophy, a study in Contrasts'). India, on the other hand, has never given up her concept of "Man as part and parcel of the Whole." Think of the still dominant doctrines of reincarnation and karma-theory which are based on this presupposition. In Nature nothing stands isolated; thus the Indian who is more or less still under the sway of his impressive landscape is ever reluctant against unnatural isolation. *Śleṣas*, interconnection between all things, are so-to-speak conditioned by Nature; nothing stands static and isolated in itself, but is continuously in transition from growth to decay, i.e. varying even in its own conditions.

This fundamental concept counteracts isolation even in logic and philology and is not limited merely to artistic expression of poetry and rhetoric. There is a reluctance against isolated and fixed terms and concepts in all Indian literature.

After these preliminary remarks we may investigate the terms and concepts of the Bhagavadgītā. As secondary result we may perhaps indirect-

ly contribute to the literary problem which R. GARBE and his followers put into the foreground of their studies of the Bh. G. Must we take our refuge to the hypothesis of different layers in the Bh. G. for explaining the divergent views implied? Can we distinguish between pantheistic and monotheistic view-points, or may they be combined merely as *paramārtha*—and *laukika* —aspects of one and the same problem as the Vedānta-commentaries suggest? Is not perhaps like in the Homeric works the author of the Bhagavadgītā (and the Mahābhāratam), Vyāsa (from *vy-as*) nothing more than the selecting collector of esoteric and exoteric shades of interpretation of one and the same complex of ideas?

GARBE and most of the scholars devoting their studies to the Bh. G. emphasize with good reasons that the concept of God and the expositions of *bhakti* is the essential of the Bh. G. The second main idea is the concept of *yoga* which is indicated as such among other details by the designation of each single book (except the first) as a kind of 'yoga' the meaning of which we shall try to elucidate later.

Beside these religious and psychological problems cosmogonic questions are treated in the Bh. G. in accordance with Upaniṣadic and Sāṅkhya-texts.

As to the *theistic problem*, it is true that we find in Bh. G. a mixture of personal and impersonal aspects of the divine side by side.

In favour of a predominantly personal interpretation it is generally stressed that throughout the whole Bh. G. God Kṛṣṇa is personally introduced and is speaking in the first person. The Bh. G. is considered the first continuous text of *b h a k t i* devotion to the personal God Kṛṣṇa. Bhakti, however, is, as I tried to point out in my "Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens" pp. iii ff and in my "Indian and Western Philosophy" pp. 35 and 73 f; not originally a personal concept; see more about it later on. Even the I-form of the teaching may not be necessarily taken as predominance of the personal theistic idea in the Bh. G. We may interpret it as a poetical form of exposition; I may recall the dialogue-form of demonstration of the Upaniṣads (cf. the frame-tale of the Kā. Up. and parts of the Chānd. Up., cf. 4, 5ff, where even the sacrificial fire, birds, etc. are introduced as personal speakers). Besides, even the epiphany of Kṛṣṇa in Bh. G., books 10 and 11, may be considered merely a poetical setting. I like to mention that Lucretius, the Latin poet and advocate of pure atheism introduces his work "De Rerum Natura" by an epiphany of a God (Goddess). More seriously we have to take into account the single sayings of the Bh. G., e.g. 4, 7f. Here God Kṛṣṇa is described as a kind of Messiah who whenever dharma, righteousness, is in decay, is reincorporated for protection of the good, for destruction of the evil. But here, too, we may object that the different *avatāras* of Viṣṇu let appear the God, though on a higher, but not on an altogether different level from all other beings; the God, too, is subject to a law of reincarnation.

The representation of the personal God in His epiphany is—as the terms of the context emphasize once and again, and as the name of the 10th book expressly states—a divine *vi-bhūti*; i.e. dispersion (*vi*) of the God into diver-

gent *bhūtas* is here taught. He manifests himself as manifoldness, as all single beings: as *ṛṣi* Kapila: 10, 26; as elephant Airāvata, as Veda, as metre Gāyatrī, as the perfect compound Dvandva, in short, as the sublime example of each category of persons and of things which are indiscriminately introduced. To emphasize plurality, not only all kinds of phenomena are enumerated, but also in emphatic repetition attributes are inserted which designate plurality: *aneka*.. (11, 10); *sahasra*.... (11, 12 and 11, 46); *bahu*..*bahu* (11, 23); *anekadhā* (11, 13); *nānā-vidhāni* (11, 5); *viśva*..*viśva*..(11, 16); *sarvatas*..*sarvatas*, (13, 14), etc.

Accordingly, past participles are added which are combined with the prefix indicating dispersion: *vi*; *vy-āptam* (11, 20); *vy-ātta* (11, 24), etc., etc. We may not overlook that just this maniformity of the God is characterized as His being the *īśvara*, a personal God, but not the one divine uniqueness. (cf. 11, 3; 11, 8; 11, 9, etc). It is true, that there are in this context also some predicates of the deity which can be interpreted as designating a single divine personality, but they are remarkably few in number in comparison with the above-mentioned attributes of multiplicity. The God is praised, too, like in Western monotheism with terms like *pitar*, father of the world, but in the very verse he is called also mother, grandfather and with a neutral term the Veda and the *pavitram*, the magical means of purification. The personal designation *suhṛd*, friend, is here and in earlier passages also applied; but e.g. 5, 29 the appellation 'friend' is coupled with the term '*bhoktar*,' a term which is familiar as attribute of the neutral brahman in Kā. Up. and in the Sāṅkhya for the *liṅga-śarīra*, the product of Prakṛti.

More definite traces of a divine personality seem to be given where the Bh. G. connects the God with the function of *bhakti*. But here, too, we may not forget sayings like in Bh. G. 6, 31, where the devotee is taught to venerate the God as *ekatvam* (neutre).

Other attributes of the personal God appear to be definitely transferred from the Sāṅkhya-system. But, then, the God is not identified with the *puruṣa* (*deus otious*) but with the Prakṛti, His counterpole (e.g. Bh. G. 7, 5). Other devatās besides Kṛṣṇa are significantly mentioned as equally adequate aims of *bhakti* (e.g. 7, 20; 7, 21).

The most frequent attributes of the God in the Bh. G. are the very same which are given in the Upaniṣads for the impersonal brahman: "I am the origin and final end of the world" (7, 6); "everything is woven into me" (7, 7); "I am the *rasa* of all things" (7, 8); "I am being and no-being, fear and no-fear" (10, 4). He is called "*aṇor aṇīyāṁsam*," the subtle of the subtle things (8, 9), a most characteristic term of the impersonal Upaniṣadic brahman. There remain but a few quotations which, being taken isolated, would confirm a predominant personal concept.

Bh. G. 9, 30 does state that the evil-doer becomes good by mere *bhakti* towards God. But not a pure ethical idea, more magical personal power of the God is here described. Bhakti, as we shall explain later on, is a magical participation in the sense of '*do-ut-des*.' It is noteworthy that

here, too, just as in the teaching of a personal god in the Nyāya-system, there are beside God other dominant principles which are independent from His influence. "God does not produce Karma nor the Karma-phalam" (5, 14). Even His own effects are not a free choice of the personal God: "I create once and again driven by the urge (*vaśa*) of prakṛti" (9, 8). The God produces here *quasi* unvoluntarily or compulsorily as in most cosmogonical tales of the Upaniṣads (cf. about this my reviews of K. A. SCHARBAU, *Die Idee der Schoepfung in der Vedischen Literatur* and of I. N. RAWSON, Kaṭha Upaniṣad, *JRAS.* 1936-37)

As to the concept of *bhakti* we have to apply all the means of explanation of a term enumerated in our introduction: variations of the word in hand are introduced by either adding its verbal root and (or) respective participles of the same root or its meaning is widened by inserting it in a *tatpuruṣa*-compound and (or) by interconnecting it with a similar-sounding word in a *śleṣa.* Throughout the whole Bh. G. the term *b h a k t i* itself is less frequently used than the more dynamical form of its full verb. "I love (*bhajāmi*) those who come to me": 4. 11; "they who love me *mad-bhaktās* come to me": 7, 23 "he who loves (*bhajati*) me, moves within me": 6, 31; "they love me (*bhajanti*) and find their support in my divine prakṛti": 9, 13; etc., etc..

Bhakti is nearer defined by an additional synonymous verb or noun: e.g. 13, 11: "unflinching bhakti towards me by yoga to no other objects.. or 9, 14: "worshipping (*namasyantas*) me through bhakti".... Furthermore bhakti, resp. the bhakta, is nearer defined by an accusative which shows his object of love": whatever form (*tanu*) any *bhakta* wants to reach with *ś r a d d h ā* ..": 7, 21. Other passages explain bhakti by introducing instead of the term bhakti the similar concept of attaining a goal, e.g. 16, 20 where "not reaching me" (*aprāpya*) is alternately used; the same occurs in 16, 23: "*siddhim avāpnoti*" is a variation in term, but not in concept, of bhakti..

The term bhakti is clearly traced back to the full meaning of its verbal root *bhaj*, to participate. In Bh. G. 18, 41 is significantly spoken of *pra-vi-bhaktāni karmāṇi,* i.e. the divergent tasks of the different castes; *bhaj* is still a *media vox* and not narrowed down to a mere technical term of later medieval religion. Besides, there are some passages where bhakti is taken in the sense of love in general, but more in that of a kind of affectionate union, e.g. 12, 20. On the other hand, there is expressly said that neither the *bhakta* nor the *a-bhakta* is loved by God because of His impersonal indifference, and the human *bhakta,* too, shall come to a stage beyond all feeling of love and no-love. Furthermore, there are other objects of bhakti beside Kṛṣṇa. This, too, emerges the personality of Kṛṣṇa into a vague pantheism and the concept of bhakti is still more ambiguous than in later bhakti-texts. Just as in the Brāhmaṇa- and Upaniṣadic literature through sacrifice, the devotee of the Bh. G. attains his aim of divine participation through bhakti. Kṛṣṇa enjoys the oblations of flower and fruit which are offered to him

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together with- or without-bhakti like the devatās of early sacrificial Texts their more or less concrete gifts. (9, 22). If we turn back in this connection to the above-given quotation of the sinner who becomes a *sādhu,* somebody who stands on the right place through bhakti (9, 30), we may interpret it that through *bhaj* and bhakti in the sense of *bhāga ananyabhāk* the sinner becomes part of the divine being and loses thereby its original evil disposition turning to a higher main tendency (*karma-bīja*) which develops in its adequate *karma-phalam*—cf. *Yogasūtras* 2, 13 comm.

Similarly we can try to grasp the idea of YOGA, by psycho-philological methods. Philology of Sanskrit with its far-reaching conclusions is a safer means for the understanding of Indian religious concepts than the way through questioning by Western psycho-analysis or comparing obscure Tantra-texts. The term yoga, too, is in the Bh. G., and even so in the classical *Yoga-sūtras* (e.g. Y. S. 2, 1), not an isolated fixed term. The verb from which the noun 'yoga' is derived is preferably used instead of the substantive alone, and suffixes and prepositions are added for characterizing the ambiguous root in positive or negative direction ; *śleṣas* also are applied to elucidate and circumscribe the ambiguous verbal complex. And even if the term 'yoga' itself is introduced, additional attributes are thought necessary for nearer definition. Accordingly, not yoga alone but *buddhi-yoga* and *buddhi-yukta* is said in the Bh. G., e.g. in 2, 50 and 2, 51, or *śraddhavā yuktas* in 7, 22. In a similar manner *Yoga-sūtra* 2, 1, comm. speaks of *yoga-yukta* and *samāhita-citta.* Terms do not easily become fixed and rigid in Hinduistic thought.

The ambiguous root *yuj,* to unite, is grasped with its full creative meaning. Therefore prepositions like *ni* and *vi* are added to the verbal root, resp. to its participles. "Why do you not bind yourself to karma" (*ni-yojayasi*) : Bh. G. 3, 1. "The one who strives after perfection shall separate himself (*vi-yukta*) from *kāma* and *krodha*" (5, 26) ; *vi-yuj* is here used as synonym for *vi-gata*. .krodha (5, 28) *Yuj* is, as we see, here still a neutral term : to bind (or unbind). The full verb is used to emphasize the meaning implied together with its noun. The "*yogin yuñjīta* the *ātman*" (6, 10) or "*yuñjyan* the *yogin*.." (6, 15) ; "*yoga-yuktātmā*" (6, 29) ; "*yoginām yuktatama*" (6, 47); "*yukta*. .*yogī*.." (6, 8). It is noteworthy that in the Bh. G. the term *yukta* is not limited, as in later terminology, to the designation of one who renunciates the world, but designates also the one who is bound to the world and to its material facts (e.g. '*balād*. .*niyojita*' : 3, 36 and '*kāmakrodha-vi-yukta*' 5, 26). Even when connected with a preposition which has an intensifying, and not a negating sense, the term *yoga* or the participles of *yuj* are used in a way opposed to later terminology, for instance 3, 36 : "by what *pra-yukta* (incited) does man act wrong."

The meaning of the root is frequently stressed by the preposition *sam,* together, e.g. "*buddhi-saṁyogam*" (6, 43) or "*samatvam* in yoga" (2, 48). About this we shall say more in our exposition of *Samatvam* later on. Similarly we may interpret the connection of yoga with the term *sam-ādhi* in 2, 53.—A transition to the later fixed meaning of yoga we may find in the

significance of *yukta* in 6, 17, where it is taken in opposition to *ati*, extreme, in world-nearness and -remoteness : in Bh. G. 6, 16 *yukta* means 'moderate' in food, motion, sleep, etc.. Besides, there are some passages, though few, where *yukta* is already used in the sense of psychological union, concentration. Bh. G. 2, 66 speaks of the *buddhi* and the *bhāvanās* of the *a-yukta* which lead to no *śānti*, no appeasement. Yoga as concentration is taken sometimes as synonym for *sannyāsa* or *sannyāsin*, the throwing-together and settling-down after all splitting doubts have gone (4, 41). Other verses of the Bh. G. explain the condition of the *sannyāsin* as result of yoga, e.g. Bh. G. 6, 4 and 5, 6. On the other hand, *sannyāsa* is a preliminary stage of yoga, when the *sannyāsa* of karma is meant. We see that the concept of yoga and its different stages are not definitely fixed in the Bh. G. ; terms are here still in *statu nascendi*. The designation of the different books of the Bh. G., too, demonstrate in their ambiguity of meaning that yoga has still a wide scope. Yoga in the sense of the definite system and as such distinguished from the Sāṅkhya-system is seen in Bh. G. 2, 39 by some scholars, who do not grasp the Bh. G. from our angle of its being a text of transition, but others, though not following our leading idea, have already refuted this interpretation with good reasons.

A final word about the connection of the term yoga with widening *śleśas* : Bh. G. 4, 8, etc. speaks about yoga together with the *yugas*, the different periods of Time, and Bh. G. 11, 12, with *yugapat*, the adverb designating temporal interconnection.

Now let us turn to the concept and term SAMATVAM. It cannot be separated from the preposition *sam* which is once and again anaphorically put together with this noun. *Samatvam* is like all terms and concepts oscillating with ambiguity in the Bh. G. It stands either in a context which tends to expound the all-embracing divine power or in the sense of the yoga-system referring to the psychological function of a bhakta and yogin. 'Sam' is either used to designate extensity or intensity. Thus occurs the term *sama* in all places which deal with the epiphany of the God and His interconnection with all beings. "I am *Sama* in all *bhūtas*" (9, 29); "I am the *sam-uddhartar*" (12, 7); "*samam paśyan samavasthitam*" (13, 29); "as the wind draws within itself all smells, just so He grasps together all indriyas" (15, 7 and 8); "He settles down in the heart of all together" (15, 15). In true Indian interconnection this nearness in space results in indifference in quality. "I am *sama* in all beings, nothing is dear, nothing is repulsive to me" (9, 29). This is also exactly the presupposition for the yogic concept of indifference. "Through the synopsis (*saṁpaśyan*) of the world (*saṅ-graham*) he may attain indifference" (3, 19 and 20). "He may become sama in siddhi and a-siddhi, i.e. he may attain samatvam in yoga" (2, 48) ; "he shall be sama in good and bad luck" (4, 22). From this basis of thought we have to interpret the Buddhist term sam-y-ak, curved together from distracting divergency, which is generally translated as an abstract logical term.—Just as for the God is for the yogin postulated a "*sama*-view within the cow,

the elephant, the dog and the brahmin" (5, 18). We may put these sayings of the Bh. G. together with Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad 1, 3, 22, where the ātmā in man is regarded as sama with the ant, gnat, etc. Indifference towards mud, stone, gold is taught in Bh. G. 14, 24 and 14, 25 beside *samatvam* also its synonymous adjective *tulya* is used. Thus the yogin and the master-yogin, the God, being balanced in themselves, are called *kūṭa-stha* (15,16), or the God is accordingly designated as *ekāntika* (14, 27) or the yogin is *ekākin* (6, 10) and *ekāgra* (6, 12), i.e. one who is not diverted, but concentrated.

From this angle let us grasp the full dynamic meaning of the preposition *sam*. The highest ātman is *sam-āhita* in fortune and misfortune (6, 7) and comes through this *tūṣṇīm*, silence, appeasement, i.e. no-more-striving after—or wanting for—this and that, cf. the literal meaning of *muni* and *maunam*. As long as man is still under the influence of *rajas*, passion, he is *a-sama* (14, 12). All other expressions of abstention from excess and extreme are accordingly also connected with the preposition *sam*. "All guṇas *sam-atītya*" (14, 26). "To throw (*as*) together (*sam*) all karmas and down (*ni*) that is to become a *sannyāsin*" (12, 6); "to force together (*sam-yam*) all gates of the body (*indriyas*) is prescribed in 4, 39. A similar concrete concept of *sama* can be found in the prescriptions of the bodily yogic exercises : head, neck, etc. must be *sama*, i.e. in perfect balance ; the eyes, too, must be *sama*, bound to stare at the top of the nose (6, 13); in the midst of the eye-brows we shall force the vital *prāṇa* to enter *samyak* (8, 10); cf. the above remark about the Buddhist term *samyak*.

Therefore all *saṅgas*, all tendencies in the literal meaning of this term, must be avoided : "in *sama-cittatvam* one shall be a-saṅga, an-abhiṣvaṅga, asakti" (13, 10)—note the play on similar sounds as means of emphasizing ! In the same manner *abhi-sneha*, sticking to a thing, is to be refrained from. Thus we must get rid of clinging to *viṣayas*, viṣaya-saṅga : 2, 62, or to the guṇas : 3, 29 ; or to external touch : 5, 21 ; or to the fruit of karma : 12, 11 ; or to the enjoyment of *kāma* : 16, 16 and 2, 44. In the two last quotations the preposition *pra*, towards, is added to enhance the meaning of tendency from which we shall free ourselves. In 4, 42 a śleṣa is used to stress the meaning : "with the sword (*asi*) of asaṅga one may cut off the the root of world-attachment."—Another example of a false etymologization, which is, however, justified as psychological means for attracting attention.

Another means of pointing out the same idea is given by contrasting it with all combinations formed with the opposite preposition *vi* (cf. above). Kṛṣṇa in His epiphany is *ekatvena pṛthaktvena*, unity, though manifested in extended plurality (9, 15). The *vi-kāras*, empirical changes, are but His manifestations. The actual world of phenomena is characterized by its continuous change. In the very word for 'world' its definition is implied. JAGAT (10, 42 ; 11, 7 ; 11, 45, etc.) is a reduplicated present participle of *gā*, a term for continuous going and changing ; just so another term for 'world' bears the same meaning : *car-aṁ*, the world. India's ways of definition are implicit, not explicit.

A few words about the verbal root *b h ū* for the dynamic meaning of which the Bh. G. provides striking proofs (cf. about *bhū* my observations passim in my books since 1931 and the researches of Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS). In the Bh. G. not the perfect yogin, but the yogin *in statu nascendi* is demonstrated and remarkably often the term *bhū*, becoming, is therefore used in this Text. "Become one who is no more attached to the three guṇas" (2, 45) ; "become one who is balanced" (2, 48) ; "become one who does not expect anything more" (3, 30) ; "perfection originates from karma" (4,12) ; "without having dominated beforehand the will one cannot become a yogin" (6, 2) ; "become one who bears me in his mind" (9, 34) ; "after *rajas* and *tamas* having been conquered then *sattvam* originates" (14, 10). In all these places where psychological development is taught the term *bhū* is applied. In the description of cosmogonic and physical processes the term *bhū* is also significantly used : "From food become the beings, from rain food, from sacrifice rain" (3, 14). The absolute form *bhūtvā* is also still dynamically pregnant : "after having become soma I nourished all plants" (15, 13 and 15, 14). Besides, the full dynamic meaning of *bhū* is still alive in the Bh. G. as demonstrated by its frequent use of the causative form of *bhū*, e.g. 16, 17. Even the adverbial form *bhūyas* is still dynamically felt ; it is anaphorically used with other derivations from its very root, e.g. Bh. G. 2, 20.

And yet a hint at another dynamic term which is fully alive in the Bh. G. and even so in later logical Nyāya-texts. *Vṛtti* and its verbal form *vartate* is not lowered down to a mere auxiliary verb, no more than *bhū-*. *Vṛt*, Latin *vertere*, and its compounds are fully dynamical. *Pra-vṛtti* is, as our word 'pro-cess' should still be, a term designating 'functioning' in its different stages of development. "The viṣayas, the single objects, *vi-nivartante*, i.e., evolve themselves" (2, 59). "The liberation is no-more *vṛtti*, that means no-more-return" (5, 17) ; " I know the past, the becoming and the living beings" (*vartamānāni*) : 7, 26 ; "prakṛti emanates everything, jagat *vi-pari-vartate*" (9, 10); "the guṇas *vartante*" (14, 23); "the asuras do not recognize *pra-vṛtti*" and *ni-vṛtti*" (16, 7) ; but the sāttvikas do : 18, 30.

The term MĀYĀ I have tried to explain in detail in my "Indian and Western Philosophy" pp. 49ff ; it too is in the Bh.G. in a significant state of development (cf. 4, 6 ; 7, 14 ; 7, 15 ; 7, 25 ; 18, 61). In the epiphany it is adequately mentioned as the *reality* of manifoldness of divergent forms, which, though actually pre-existent, is repeated by Kṛṣṇa in an act of display of His power.

And now a final hint at yet another term which is also preserved in the Bh. G. in an instructive ambiguity of relationships : I mean the term *yajña*. Just as in the Upaniṣads (cf. Bṛh. 6, 4, 12 and Chānd. Up. 5, 5. 1 ff.) ; the Indian concept of sacrifice is by far more embracing than in Western religions and thoughts. As I have several times pointed out elsewhere, the Indian concept of sacrifice is since Ṛgvedic times the offering of any substance,

more or less concrete and can be connected with the bio-ontological law of *do-ut-des*, of cause and effect. In the Bh. G., too, all kinds of sacrifice are accepted ; either concrete gifts strengthen (*bhāvayanti*, resp. *bhāvitās* : 3, 12, used like *vardhayanti* in Ṛgvedic and Brāhmaṇa-Texts) the devatās. The sacrificer is fully justified to expect an adequate counter-gift from his object of devotion : action inevitably attracts reaction. There is a striking saying in Bh. G. 3, 12 : "He who enjoys something given to him without having given something beforehand, is a thief." Sacrifice is an exchange of gifts and goods and only then it is a correct deal. Sacrifice has its due reaction also in cosmic processes in accordance with the fundamental law of macro- and micro-cosmic interconnection. "From sacrifice originates rain" (3. 14). If the intention of the offering is to attain in return no material goods, but knowledge, this, too, inevitably is granted as response (4, 23). Indian positivism and realism takes it for granted that nothing is to be lost and each intention reaches its aim (just so the above-mentioned realization of the end of bhakti). Bh. G. enumerates indiscriminately all kinds of sacrifice. The biological sacrifice is breathing (4, 29). Material offerings are intermixed with the oblations of a psychological nature : *tapas* and *svādhyāya* are kinds of sacrifice : 4, 28. *Samādhi* resp. *Saṁyama yoga*, is accordingly called a sacrificial fire in 4, 27. *Jñāna* is the highest form of sacrifice in 4, 33. Invocation, *nāma*, just as *japa* is a form of sacrifice : 10, 25, if it is offered with the due rights : 16, 17. The yogin shall not ask for a material fruit, but for a higher psychological one through his devoted action ; 2, 47; 17, 12 ; 18, 5. But a countergift in one form another is duly expected for the poured-out energy of more or less concrete substance.

And yet another concept of later systematics may be added in its embryonal stage in the Bh. G. I speak of the beginning of psychological TYPOLOGY in the Bh. G. Different types of sacrificers are distinguished in Bh. G. 7, 16. The Sāṅkhya theory of the three guṇas is already in the Bh. G. developed into a typology of constitutional types according to either predominant *sattvam*, or *rajas* or *tamas*. It is here even more specialized than in the commentary of the Sāṅkhya-kārikā. A theory of bio-psychological constitutions for all different conditions of life is taught in Bh. G. 17, 11-13 where three kinds of sacrifices, or in Bh. 17, 17-19 where three kinds of ascetic exercises are distinguished. Three kinds of mental attitudes in the presentations of offerings are enumerated in 17, 20-22 ; three kinds of *śraddhās* in 17, 2-4 and, in accordance with the general magical dogma, that man is what he eats, three kinds of predilections for certain food are demonstrated with regard to the predominance of one of the three guṇas : 17, 18-10. Furthermore, there is distinguished between three kinds of psychological types of *pravṛttis*, tendencies in 14, 17 and, transferred into the theological sphere, three kinds of aims of salvation are taught in 14, 18. Sinners and saints are characterized by their respective prakṛti, inner disposition, in 9, 12-13 or, according to their different aims of asceticism in 17, 5-6 or with regard to their eudemonological ends in 16, 3-6. Here, too, the Bh. G. has not stiffened,

fixed terms and concepts, but varies the theories, if necessary, from one moment to the other. In one place the Bh. G. distinguishes between three different types of puruṣas: the transitory of the physical man, the eternal within man and a third and highest type who is indifferent towards worldly happenings: 15, 16-18. But when Kṛṣṇa shall be shown as near to man in His epiphany, the tripartition is reduced to dipartition, Kṛṣṇa himself is *bhoktar* in 13, 15 ff. The *avyaktam*, too, is occasionally viewed under a double aspect; an extra-and an intra-mundane *avyaktam* is mentioned in 8, 20; an interesting contrast to the official Sāṅkhya-theory.

Now a last glance at the concepts of ĀTMAN in the Bh. G. Here, too, the Bh. G. has remarkable wideness and provides us with a transitory stage from orthodox Upaniṣadic view towards a later logical use of this term. The ātman is most frequently dealt with in the Upaniṣadic manner as the 'essential' in all beings. "To conquer the ātman, through the ātman, i.e., to dominate the ātman of desire by the higher meditative knowing ātman" is taught in 6, 10. "When the lower ātman is suppressed, the *para-ātman* develops": 6, 7. Thus the purified ātman in man becomes the divine ātman in general or the ātman of Kṛṣṇa (mahātman: 7, 19). On the other hand, mahātmānas in 9, 13 are men, while in 11, 12 only Kṛṣṇa is worthy of that name. In certain passages the ātman of the unenlightened is no longer considered existing at all (cf. 16, 9). Beside this significant incongruity of the concept while being in transition, there are other signs of further development of the ātman-concept in the Bh. G. Ātman as a kind of mere reflexive pronoun seems to be the meaning of passages like 16, 18, where "*ātma-para-deheṣu*" is said. Further-more, in 2, 44—*ātma*—or *ātmika* is used as final member of a compound as in later logical texts of the *Nyāyavaiśeṣikam*.

Ambiguous as in the Upaniṣads are in the Bh. G. all terms and concepts, not rigidly fixed as in Western systematics. A further study would prove that later Indian systematical texts, too, are still reluctant against one-sided definite fixations of terms.[1] And even when the texts themselves have undertaken this last step of hardening terms, then the commentators think it necessary to loosen once more the fixed limit of the terms by reviving them in explaining them by their productive verbal root. India's reluctance against any isolation reveals itself also in her logical attitude of aversion against unchangeable definitions. In India the fundamental elements of the verbal root are still dynamically potent and either one or the other of the complex meanings implied, is accentuated according to its context and the momentary needs. Even proper names are not deadened to one, and only one, significance. They are still bearer of vivid functions and as such can always be replaced by a synonym of either the whole or one part of its compound. About this see in detail my "Indische Namenskunde," *Festschrift W. Geiger*, 1931.

1. Such a study will shortly be published.

THE NUMERALS IN THE MOHENJO DARO SCRIPT

By

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The numerals in the Mohenjo Daro script are generally represented by strokes. This is the most natural and simple way of writing numerals. In the tablets of Jemdet Nasr, in Sumer, several numerals are still represented in the same way,[1] but later on, in the developed Sumerian writing they were shown by dots or small circles.

Number 1. Accordingly number 1 corresponds to one stroke, thus

| This numeral is very seldom found alone for the simple reason that any singular object is one. Yet at times it is used for the sake of emphasis. For instance, once when mentioning the city of Mūnūr, which means "three cities," the numeral 1 is put before the sign meaning Mūnūr thus :  which reads : *or mūnūr*, "one Mūnūr," just to show that this city, though called "three cities," is nevertheless one unit only.

On the other hand this sign is phonetically used for making the plural of some nouns. This is obtained in two different ways : first, by compounding this sign with the sign expressing the noun thus :

 *naṇḍ*, "crab";  *naṇḍor*, "those of the crab"

 āḷ, "man";  *āḷor*, "Men."

 *maram*, "tree";  *maramor*, "the men of the tree"

The second way to obtain the plural with the numeral | is by suffix-

1. LANGDON, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, Nos. 41, 57, etc. Cf. HERAS, '*The Origin of the Sumerian Writing*,' *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VII, pp. 21-22.

ing this sign to the sign of the noun, thus forming a phonetic combination of two signs for instance :

ari, " rare " ; *aroir,* " noble men "

kāl, " leg " ; *kālor,* " people who have legs," " Kalers" (a tribe).

Moreover, | is also found in some compound signs that require this numeral either pictographically or phonetically, for instance :

orūr, the name of a city which means " one city."

Number 2. Two strokes represent No. 2, thus || *or* ¦ *ir,* though this second form is used once or twice only when space is lacking. This as well as all other numerals are used before the nouns they qualify.

Yet occasionally, these two strokes are found after nouns, and then though the phonetic value of the sign is always the same, *ir,* it is not a numeral any more. For instance,

velir,

aramaramır

tirair

This is another way of forming the plural, *ir* becoming the plural termination. Accordingly *velir* will mean " the people of the trident," or " kings "; *armaramir* " the people of the pipal trees ;" *tirair,* " the Tirayars" (a tribe).[1] This seems to be the most primitive way of forming the plural in Dravidian languages. Whatever is not one, two for instance, is already plural.

1. Cf. HERAS, *The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro, JBBRAS* (N.S.), XIV, pp. 73-78.

This way of obtaining the plural by suffixing the numeral two is expressed in four different ways in the Mohenjo Daro script system. The first is that explained above.

The second is obtained by representing the sign twice; as in the two following inscriptions:

Tirair adu, "of the Tirayars."

Paravir pali, "the city of the Paravas".

The third is by adding the sign corresponding to the substantive verb, which also reads *ir*, thus:

tirair, "the Tirayars."

The fourth by qualifying the noun with the determinative of collectivity which is two strokes above each other on either side of the noun sign. This way is only used with names of persons, for instance:

kalakūr, "united countries"

kalakūrir "people of the united countries"

mīnan, "one of the Mīnas";

mīnanir, "the Mīnas."

Elsewhere I have explained another way of forming the plural, but it has no connection with the subject of this paper.[3]

The sign for two is also found forming compound signs, for instance:

irūr, name of a city meaning "two cities"

1. Photo, H., Neg. 3040, No. 13; H., Neg. 3054, No. 10.
2. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, M. D. No. 338.
3. Cf. HERAS, *Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro, Journal of the Karnataka Historical Society*, III, pp. 4-5.

Number 3. It is represented by three strokes usually in this way :

and very rarely thus The sign is always put before the noun :

mūn kaṇ, "three eyes"

mūn ārir, "three rivers"

Sometimes it is found after the *noun,* then meaning "before."

kōn man, "before the king."

These three strokes are often combined with other signs forming compound sign thus :

or *mūnūr,* a city of this name corresponding to the Sanskrit "*Tripura.*"

mūnkal, "three canals"

mūnmala, name of a city meaning "three mountains," responding to the Saṃskṛta "*Triparvata.*"

Number 4. It is represented by four strokes , always before the noun. For instance :

nāl koḍi, "four flags".

Now the word *nāl* besides meaning "four" means also "several," "many."

So, on many occasions this is the meaning of in the inscriptions. Thus

1. Marshall, (*op. cit.,*) M.D., No. 449.

which reads : *Tāṇḍavanir nāl maram,* "many trees of the dancers."
or

Tāṇḍavan ir nāl maram, "many living trees of the Tāṇḍvan" (the dancing Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva).

Now since many trees make a forest, this inscription might be properly translated : "A forest of the dancers" or "the living forest of the Tandavan."

Besides the word *nal* means "good" in Dravidian languages, and accordingly sometimes the sign has this meaning, and then as an adjective is also put before the noun. Thus :

nāl tūku, "good teacher"

nal āl, "good man"

Finally, this sign is found in compound signs which read phonetically, like the following :

talnālūr, "the illustrious Nalur"

nalam, "prosperity"

mīnāl, "the day of the Fish"

nalkīḷ, "under four", "subject to four."

The sign representing the ordinal "fourth" is very common in our script. This sign is . A very similar sign is found in Sumerian, meaning one-sixth, but in no Dravidian language is there any simple word corresponding to this fraction. In point of fact our sign is one quarter of the circumference :



Its original meaning, therefore, had to be "a quarter" or "one-fourth". This

is said in Dravidian languages *kāl*. Such is therefore the phonetic value of this sign. It may be seen used in the following epigraphs :

Pali nāḍ kāl adu : "that is one quarter of the fields of the city."

[2]

Parava nila mīnir kāl ūril, "in the country one-fourth of the Mīnas (are) Moon Paravas".

This sign is often read phonetically both as *kāl* and as *kal,* meaning stone, foot, leg, pillar, column, forest, measure, place, etc. Elsewhere I have explained the series of combinations formed with this sign and its opposite

lak, "to rise." [3] But it is also found in a number of compound signs

with the above meanings or phonetically combining with other values. For instance :

arikāl, "a measure of toddy"

kālāḷ, "a foot soldier"

kalei, "morning," "dawn," "the morning star"

kalarorlak, "the rising of the people of the rocky river."

The following inscription will give an idea of the phonetic use of this sign :

[4]

Mūn kavel valilire kal : "three black acacias[5] which make a weak support." This seems to be a popular saying. From other inscriptions we know that for building their houses they used four logs as support of the roof.

1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.,* M.D., No. 311.
2. *Ibid.,* No. 36.
3. HERAS, *Mohenjo Daro, the most Important Archaeological Site in India, J. I. H.,* XVI, pp. 2-3.
4. MARSHALL, *op. cit.,* M.D., No. 473.
5. *Acacia arabica.*

Consequently three logs would not make a good support. This kind of tree is still used in southern India for building purposes.

Number 5. Following the ordinary way of representing these numerals by large strokes, number 5 would be expressed thus : Yet this is not the ordinary sign for five, and only once or twice is this sign found meaning five. Ordinarily this sign means "cultivated fields," *nāḍ*, as Dr. HUNTER suggested with an extraordinary foresight.[1] For instance in this epigraph :

 [2]

Ter nad peraluyarel, "Perāl, (for the modern Perumal) of the chariot and the cultivated fields (is) the high sun."[3] These five strokes represent the furrows of the fields.

The ordinary way of representing number 5 is by five small strokes in either of these two ways *or* These signs read *ai*, "five."

For instance :

ai kap, "five banners"

ai ir, "five dwellings"

This numeral is also found in combination with other signs, but then the five strokes are parallel or semiparallel, as in the above sign which reads *nāḍ*.

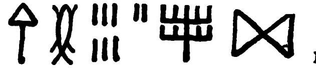
For instance :

ainūr, name of a city which means "five cities"

aien, "to think five times" or "five thoughts."

1. HUNTER, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, p. 204.
2. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 37.
3. The denomination "Peral (or Āṇ or kadavul) of the chariot and of the cultivated fields" is very common in the Mohenjo Daro epigraphs (Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 50, 325, etc.) The chariot and fields are the symbols of war and peace, of destruction and generation. Cf. HERAS, '*The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 8.

Number 6. This sign is never represented by six long parallel strokes but by six small strokes placed in two rows, thus : which read *ār*, six. For instance in the following inscription :

 [1]

kudu perper ire ār mīn kaṉ "see the six stars (Pleiades) that have the very great one of the union."[2]

Six is also represented by six parallel strokes in the case of compound signs. For instance :

 *ārkopa,* "six hamlets."

Number 7. It is represented in two rows also just as in the two preceding signs, thus or for instance :

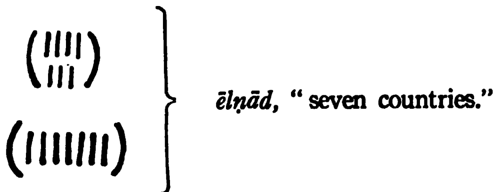
 *ēḷ tira,* "seven seas"

 *ēḷ kā,* "seven deaths"

Only on one occasion are seven parallel strokes used with a determinative as we shall see below :

I have not found this numeral in a compound sign as yet.

This sign is found in two different ways with the determinative of country, thus :



ēlṇād, "seven countries."

1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 314.
2. To see the *arumin*, as the Pleiades are called in Tamil up to the present, is considered a very auspicious event.

Number 8. It is also but only rarely represented by eight small strokes in two rows, thus : The ordinary sign for eight is . It reads *eṭ*. In proto-Chinese writing these two curved lines are placed opposite each other



. This sign reads *bah,* "eight". What real relation exists between this sign and the sign *kāl,* one-fourth, is difficult to say. The use of sign is very common.



eṭ ār, "eight paths" or "sides'



eṭ vilā, "eight Bilavas"

Now the word *eṭ* means also "to reach," for eight was the last number for the very early Dravidians. So to count up to eight, *eṭ,* was to reach the end. Thus *eṭ* became "to reach." Thus this sign is also used with the meaning of "reaching." With this meaning it is also used in compound signs :



kadireṭ "being reached by a ray of light."



eṭire, "having reached"

The compound signs having *eṭ* with the numeral meaning have always eight strokes instead :



eṭuḍa, "eight dresses"



eṭūr, "eight countries"

Beyond eight all the numerals refer to ten, which was evidently introduced at a later period. In our script we have the following :

onpad, " nine "

padrāḍ, " twelve "

mūneṭ, " twenty-four "

There exist also in the inscriptions phonetic combinations of two numerals giving high figures.

nūn mūn, " nine "

mūn ēḷ, " twenty-one "

mūn eṭ, " twenty-four "

mūn padraḍ, " thirty-six "

Occasionally signs for numerals are found with the plural termination. So it happens when the numerals refer to persons. For instance,

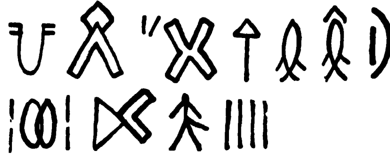
eṭir, " eight persons "

mūnru, " three persons "

mūnālru, " twelve persons "

ēḷir, " seven persons."

It has been said above that the numeral always precedes the noun. There is nevertheless an exception in the case of verses. Sometimes the metric combination demands that the numeral should be postponed, as it happens in the following beautiful *veṇba* :



In this case the numeral *nāl* " four," " many " is placed after the sign



kudaga, which is qualified by *nāl*

Reading : *Kālor mīnan mīn kaṇ kaḍa ēr valil adu*
Kalakūrir vāl kei kudaga nāl

Translation :

" Many strong Kudagas of the People of the United Countries that had a fort which was seen with great perfection, crossed and taken over by Mīnan of the Kālors."

1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.,* M.D., No. 321.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR OF THE DECCAN

By

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN, Calcutta.

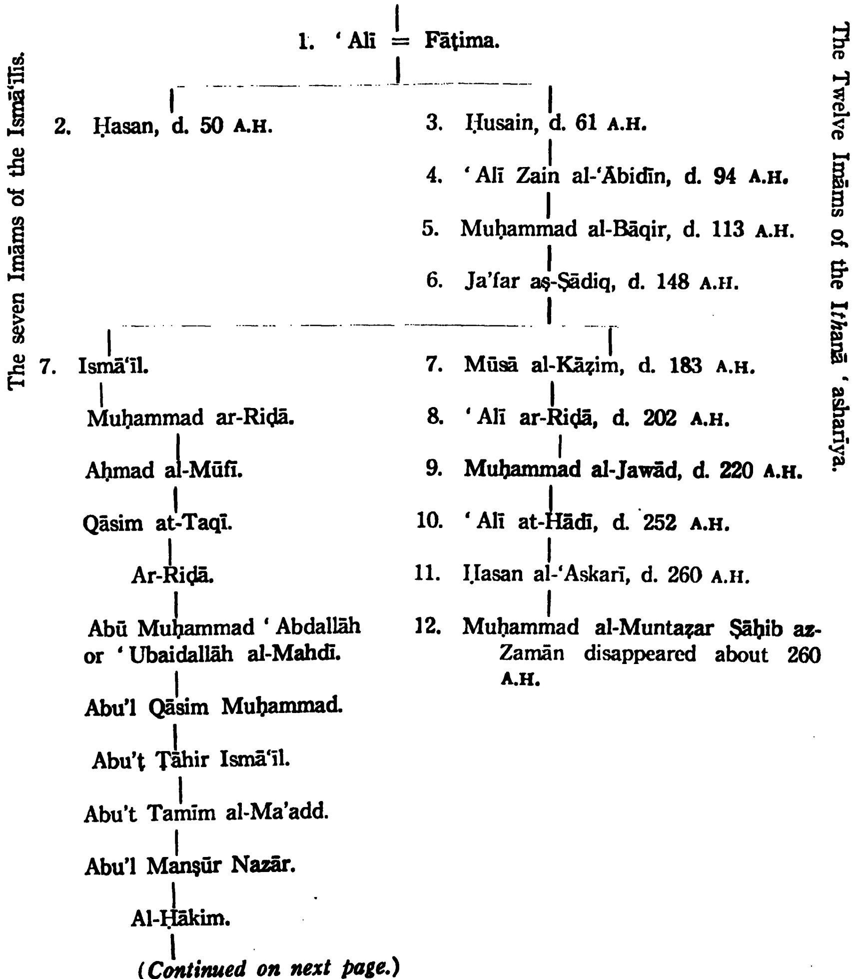
I.

HIS ANCESTORS AND EARLY LIFE.

Shāh Ṭāhir was a descendant[1] of Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidallāh who declared himself to be al-Mahdī and claimed to be the Caliph and prince of the faithful. In A.H. 297, A.D. 909, 'Ubaidallāh made himself master of the whole of North Africa with the exception of the Idrīsid kingdom of Morocco.

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1. The genealogical table of Shāh Ṭāhir is as below :—



(*Continued on next page.*)

His capital was the city of Al-Mahdīya (the 'Africa' of FROISSART) near Tunis. He is the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty and claimed to be a descendant of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Jawhar, a general of the dynasty annexed Egypt and Southern Syria to the dominion in A.H. 356,

'Alī aṭ-Ṭāhir.
|
al-Mawlā Muḥammad.
|
al-Mawlā Mustanṣar Aḥmad.
|
al-Mawlā Nazār.
|
Aḥmad Misṭar.
|
al-Mawlā 'Alī.
|
Mawlānā Ḥasan al'Ālam.
|
Kibār Muḥammad.
|
Ḥusain Jalāl ad-Dīn.
|
Mawlā Jalāl ad-Dīn.
|
Mawlā Muḥammad.
|
Al-'Ālim.
|
Muḥammad Zardūz called Shams Tabrīzī Shāh Khūr Shāh,
|
Mu'min Shāh.
|
al-Mawlā Mu'min Shāh.
|
Shāh Raḍī ad-Dīn.
|
Shāh Ṭāhir.

See *Tārīkh Firishta* (Bombay ed.) Vol. II, p. 213. Hamdallā al-Mustawfī in *'Uyūn at-Tawārīkh* mentions the ancestors of al-Mahdī as follows :—

7. Ismā'īl.
8. Aḥmad ar-Riḍā.
9. Qāsim.
10. An-Naqī.
11. 'Abdallāh.
12. ar-Riḍā.
13. Muḥammad.
14. 'Al-Mahdī (Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidallāh).

Frishta Vol. II, p. 213 further remarks that according to Sunnīs the Fāṭimid rulers of North Africa are descended from 'Abdallāh bin Sālim and some of the scholars of 'Irāq hold them to be descendants of 'Abdallāh bin Maymūn al-Qddāḥ (the ocullist). At any rate there is a difference of opinion about Fāṭimid rulers being descendants of the Prophet.

For further information regarding the Genealogy of Shāh Ṭāhir see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January 1938, pp. 68 and 69.

A.D. 969 and founded the fortified place of al-Qāhira which developed into the city of Cairo. The Fāṭimid rulers were Ismā'īlīs[1] in their faith. The kingdom endured with this dynasty from A.H. 297 to 567, A.D. 909-1171. Saladin supplanted the last Fāṭimid Caliph al-'Āḍid Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh in A.H. 567, A.D. 1171.

In the beginning of their reign one of the forefathers of Shāh Ṭāhir had gained considerable fame by his piety, devotion and learning and had renounced the Ismā'īlī Faith and become *Ithnā*[2] *Asharī*, "the follower of the *twelve Imāms*." Through his preaching the sect was much benefited and the spiritual leadership fell to the lot of his family. But when in A.H. 567, A.D. 1171, the kingdom was transferred to Ayyūbids, (A.H. 564-648, A.D. 1169-1250) who were staunch Sunnī,[3] the family found it difficult to live in Egypt. They came to Khūnd, a village, in the province of Qazwīn on the boundary of Jīlān and become known as the Sayyids of Khūnd. After they had settled with dignity and honour for more than 300 years, the spiritual leadership of the family passed to Shāh Ṭāhir. He was a profound scholar, well-versed in *belles-lettres*, skilful and eloquent and so well equipped with all the qualities of a leader that he outstripped his forefathers. The Shī'as of Qazwīn and

1. Ismā'īlī, a Shī'a sect, so called as according to them Ismā'īl, the eldest son of the sixth Imām, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, was the true Imām. His father Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq had at first nominated him as his successor, but having learned of his eldest son's intemperance, had changed his decision and declared Mūṣā, his second son, as his successor. The Ismā'īlīs or followers of Ismā'īl refused to recognize this alteration, claiming that the Imām, once appointed, cannot be changed as the appointment of the Imām is by divine providence and it is not permitted by God to change His decree. They explain the Qur'ān in allegorical exposition and consider the drunkenness of the Imām as an evidence that he accepted the hidden meaning of the verses of the Qur'ān and not its outwards meaning. They are sometimes called Sab'īya (the partisans of the seventh Imām), because their doctrines restrict the number of visible Imāms to seven and they consider Ismā'īl to be the 7th Imām. For further details and doctrines of the sect see *Ency. of Islām* Vol. II, pp. 549-552.

2. *Ithnā 'Asharīya* a name given in contrast to the Sab'īya (the partisans of the seven Imāms), to that leading orthodox sect of Shī'as who receive the following twelve Imāms as the rightful Caliphs and successors of the Prophet. (1) 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet. (2) Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī. (3) Ḥusain ash-Shahīd, the second son of 'Alī. (4) 'Alī surnamed Zain al-'Ābidīn, the son of Ḥusain. (5) Muḥammad al-Bāqir, son of Zain al-'Ābidīn. (6) Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. (7) Mūsā al-Kāẓim, son of Ja'far. (8) 'Alī ar-Riḍā, son of Mūsā. (9) Muḥammad at-Taqī, son of 'Alī ar-Riḍā. (10) 'Alī an-Naqī, son of Muḥammad at-Taqī, (11) Al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, son of 'Alī an-Naqī. (12) Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥujja son of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, or the Imām al-Mahdī who is supposed by the Shī'as to be still alive and hidden. He will again appear as the Mahdī or "director" when Islām will be in great danger as the Prophet prophesied about him.

3. The Sunnī is the name of the four Islamic sects who follow any of the teachings founded by the four Imāms viz. :—

1. Abū Ḥanīfa (died A.H. 150, A.D. 767).
2. Mālik bin Anas (died A.H. 197, A.D. 795).
3. Muḥammad bin Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī died A. H. 204, (A. D. 820).
4. Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (died A.H. 241, A.D. 855).

other neighbouring places became his staunch followers and rallied round him. Shāh Ismā'īl I. (A.H. 907-930, A.D. 1502-1524) of the Ṣafawid dynasty who was ruling over Persia at the time, became jealous of his power and wanted to exterminate him on the plea of the safety of the kingdom. But one of the ministers of Shāh Ismā'īl I, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Iṣfahānī, who was a disciple of Shāh Ṭāhir, informed him through a messenger about the intentions of his king and advised him to present himself immediately before the king and to disperse all his followers. Shāh Ṭāhir, seeing no other course open, acted on the advice of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Iṣfahānī and in A.H. 926, A.D. 1519 presented himself before Shāh Ismā'īl I. Through the intercession of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain he was included among the literati attending the king and was subsequently appointed a Professor of a college at Kāshān. At Kāshān, he soon came to wield great influence and his followers became so numerous that at last the Shāh's agent wrote :—

"Shāh Ṭāhir is trying hard to propagate his sect and infidels are coming in large numbers to him. True faith is suffering disgrace and negotiations are being carried on between him and the neighbouring kings."

The Shāh, infuriated at this news, ordered that Shāh Ṭāhir should forthwith be put to death. But before the Shāh's order reached Kāshān, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain had informed Shāh Ṭāhir of the peril that awaited him and Ṭāhir fled with his family from Kāshān towards the end of the year 926 A.H., 1519 A.D. He reached the port of Jarūn to leave for India. Fortunately a ship was sailing for India that very day. Ṭāhir boarded the ship on Friday and after a week landed at Goa. The king's men chased him upto Kāshān and came in close pursuit upto Jarūn but found, to their utter disappointment, that he had left for India two hours before their arrival. Landing on the soil of India Shāh Ṭāhir made straight for the court of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, the reigning chief of Bījāpūr in the Deccan.

II.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR'S ADVENT IN BĪJĀPŪR AND AḤMADNAGAR.

In those days the Deccan was split up into five important and independent Muhammadan kingdoms. The 'Imād Shāhs (A.H. 890-980, A.D. 1484-1572) ruled in Birār, Niẓām Shāhs (A.H. 896-1004, A.D. 1490-1595) in Aḥmadnagar, Barīd Shāhs, (A.H. 897-1018, A.D. 1492-1609) in Bīdar, 'Ādil Shāhs (A.H. 895-1097, A.D. 1489-1686) in Bijāpūr and Quṭb Shāhs (A.H. 918-1098, A.D. 1512-1682) in Golconda. Of these independent dynasties, the 'Ādıl Shāhs of Bījāpūr only were Shī'as. Firishta (Vol. II. p. 18, Bombay Edition), remarks that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (A.H. 895-916, A.D. 1489-1511) was the first to introduce Shī'aism in India on Friday in the month of Dhī'l Ḥijja A.H. 908, A.D. 1502. Consequently Shāh Ṭāhir, on his advent in India, came straight to Ismāīl 'Ādil Shāh, (A.H. 916-941, A.D. 1511-1534) the son of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh in the hope of gaining his favour. He, however, received no sympathetic treatment at the hands of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, who was a clever and shrewd ruler and was a Shī'a for the sake of kingdom only. Ismā'il only wanted Shī'a soldiers who could fight for him in battles and had little

concern with scholars and spiritual leaders. Naturally he was indifferently disposed towards Shāh Ṭāhir. Ṭāhir thus bereft of all hopes had no recourse but to return back. He resolved to go to Mecca and Madīna and to visit the holy shrines of the Imāms and then proceed homewards if conditions in the country happened to have undergone a propitious change in the meantime. It came as a strange but happy coincidence that while passing through Paranda he came in contact with Khāja Jahān, the Bahmanī noble. Khāja Jahān had for sometime been in quest of a good tutor for his children. Accordingly he received Shāh Ṭāhir as a God-send and accorded him a cordial and hospitable welcome.

About this time Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad of Shirwān, who was a follower of the Ḥanafī sect, was sent on some errand to Khāja Jahān by Burhān Shāh Niẓam-ul-Mulk (A.H. 914-961, A.D. 1508-1553), the king of Aḥmadnagar. The Maulānā was a literary man of mediocre ability but having been the tutor of Burhān Shāh commanded great respect and honour and was considered to be a profound scholar. At Paradah he was much impressed with the vast learning and scholarship of Shāh Ṭāhir and began to read with him *al-Majisṭī*,[1] a difficult book on Astronomy. When on his return to Aḥmadnagar, Burhān Shāh enquired about the cause of his delay, he admired the erudition of Shāh Ṭāhir in the most eloquent terms and added that he had so long been studying Astronomy under him. A great patron of learning as he was, Burhān Shāh requested the Mawlānā to bring such a great scholar to his court. So in A.H. 928, A.D. 1521 the Maulānā came again to Paranda and took Shāh Ṭāir with him. All the nobles of the court travelled eight miles to welcome him (Shāh Ṭāhir) and Burhān Shāh conferred upon him a dignified position among the nobles of his court.

III.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR AS AN AMBASSADOR TO GUJARĀT.

In the early part of A.H. 937, A.D. 1530 Burhān Shāh sent Shāh Ṭāhir, with the presents of elephants and other valuables, to Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh (A.H. 932-943, A.D. 1526-1536) in Gujarāt. Bāhadur Shāh knew that Burhān Shāh had not recited his name in the sermons excepting once. So he did not pay any attention to Shāh Ṭāhir, and also did not call him to court either. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh I, (A.H. 926-942, A.D. 1520-1535) the ruler of Khāndīsh wrote to Bahādur Shāh that though Burhān Shāh had not recited his name in the sermons for the sake of the nobles of the Deccan, yet in his heart of hearts he had been a well-wisher of the king.

1. *Al-Majisṭī*, or *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭi*, is a famous compendium of the astronomical system of Ptolemy. It is also called *Kitāb al-Majistī*. It was translated from Greek into Arabic by Isḥāq bin Ḥunain (d. A.H. 298, A.D. 910) and annotated by Naṣīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad at-Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1274). The Arabic version of Naṣīr ad-Dīn is printed in Constantinople, 1801. For further details see AHLWARD, *Berlin Cat.* No. 5655 and BROCKELMANN. *Gesch, d. Arab. Litter*, Vol. I, p. 511.

On this recommendation Bahādur Shāh permitted Shāh Ṭāhir to come to his court but did not show him any favour. Mullā Khudāwand Khān, his minister, was a great patron of learning and came to appreciate the depth of Shāh Ṭāhir's erudition. He recommended him in the presence of the king, whereupon Bahādur Shāh held a special court and bestowed much honour upon Shāh Ṭāhir. Shāh Ṭāhir, thus successful in his embassy, rose in the esteem of Burhān Shāh and soon became the trusted friend and adviser of the king.

IV.

Conversion of Burhān Shāh to Shī'aism.

When Bahādur Shāh conferred upon Burhān Shāh the title of "the Niẓām Shāh," the latter began to realise the worth of Shāh Ṭāhir and became his staunch follower. He became so fond of listening to the Ṭāhir's eloquent speeches that he had a mosque built in the fort and appointed him a lecturer there. Scholars used to assemble there twice a week and hold important discussions. Burhān Shāh attended these discourses very regularly and listened with such great attention to the lectures of Shāh Ṭāhir that he even checked the calls of nature to hear the same without interruption and did not move until he had finished his discourse.

In the beginning, Burhān Shāh was so deeply attached to the scholars of the Nūr Bakhshīya[1] sect that he married one of his daughters to one of

1. Nūr Bakhshīya sect was founded by Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bkhsh son of Muḥammad son of 'Abdallāh. The father of Nūr Bakhsh migrated from his birth place Qatīf to Qā'in in Quhistān (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 352) where Nūr Bakhsh was born in A.H. 795, A.D. 1392. He first learnt the Qur'ān by heart and after that studied the different branches of Arabic learning and became a profound scholar of his days. He became a disciple of Khāja Isḥāq Khutalanī (see Rieu *Cat. Br. Mus.* Vol. II, p. 650b) who in obedience to a dream gave his pupil the surname of Nūr Bakhsh (the light-giver). He declared himself Mahdī and gained numerous adherents. In A.H. 826, A.D. 1423 he raised the standard of revolt in a fortress called Kūh Tirī in the province of Khuttalān, west of Badakhshān. The governor of the province, Bāyazīd, acted promptly and sent him along with a band of his leading supporters as prisoners to Sulṭān Shāhrukh (A.H. 807-850) at Hirāt. All the prisoners were put to death, but Sayyid Muḥammad's life was spared and he was imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyār ad-Dīn, situated to the North of the city of Hirāt and thence in Shīrāz where he was released by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. After travelling through Baṣra, Hilla, Baghdād, Karbalā' and Najaf he went to Kurdistān, where he was again arrested under Shāhrukh's order and brought to Ādharbā'ījān. He made his escape and after much suffering reached Khal Khāl where he was recaptured and sent back to Shāhrukh, who made him mount the pulpit and abjure Mahdīship. In A.H. 848, A.D. 1444 he was released on condition that he would confine his activities to teaching; but, having been a suspect, he was sent to Tabrīz, thence to Shīrāz and then to Gīlān. After Shāhrukh's death he was set free, and took up his residence in the village of Sulfan in the neighbourhood of Ray, where he died on Thursday the 15th Rabī' I. A.H. 869, 15th November 1464 at the age of 73.

The Nūr Bakhshīya doctrines, according to English translation of *Tārikh*

its members. But when he began to follow Shāh Ṭāhir, he became so disgusted with them that he drove them out of Aḥmadnagar.

During the period of Burhān's devoted attachment with Shāh Ṭāhir, Prince 'Abd al-Qādir, the youngest son of Burhān Shāh, was attacked with high fever. The king sent for Qāsim Beg and other famous physicians, Hindūs and Muhammadans both, and said to them, "My life depends upon his life. Cure him in any way possible. I am ready to sacrifice my life even, if it be required for his medicine."

The physicians tried their best, but could not cure the prince. Brahmins, mendicants and people of talismanic power were sent for and even offerings were made to deities. Alms were freely distributed and no stone was left unturned to save the prince, but all appeared to prove abortive.

Shāh Ṭāhir, who was always on the look-out of an opportunity for propagating his faith, took it for an opportune moment and went to Burhān Shāh. After a lengthy prologue, he came to the point and said that he had thought of a good plan for the treatment of the prince but could not dare to disclose it. Burhān Shāh urged him to speak out on the assurance that none in the kingdom would harm him. Shāh Ṭāhir said that he feared none except the king. At this Burhān Shāh became more inquisitive and entreated him to disclose the secret adding that for nothing on earth he could prove ungrateful to a person who would tell him the ways and means of saving his beloved son. Shāh Ṭāhir then asked the king to make a vow that he would give an enormous sum of money to the descendants of the "twelve Imāms" on the recovery of the prince 'Abd al-Qādir. Burhān Shāh said; "Who are these *twelve Imāms*? Perhaps I have heard their names in my childhood." (The mother of Burhān Shāh was a Shī'a). Shāh Ṭāhir recited the names and the praises of the *twelve Imāms*. Burhān Shāh said that since offering had been sent to the temple, there was no harm if

Rashīdī by E. Denison ROSS, (London 1895) p. 434, etc., were first introduced in India through Kashmīr in the reign of Fatḥ Shāh who was reigning in A.H. 894 (HAIG, *JRAS*, for 1918, p. 451) by a man named Shams (ad-Dīn) who came to Kashmīr from Tālish in 'Irāq. He gave himself out as a follower of Sayyid Muḥammad and "introduced a corrupt form of a religion giving it the name of Nūr Bakhshī." JARRET, in the translation of *A'īn*, Vol. II, p. 389 says "that Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was a disciple of Shāh Qāsim Anwār and he promulgated the Nūrakhshī doctrines in the reign of Fatḥ Shāh." From Kashmīr the sect spread throughout India. *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 211 says that Shāh Jalāl Shrīrāzi, a disciple of Shaikh Muhmmad Nūr Bakhsh, came from Mecca and settled in Delhi during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī (A.H. 894-923, A.D. 1488-1517). From ETHÉ, *India Office Cat.* Column 459 No. 1086 it appears that the poet Fikrī, who was related to the family of Nūr Bakhsh, came to the Deccan when Shāh Ṭahir was there. It is quite probable that the king gave his daughter in marriage to him.

Bibliography :—

Nūrallāh Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* (Tehran, 1299) pp. 313-315; Ethé, *Cat. India office*, Nos. 1078-86; *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. III, p. 961, Prof. Muhammad SHAFI'S article on the Nūrbakhshī sect, published in the *Proceedings, Third Oriental Conference*, Madras 1924 pp. 683-705 and Titut's, *Indian Islām* p. 106.

alms were given in the names of the Imāms. After all they had been great personages in Islām. When Shāh Ṭāhir saw that he was successful so far, he told the king that it was not all he wanted to say. He had to say something more. He was willing to disclose everything if he got an assurance from the king that no harm would befall him, should his words incur the displeasure of His Majesty and if at all he was to be punished, he should be sent to Mecca with his family. The king promised and swore by the Holy Qur'ān that neither would he do him any harm nor would he allow any other person to do so. Shāh Ṭāhir praised the king much, made him puff up with prayers for his prosperity and for perpetuity of his kingdom and said, "This is the night of Friday. Make a vow that if God cures 'Abd al-Qādīr for the sake of the Prophet and the twelve Imāms you would recite their names in sermons and would propagate their faith (i.e. Shī'aism)." The king despairing of his son's life, did not hesitate to accept Shāh Ṭāhir's advice and made a solemn vow to keep his promise. Shāh Ṭāhir then proceeded homewards while the king went to see his son. When the king saw the prince restless, he was filled with despair and thought that the latter would die in a few hours. So he ordered the quilt to be taken off so that the prince might take rest and breathe his last with peace and comfort. Thereafter the king laid himself besides his ailing son and fell asleep.

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* writes that the king saw in a dream a very august and pious personage with six more on each side. He approached and accosted them. A certain person said that the central figure was the Prophet and the others were twelve Imāms. Then the Prophet himself spoke and said that God had cured 'Abd al-Qādir for the sake of 'Alī and his descendants and enjoined upon Burhān Shāh to follow the advice of his descendant Ṭāhir. The king, thereupon, awoke from his dream and saw 'Abd al-Qādir covered up with the quilt. "Who has covered the prince with the quilt?" enquired the king of the queen and the attendants. They said that they had not covered the prince with the quilt but had seen the quilt coming up by itself and covering the prince. They had become so very terrified at the sight of this occurrence that they remained dumb-founded. The king then felt the body of the prince, and found that fever had left and that he was sleeping peacefully. He was now convinced that it was the result of his vow that the life of his son had been saved and ordered that Shāh Ṭāhir should be summoned immediately.

Shāh Ṭāhir prayed the whole night for the recovery of the prince, for he knew that if the prince was not cured his fate was doomed. When he heard the rap at the door he thought the prince must have died and he was being called for punishment. He, therefore, wanted to make good his escape but found himself faced with seven or eight men coming one after another with the message to present himself before the king immediately. Having no other alternative he calmly resigned himself to his fate and bidding farewell to his family went to Burhān Shāh escorted by the messengers. At the gate he saw the king who welcomed him and brought him to 'Abd al-Qādir with his

hand interwoven into his own. At the request of Shāh Ṭāhir, the king related to him the incident of the night and then expressed a desire to accept the creed of the *Ithnā Asharīya,* in order to fulfil the vow he had made. Shāh Ṭāhir converted him to Shī'aism and taught him the doctrines thereof which consist of love for the Prophet, his family and the *twelve Imāms*; and hatred for their enemies. With Burhān Shāh, his son, his wife and all the rest of the royal family became Shī'as.[1] This came about in 944 A.H., A.D. 1537.

V.

SHĪ'AISM DECLARED AS THE STATE RELIGION.

According to the doctrines of Shī'aism Burhān Shāh wanted to exclude the names of the three early orthodox Caliphs from the sermon. But Shāh Ṭāhir advised him not to take such a hasty step. He counselled the king to invite the scholars of all the four sects of the Sunnīs i.e. the followers of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥamad bin Ḥanbal to an assembly and to hold religious discourses in order to establish the true creed. This seemed to be more expedient. So Burhān Shāh convened an assembly in which he invited all the scholars of the four Sunnī sects in Aḥmadnagar including Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, Afḍal Khān and Mullā Dā'ūd of Delhī and others. Discussions were held in the sermon-room in the fort. The scholars of each sect tried their level best to prove the supremacy of their faith over those of the others. Burhān Shāh often attended these meetings but being unlettered, lacked the intellect to appreciate the different viewpoints or to ascertain the soundness or otherwise of the contending views.

At last after six months he addressed Shāh Ṭāhir saying that none could convince him of the truth of his creed. Therefore Shāh Ṭāhir should take the trouble of naming one so that he might follow it after proper examination. Shāh Ṭāhir, thereupon, recommended the faith of the *Ithnā Asharīya* for his consideration. Burhān Shāh accepted the suggestion and a Shī'a scholar named Shaikh Aḥmad Najafī was searched out after much difficulty to argue with the Sunnīs. At the end of the discussions Shāh Ṭāhir seconded Shaikh Aḥmad and declared him to be right. It was now that the Sunnīs came to know that Shāh Ṭāhir was a Shī'a. Before this they had taken him for a Sunnī, because for all these sixteen years, he had posed himself as such. Shāh Ṭāhir now opened a discussion against Abū Bakr the first Caliph and also brought the points of "Qirṭā"[2] and "Garden of Fidak."[3] His eloquence

1. Firishta Vol. II. p. 225 remarks that the dream of Burhān Shāh was absurd, and holds that the Shi'as have concocted this story in order to give currency to their doctrines. In *ar-Rawḍ al-Mamṭūr fī Tarājim 'Ulamā' Sharḥ as-Ṣudūr* by Dhū'l Faqār Aḥmad, printed at Akbarābād A.H. 1307 pp. 205-210 explanations regarding this dream by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz ad-Dihlawī, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qādir and Mawlānā Rafi'ad-Dīn are given.

2. *Qirṭās* means paper. When the prophet was on his death-bed he asked for paper, pen and ink to write something. But seeing him in great trouble Abū

stood him on irrefutable ground and the Sunnī scholars were too ill-equipped to be a match for him.

When Burhān Shāh saw that no one could cope with Shāh Ṭāhir he related the facts concerning the illness of 'Abd al-Qādir and his dream before the Assembly; and declared himself publicly to be a Shī'a. Many other Shī'as who could not expose themselves, now declared their faith openly. A number of the Sunnīs also followed the court-religion and about three thousand men adopted the doctrine of the Shī'as on that very day. The sermon of the faith now read excluded the names of the first three Caliphs. The white standard given by Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh was rejected and henceforth the green flag continued to be the Royal insignia.

VI.

SUNNĪ RISE UNDER MULLĀ PĪR MUḤAMMAD.

Mullā Pīr Muḥammad and others, sore at the unexpected turn that the assembly took walked away to their houses. A raging confusion came a-foot in the land. All the nobles assembled in the house of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad. They took the Mullā to task for having by his intercession introduced into court Shāh Ṭāhir who had ultimately misled the king and proposed for the assassination of Shāh Ṭāhir as an antidote against further spread of the new faith. But Mullā Pīr Muḥammad threw out the proposal as inexpedient and impossible of execution during the regime of Burhān Shāh and suggested installation of Prince 'Abdul al-Qādir on the throne on deposition of the reigning ruler, adding that this in itself would bring about the change they all desired. This met with the approval of the assembly and accordingly with a troop of infantry and cavalry, twelve thousand strong, they marched upto the gate of the fort near Kālā Chabūtara. The gates of the fort were shut under the order of the king. Shāh Ṭāhir had a cool mind. He knew full well that the rebels were not organised. They lacked unity and a good leader. He asked Burhān Shāh to ride before the rebels and said that the rising would subside by itself. The king acted upon his advice and with four hundred horsemen, one thousand infantry and five elephants, came out of the fort with the royal umbrella on his head. He sent proclaimers crying, "Those who are loyal to the king should come to him; and those who will disobey will be punished." At this all the nobles and soldiers deserted Mullā's camp, came over to Burhān Shāh and were pardoned. Mullā with a few men went to his house. Thus the rebellion was brought completely under control without a single drop of blood being shed. Mullā was arrested. The king

Bakr the first orthodox Caliph forbade the bringing of paper and pen. The Shī'as say that the prophet wanted paper to write a will about the Caliphate of 'Alī which Abū Bakr purposely stopped.

3. *Fidak* was a garden of the Prophet. After his death his daughter Fāṭima claimed it as her inheritance. But it was denied to her by the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, on the strength of a tradition that the Prophets have nothing as their personal property and their true inheritors are their followers.

sentenced him to death. But Shāh Ṭāhir, for his past kindness, interceded and the capital sentence was reduced to one of imprisonment. After four years on the recommendation of Shāh Ṭāhir, the Mullā was released and restored to his former position.

VII.

SHĪ'ĀS SWARM IN AḤMADNAGAR.

After embracing Shī'aism Burhān Shāh began to evince much begotry as well as a strong bias against the Sunnīs. He built a mosque where he had seen the dream and named it Baghdād. He stopped the pensions of the Sunnīs and granted them to the Shī'as. He built an alms-house before the fort of Aḥmadnagar and called it *Langar-i-Duwāzada Imām*, i.e. the Alms-House of the twelve Imāms. He endowed Jaunpur, Sanaur, Asyāpūr and some more villages for meeting the expenditure of this alms-house where food used to be distributed daily to the poor. Shāh Ṭāhir began to gather the Shī'as from all quarters. He sent money from the royal treasury to 'Irāq, Persia, Gujarāt and Āgra and invited the eminent scholars of his new faith. Ismā'īl Ṣafavī, Khāja Mu'īn Sā'idī, Shāh Ḥusain Ānjū, Shāh Ja'far, the brother of Shāh Ṭāhir, Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Nīshāpūrī, Mullā 'Alī Gul of Astrābād, Mullā Rustam of Jurjān, Mullā 'Ali of Māzindarān, Ayyūb Abu'l Barakah, Mullā 'Azīzullāh of Gīlān, Mullā Muḥammad Imāmī of Astrābād and many other scholars assembled in the court of Burhān Shāh. He married one of his daughters to Sayyid Ḥasan Madanī who was a Shī'a and came from Madīna. A considerable sum of money was sent to Karbalā' and Najaf. The pilgrims to the Shrines of the Imāms were granted money. In short, in those days Aḥmadnagar was second only to Īrān in the propagation of the Shī'a faith. The Shī'ās began to curse and abuse the three early Caliphs openly in the streets. The neighbouring monarchs inflamed at this state of affairs at Aḥmadnagar, planned to unite themselves against Burhān Shāh and consequently Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt, Mīrān Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndīsh, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and Daryā 'Imād al-Mulk of Birār made arrangements to attack Burhān Shāh and divide his kingdom among themselves. When Burhān Shāh saw that the neighbouring chiefs had risen against him he sent Rāstī Khān on embassy to Emperor Humāyūn to ask for help. But, as Sher Shāh, the Afghān, had revolted against the Emperor, the ambassador could not succeed in getting his help. After that Burhān Shāh, on the advice of Shāh Ṭāhir, sent ambassadors to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndish and Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt with numerous presents. Burhān Shāh's messengers had no difficulty in winning them over to their side and they readily agreed to help Burhān Shāh. The four-power alliance, mentioned above, against Burhān Shāh thus came to be frustrated. Burhān Shāh now, in revenge, gathered together a large army and launched an attack on Bījāpūr against Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (A.H. 941-965, A.D. 1535-1557). He inflicted a crushing defeat on him and captured a hundred ele-

phants, artilleries and a large booty. This victory over Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh not only consolidated his position but also made him famous but the laurels of the victory must go to Shāh Ṭāhir who, apart from being a great scholar, played an important role as a politician and statesman. His tact, skill and eloquence and his foresight rendered, at times, immence services to Burhān Niẓām Shāh who reposed great confidence in him and acted on his advice. The alliance with the neighbouring states and Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, the consolidation and extension of his kingdom were in the main, due to the statesmanship of Shāh Ṭāhir.

Though the cause of Shī'aism was matured in the Deccan before Shāh Ṭāhir's arrival, as stated before, yet truly speaking the propagation of Shī'aism in the Deccan and in other parts of India was mainly due to his efforts. Besides being an eminent scholar, prose writer and politician, Shāh Ṭāhir was also a poet of a very high order.

According to some Shāh Ṭāhir died in A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545) but according to *Burhān-i-Ma'āṭhir*, p. 3. (Translated by HAIG, the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L, January 1921) he died in A.H. 953, A.D. 1546. Some of the learned men of the age composed a Qaṣīdah on his death, one couplet of which contained four Chronograms. The couplet was as follows :—

٩٥٣ ٩٥٣ ٩٥٣ ٩٥٣

عارف اسرار علم کاشف اسرار ملك واقف آثار دین مانع اشرار ملك

"One conversant with the mysteries of learning and proficient in the art of government, well-versed in the ceremonials of religion and a restrainer of the wicked in the kingdom." Further HAIG remarks that "Firishta (Vol. II, p. 229) places the death of Shāh Ṭāhir in A.H. 956, A.D. 1549, but he appears to be wrong, for each of the four Chronograms here, given, gives the death 953." In my opinion the date given by Firishta seems to be correct, as he is the author of *Fatḥ Nāma* which was composed in A.H. 955, A.D. 1548. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, Letters, 1938. He was buried in Aḥmadnagar but soon after, his dead body was removed to Karbalā and interned there. Four sons and three daughters survived him. The sons were Shāh Ḥaider, Shāh Rafī'ad-Dīn Ḥusain, Shāh Abu'l Ḥasan and Shāh Abū Ṭālib. Shāh Ḥaider was born in Persia and was at the time of the death of his father in the service of Shāh Tahmāsp in Persia. His father on his death-bed declared him as his successor and when he came to Aḥmadnagar during the reign of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh (A.H. 961-972, A.D. 1553-1565) A.H. 964, A.D. 1556 he was appointed a courtier and was granted the *jāgīrs* of Dandārājpūrī and other states which his father possessed.[1]

Shāh Ṭāhir, according to Firishta, Vol. II. pp. 230,—is the author of the following books :—

1. For detailed accounts of Shāh Ḥaider, see HAIG, Translation, *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. LI, 1922, pp. 34 & 35.

A. ARABIC WORKS.

(1) *Sharḥ al-Bāb al-Hādī 'Ashar.*

It is a commentary on Ḥasan bin Yūsuf al-Ḥillī's (d. A.H. 726, A.D. 1325) work on the Principles of religion.

(2) *Sharḥ al-Ja'fariya.*

A commentary on 'Alī bin 'Abd al-'Ālī al-Karkī's (d. A.H. 945, A.D. 1538) work on prayer according to the Imāmīya School.

(3) *Ḥāshiya 'alā Anwār at-Tanzīl.*

A super-commentary to al-Baiḍavī's famous commentary of the Qur'ān.

(4) *Ḥāshiya 'Alā Shrḥ al-Ishārāt.*

A Super-commentary on the commentary of Naṣīr ad-Dīn at Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1273) upon the *Ishārāt,* a philosophical work by Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428, A.D. 1036).

(5) *Al-Ḥāshiya 'Ala'l Muḥākamāt.*

A gloss on the *Muḥākamāt.* The latter work is by Quṭb ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (d. A.H. 710, A.D. 1310) and deals at length with the controversies between aṭ-Ṭūsī and ar-Rāzī expressing his own opinions on the points raised in the two commentaries on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā.

(6) *Al-Ḥāshiya 'Ala'l Majisṭī.*

A gloss on the commentary of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī upon the *Kitāb al-Majisṭī,* a compendium of Astronomical system of Ptolemy.

(7) *Ḥāshiyat ash-Shifā.*

A gloss on the fourth and last part of the famous philosophical encyclopaedia by Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428, A.D. 1036). The work, *ash-Shifā,* is divided into four parts : (*i*) Logic, (*ii*) Physics, (*iii*) Mathematics and Astronomy and (*iv*) Metaphysics. The fourth part of the work on Metaphysics is known as *Ilāhiyāt ash-Shifā* and is treated as an independent composition on the subject. A number of scholars composed glosses and annotations on it. Ṣadr ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī's (d. A.H. 1050, A.D. 1640) Gloss on this part is much appreciated and is remarkable for the critical acumen shown in it.

(8) *Ḥāshiyat al-Muṭawwal.*

A super-commentary on at-Taftāzānī's (d. A.H. 792, A.D. 1390) larger and earlier commentary called *al-Muṭawwal* on al-Qazvīnī's treatise on rhetoric called *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ.*

B. PERSIAN WORKS.

(1) *Sharḥ Gulshan-i-Rāz.*

A commentary on Maḥmūd Shabistarī's (d. A.H. 720, A.D. 1320) famous ṣūfī poem known as *Gulshan-i-Rāz* or "the rose-bed of Mystery."

(2) *Sharḥ Tuḥfah-i-Shāhī.*

A super commentary on 'Alī al-Bakhshī's Persian commentary on Naṣīr an-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī's (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1273) book on scholastic theology called *Tajrīd al-Kalām.*

(3) *Risāla-i-Pālkī.*

A treatise written while he was travelling in a palankeen (a kind of litter).

(4) *Inshā'-i-Shāh Ṭāhir.*

A collection of letters written by Shāh Ṭāhir, partly in the name of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I and partly in his own. The first letter is addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp. The second letter is from Burhān Niẓām Shāh to Bābur. Extract of this letter is given by Firishta, (Bombay edition, Vol. II, p. 203). Further on are found letters written to Humāyūn; to Qāḍī Jahān, Minister of Shāh Tahmāsp; to Shaikh Ibrāhīm Mujtahid; to Quṭb al-Mulk; to Khudāwand Khān Vazīr of Bahādur Shāh, to Mīrza Shāh Ḥusain and to many other nobles and friends. See for their names *Bankipore Suppl. Cat. of the Persian Mss.* Vol. II, p. 96, No. 2121.

(5) *Fatḥ Nāma.*

An account of the conquest of Sholāpūr by Burhān Niẓām Shāh. See *Ibid.*, p. 94, No. 2119. Printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Bengal, Vol. IV, Letters, 1938. Besides the above-mentioned books the Majālis al-Mu'minīn, p. 344 names the following works of our learned author :—

(*i*) *Sharḥ at-Tahdhīb*, a commentary in Arabic language on the second part (treating on scholastic theology) of Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī's work *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa'l Kalām.*

(*ii*) *Unmūdhaj al-'Ulūm*, a treatise in Arabic giving a specimen of different branches of Arabic learning.

(*iii*) *Risāla dar Aḥwal Ma'ād*, a treatise in Persian about the day of resurrection.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ĀDILSHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF BIJĀPŪR AND THE PORTUGUESE AT GOA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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Factors determining the relations :—

Bijāpūr was one of the five sultanates that arose in the Deccan on the break up of the Bahmanī Kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century. It was founded by Yūsuf ʻĀdil Shāh in 1490. During his reign the Portuguese arrived in India, having rounded for the first time the Cape of Good Hope ; and soon they came in contact with the kingdoms on the Malabār Coast.

The relations between Bijāpūr and Goa can best be described as being peaceful without being friendly. No doubt attempts were made more than once by the ʻĀdilshāhī Sulṭāns to dislodge the Portuguese from Goa. But all their efforts, with one solitary exception, were futile and hostilities usually ended with an agreement of peace between the neighbours, negotiations for which were always initiated by the Muhammadans. There were sound reasons why the kings of Bijāpūr followed a policy of conciliation towards the Portuguese. Bijāpūr was always at war with its neighbouring sultanates and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar ; and in their warfare cavalry formed an important unit of the army. It was, therefore, imperative for Bijāpūr to maintain an efficient cavalry always ready for action. This necessitated a regular supply of horses which had to be imported from Arabia and Persia. And when the Portuguese came to India and became masters of the Arabian Sea, the Deccan sultanates and Vijayanagar vied with each other to obtain the friendship of the Portuguese and to ensure for themselves a constant supply of horses to keep their cavalry in efficient fighting condition. Goa was the most important port in the Deccan, and once its masters, the Portuguese were strategically in a very strong position. The Muhammadans, though excellent traders, were weak fighters at sea and their attempt to drive the Portuguese out of Indian waters was frustrated. The Sulṭāns of Bijāpūr recognised this weakness and strove to maintain the friendship of the Portuguese. The Portuguese on their part knew the weakness of Bijāpūr and the other maritime powers of India and were ever ready to use it to the best advantage. Bijāpūr's competitor for the friendship of the Portuguese was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In fact it was one of its officials that first instigated Albuquerque to conquer Goa from Yūsuf Ādil Shāh, hoping that in return the Portuguese would send all horses arriving at Goa to Vijayanagar. But Bijāpūr, aware of the implications of the friendship between

the Portuguese and the Hindus, chose to give up its claim to Goa rather than suffer a shortage of horses for its cavalry which, as Albuquerque so shrewdly observed, was "the principal spring of its defensive policy."[1]

Moreover, when the Portuguese became masters of the Arabian Sea they imposed stringent restrictions on other traders. It was impossible for the Muhammadan ships, Indian or Arab, to navigate the Arabian Sea without permits from the Portuguese authorities. In issuing these permits, they prohibited the Muhammadan traders from carrying pepper, arms and other ammunitions of war,[2] and also arrogated to themselves the power of searching any ship suspected of being engaged in 'contraband' trade. Albuquerque even went to the extent of asking the sulṭān of Ormuz to show preference to the Portuguese ships over the Muhammadan.[3] The trade in horses, therefore, could only be carried by the Portuguese or by the ships of a state which was friendly to them.[4] After the loss of Goa, the port of Dābhol was left to Bijāpūr, but it could not be used to import horses into the kingdom, if Bijāpūr was at war with the Portuguese.[5] The Portuguese had thus acquired a virtual monopoly of this most important trade and the sultāns of Bijāpūr had no choice at all but to seek their friendship.

There was another factor which influenced Bijāpūr's policy towards the Portuguese. When Bijāpūr was at peace with the Portuguese, the Muhammadans were allowed to ply their trade between the 'Ādilshāhī ports and Persia and Arabia. Their ships brought Pardesi emigrants from overseas into the kingdom, to join its armies and enhance its strength, as in the days of the Bahmanīs.[6] Hostility with the Portuguese meant not only complete stoppage in the supply of horses, but also a reduction in the number of Pardesi recruits in the 'Ādilshāhī army. Peace with the Portuguese, if not their friendship, was, therefore, absolutely essential for Bijāpūr.[7]

Description of the horse trade :—

The Persian chronicles are completely silent about the trade in horses between Bijāpūr and Persia and Arabia, but the European travellers from Marco Polo onwards give us interesting information about it. Apart from its military importance, this trade was extremely lucrative to the Portuguese and in controlling it they were serving a double purpose : they could dictate the relations between Bijāpūr and Goa and could collect handsome revenue

1. Commentaries IV., 125.
2. Barbosa II., 227.
3. Biker I., 5a.
4. Cf. Linschoten I., 54.
5. Cf. Commentaries III., 40.
6. The Muhammadans of the Deccan were divided into two parties, the "Pardesis" or foreigners who came from Persia, Turkey, Arabia and the Deccanis who were the domiciled Muhammadans. See *Cambridge History of India*, III, 404.
7. Cf. "Cabayo desires your peace...because in losing Dābhol he is altogether lost, for by no other way can horses come in, nor white men to reform his camp." Letters III., xli 'white men' refers to the Pardesi Muhammadans coming into the Deccan.

by way of customs duty on the horses that came into Goa to be carried into the Deccan sultānates and Vijayanagar.

It is difficult to determine accurately the number of horses that were annually brought to Goa. According to Barbosa the number varied between one to two thousand.[8] It is certain, however, that almost all the horses required by Bijāpūr passed through this port. The trade was a private one carried by Arab, Persian and sometimes Indian merchants. The horses were unloaded at Goa where dealers came from Bijāpūr, Vijayanagar, Ahmadnagar and even Golconda to buy them[9] and carry them to their respective kingdoms to be sold to the various cavalries.

The horses were carried in ships that came to India with other merchandise. A cover of hides was spread over the cargo when loaded and on the top of this were placed the horses.[10] The number carried in each ship depended on its size. The Portuguese ships being bigger than the Muhammadan ships could accommodate a greater number. The Portuguese ship in which Caesar Frederick travelled from Ormuz to Goa (1563) carried a cargo of eighty horses. However, not all the horses that embarked at Ormuz or Aden reached their destination. Nearly ten per cent or sometimes more of their number perished on the voyage. This fact no doubt influenced the price of horses sold at Goa.

The average price of a horse sold in Goa was in the neighbourhood of £150, but prices ranged from £100 to £200 per horse according to the breed and Arabian horses fetched more price than Persian. Sometimes a specially good horse fetched even a higher price.[11] What was of importance to the Portuguese, however, was the duty paid on these horses. They were allowed to be landed into Goa free of duty, but when they were being taken away by the dealers who bought them, the Portuguese authorities levied a duty of forty pagodas on each horse.[12] And when, after the fall of Vijayanagar, this trade showed a decline, the Portuguese sought to revive it by abolishing customs duty on the merchandise of those ships that also imported horses.[13]

Portuguese beginnings in India :—

The concentration of the horse trade at Goa attracted to that port the rest of the trade, since the ships that brought horses also brought merchandise. This was what the Portuguese were aiming at ; they had come to India to

8. Barbosa I., 94.

9. Barbosa I., 178 ; Pyrard II., 67.

10. Marco Polo I, 117, cf. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay : "Till the last few years when steamers have begun to take all the best horses, the Arab horses bound for Bombay almost all came in the way Marco Polo describes." *Ibid* note 3.

11. All accounts are agreed on the high price of horses at Goa and give approximately the same figures. Marco Polo I., 83 ; Varthema, 126 ; Barbosa I. 65, 94, 178 ; Nuniz, Sewell, 307 ; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyt X. 92 ; Linschoten I., 54 ; Pyrard II. 67 ; Mandelslo, 8.

12. Barbosa I., 178 ; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyt X., 92 ; Couto IV. vi. 6.

13. William Barret, Hakluyt II., 410.

capture the trade of the Arabian Sea. The renaissance in Europe had equipped them to take advantage of the natural opportunities opened to them by the geographical position of Portugal on the Atlantic sea-board. In 1498 Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery of a sea-route to India was accomplished.

At first the Portuguese had merely sent out annual fleets to India in the hope that they would destroy the Muhammadan shipping and obtain for themselves the trade of the Arabian Sea. This was soon found impossible. The new Portuguese policy was, therefore, to build fortresses and to hold the strategic centres from which they could command the seas and control the trade either at its source or at its destination, preferably at both. By 1505 the Portuguese, under Almeida, had built forts at Cochin and Cannanore and were thus able to get a hold over the trade of the Malabār coast. But Almeida's policy, conceived in caution, was not calculated to establish Portuguese supremacy in the Arabian Sea. He was content with holding the Malabār coast. As against this Albuquerque built up visions of Portuguese supremacy not only in the Arabian Sea but also in the Spice islands of the Far East. He conquered Calicut and Goa, the two ports on the Malabār coast through which most of the trade passed. In the Persian Gulf he occupied Ormuz and though he failed to fortify Aden, it did not materially affect his policy, for he had already occupied the island of Socotra which controlled the bottleneck entrance to the Red Sea.

Almeida's activity had alarmed the Muhammadan powers surrounding the Arabian Sea. They combined and defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul. But Almeida struck an effective counterblow, shattered the confederacy in a naval battle off Diu and rehabilitated the prestige of the Portuguese. They were henceforward supreme in the Arabian Sea.

Portuguese conquest of Goa :—

The sulṭān of Bijāpūr had taken an active share in the Muhammadan alliance that had defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul.[14] Moreover, the Portuguese suspected that he was trying to reconstruct the confederacy recently vanquished at Diu.[15] The Portuguese could hardly expect better justification to declare hostilities against Bijāpūr. Almeida made this clear. In 1508 on his way to Diu he halted at the 'Ādilshāhī port of Dābhol, at this time second in importance only to Goa as a trade centre but negligible as a naval base. As a reprisal against Bijāpūr's share in the Portuguese defeat at Chaul, Almeida decided to attack it. The Muhammadans were driven out and the Portuguese occupied the harbour (December 30, 1508). Almeida himself slept in the principal mosque of the town that night. Next morning the victors set the buildings of the town on fire and returned to their ships.[16] Bijāpūr's utter weakness to defend its coast became evident.

14. Tuhfat, 91-92.
15. Barbosa I., 176-77.
16. Faria I., 142-44; Osorio I., 343-44; Barbosa I., 166.

Albuquerque succeeded Almeida as the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East. He at once launched the forward policy which he advocated and prepared for an expedition to the Red Sea. He was, however, persuaded by Timoja, a naval officer of Vijayanagar, to abandon the project and to turn his attention to the nearer port of Goa.[17] Albuquerque did not require much persuasion ; he had already marked Goa as a future Portuguese possession. Strategically the position of Goa had every possible advantage from the Portuguese standpoint. It offered the combination of a natural harbour and a natural fortress, which would sooner or later be necessary at some place on the coast, if Albuquerque's policy of making India the principal region of the commercial activity of the Portuguese in the East was to succeed. Goa was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin so far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque desired to possess it. It was, at this time, the most important port on the Malabār coast, both on account of its trade and its situation. Its proximity to the Deccan sulṭānates and Vijayanagar gave it added importance as a commercial centre. Almeida's policy was to have a strong navy without desire to hold the ports. Perhaps that is why when Dābhol had nearly surrendered to him in 1508, he did not establish a factory there nor demand any other territorial concessions. But Albuquerque's policy was different, he wanted not only a strong navy, but also the possession of the ports which commanded the trade of the East. The conquest of Goa, therefore, was an essential factor in Albuquerque's policy. He sailed from Cannanore to attack Goa early in 1510. It proved an easy prey. The fortress of Panjim which guards the harbour was carried by assault and the city surrendered on February 17, 1510.[18]

It redounds to the credit of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh that he decided to recover Goa. Undaunted by the proved superiority of the Portuguese, in May of the same year he forced his way into the island of Goa. Fortune favoured him. His courage and determination won for him the admiration of the inhabitants of the port. Loyal to Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, they rose in an insurrection against their new masters. Albuquerque was advised by his officers to withdraw to the ships. Once in their ships the Portuguese were safe. They set sail for Cannanore and Goa was recovered by Bijāpūr.[19] But this advantage was short-lived. In October 1510 Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh died and this paved the way for Albuquerque's final conquest of Goa.

It will be remembered that Albuquerque's policy in the East depended for its success upon the holding of certain strategic posts—Ormuz to command the entrance to the Persian Gulf ; Malacca to control the spice trade at its source and Goa which gave him the command of the Malabār waters. At the time of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's death Albuquerque was in Cannanore reorganizing his fleet for another attack on Goa. When he heard of the death of

17. Faria I., 162.
18. Ferishta II, 21 ; B. S. 22 ; Osorio II, 4 ; Perstage, 41.
19. Ferishta II., 21 ; B. S. 22 ; Faria I., 165-67 ; Ṭuhfat, 101.

Yūsuf and also ascertained that almost all the garrison at Goa had gone to Bijāpūr to attend the coronation ceremoney of Ismā'il, he decided to strike, and set sail for Goa early in November. On the 25th of that month he stormed the harbour, gained an easy entrance into the city and became master of the place.[20] Thus was Goa conquered by the Portuguese and it remains in their possession to this day.

Peace with the Portuguese was essential even if it meant the loss of Goa. Albuquerque had definitely gained the upper hand and had also discovered the utter weakness of Bijāpūr in naval warfare. He threatened to attack Dābhol and Sangmeshwar, two of the 'Ādilshāhī ports, if attempts were made to recapture Goa. There was also the danger of the Portuguese interfering with the supply of horses if hostilities continued. In fact Albuquerque was in communication with Vijayanagar on this topic. Kamāl Khān, the regent at Bijāpūr had, therefore, no choice but to recognise the Portuguese occupation of Goa. On his part Albuquerque agreed to maintain peace and to allow horses to pass into the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom as before.[21]

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and the Portuguese :—

For twenty-five years relations between Bijāpūr and Goa remained friendly. In 1545 prince 'Abdullāh, the brother of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the 'Ādilshāhī throne, and had to fly to Goa to escape the wrath of his brother. This ultimately brought Bijāpūr and Goa into conflict. Ibrahīm offered to cede to the Portuguese the districts of Salsette and Bardez, adjoining Goa, in return for the person of the rebel prince. Martim Affonso, the Portuguese governor, refused the request as it violated the standards of hospitality. He, however, suggested that in return for the two districts he would send the prince to Malacca. But Affonso was deterred by his advisers from fulfilling even this condition as they considered 'Abdullāh a useful instrument to hold Ibrāhīm in check and to extort from him further benefits. The result was that the prince was carried from Goa to Cannanore and back to Goa.[22] At the same time the Portuguese took possession of Salsette and Bardez.

Too late Ibrāhīm discovered that he had been outwitted by the Portuguese. In the meanwhile Martim Affonso had left for Portugal and his place was taken by Dom João de Castro. Ibrāhīm had to start negotiations over again. But the Portuguese attitude was firm and he failed to have his way. The utmost Dom João de Castro was prepared to do was to undertake to keep the prince in Goa and to prevent him from communicating with the sultān of Ahmadnagar or other powers hostile to Bijāpūr. In return Ibrāhīm had to relinquish his claims to Salsette and Bardez. Ibrāhīm accepted these terms only to violate them when he found the Portuguese engaged on the

20. Ferishta II., 24 ; Letters III., viii.
21. Commentaries IV., 125-28 ; Letters II. xxvii., IV. civ ; Whiteway, 134-35 ; Ferishta II., 24 ; B. S. 27.
22. Faria II., 87 ; Andrada, 28-29 ; Whiteway, 285-86.

Gujarāt coast. He led his army into the districts in dispute and occupied them.[23]

When the news of the 'Ādilshāhī incursion reached Dom João de Castro, he had concluded his campaign on the Gujarāt coast and was returning to Goa. He retaliated by surprising the Bijāpūri port of Dābhol, looted it and hastened towards Goa. He succeeded in driving the Bijāpūrīs out of Salsette and Bardez in spite of their repeated attempts to hold the districts. In addition the Portuguese governor decided "to strike where the blow might be most felt" and dispatched a fleet to sack 'Ādilshāhī ports, with the result that every port between Srivardhan and Goa was plundered and burnt.[24]

These incidents once again bring clearly to our notice the utter weakness of Bijāpūr—as also of the other Muhammadan powers of India—at Sea. Only forty years before this the combined fleets of Egypt, Gujarāt and the Deccan had been unable to drive the Portuguese from Indian waters. On the other hand the newcomers had succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on the Indian coast by the conquest of Goa. Apart from the transient and solitary success of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh in recovering Goa for a time, all other efforts made by the kings of Bijāpūr to oust these European intruders from their island possession had been unsuccessful. The Portuguese, too, knew their advantage well and made strategic use of it to retain the possession of Goa and the lands surrounding it. Whenever the 'Ādilshāhī army threatened Goa, the Portuguese in their turn would retaliate by attacking the Bijāpūri possessions on the coast. In the present struggle when the troops of Bijāpūr overran Salsette and Bardez, not only were they driven back, but the Portuguese further retorted by devastating Dābhol and other ports. Thus Bijāpūr could not dictate terms to the Portuguese at Goa, who were fully aware of their superiority at sea and ever ready, if need be, to blockade the 'Ādilshāhī ports. It was this fear that always prompted the kings of Bijāpūr to placate the Portuguese. And in this campaign also we find that it was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh who made the initial move for peace.

Apart from a desire to safeguard his coastline and maritime trade Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had another reason for starting negotiations with the Portuguese. During 1546 and 1547 Dom João de Castro had concluded with Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar separate treaties.[25] This forced on Ibrāhīm the necessity of concluding a similar agreement with the Portuguese. But Dom João de Castro did not live to see the success of his policy.[26] It was his successor Garcia de Sa who signed the treaty (August 22, 1548) by which Ibrāhīm finally resigned his claim to Salsette and Bardez.[27]

These two districts adjoining Goa were the first and the only territorial acquisitions of the Portuguese on the mainland of India. Otherwise their

23. Andrada 30-31, 213 ; Faria II., 117-18 ; Danvers I., 475-77.
24. Andrada, 38-40, 213-14, 222-28 ; Faria II., 120-21 ; Danvers, 479.
25. Biker II., 184-87, 188-91.
26. He died on June 5, 1548. Whiteway, 320.
27. Biker II., 192 ; Faria II., 132.

ambition was limited to the possession of ports and the command of the coast. They could use their unopposed freedom on sea to approach the shores and enter the ports of India to establish their oceanic sovereignty of trade. But they made little effort to extend their conquests into the interior of the country. The Indian states with whom the Portuguese came into contact were far too strong on land for them to entertain any hopes of large conquest of territory. Moreover, the Portuguese nation was too small to wage successful land warfare in India with a view to establishing a military empire. For impotent though the Indian states might have been on water, they were much too formidable on land to go to pieces under the attack of a handful of Portuguese.

Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar : Alliance against the Portuguese :—

But the Portuguese occupation of Goa was a source of perpetual humiliation to the Ādilshāhī kings. Repeated treaties and affirmations of mutual friendship did nothing to lessen its rancour. The battle of Talikota had brought home a new lesson to the Deccan sulṭānates, the advantage of concerted action. And this encouraged Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar to make one final effort to dislodge the Portuguese from the Deccan coast. So long as the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar threatened Bijāpūr in the south, peace with the Portuguese was essential as they held control over the horse trade; for hostilities between Bijāpūr and Goa meant a complete diversion of this trade in favour of the Hindus. But after the fall of Vijayanagar the strategic importance of Goa as the centre of this trade naturally declined. Undoubtedly 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had this fact in mind. In 1570 he entered into negotiations with Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. The Zamorin of Calicut also was drawn into the alliance. It was decided that the confederates were to attack simultaneously the Portuguese possessions in their respective kingdoms.[28] This plan to divide Portuguese strength was both sound and attractive in theory, but it proved of very little effect when put into practice. The Portuguese successfully drove back both the sulṭāns and the Zamorin and once again proved the superiority of their maritime strength.

In January 1570 the offensive against the Portuguese began. Murtazā Nizām Shāh advanced on Chaul and laid siege to the place.[29] The 'Ādilshāhī attack on Goa was more difficult. Chaul was a solitary Portuguese outpost in the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, accessible by land, whereas Goa was separated from the mainland by the Goa creek and Rāchol river.

The Portuguese viceroy had already sent part of his garrison and fleet to the relief of Chaul. Numerically the Portuguese defence was no match for the Bijāpūrīs. But they held the creek and the river and made a gallant

28. Faria II, 281; Danvers I., 551; Tuhfat, 162. Cf. Geddes, 26-27; Ferishta does not mention that Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr entered into a league. The campaigns against the Portuguese are chronicled separately in the history of each kingdom. Ferishta II. 79, 262.

29. Danvers I., 554; Ferishta II., 262.

stand against the 'Ādilshāhi attack led by 'Alī in person.[30] For the better part of a year he invested the island in vain.

In the meanwhile a squadron of the Portuguese fleet had returned from the Malabār coast after defeating the Zamorin.[31] This the viceroy sent against Dābhol. The Portuguese fleet sacked Dābhol and once again impressed on the 'Ādilshāhī king the fact that the friendship of the Portuguese was essential for the safety of Bijāpūr ports.

The siege of Chaul fizzled out after seven months.[32] The Zamorin had already been defeated. Fresh Portuguese ships arrived from the Persian Gulf and Portugal.[33] 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was forced to acknowledge his inability to reduce Goa and the hostilities were suspended. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh even sent his ambassadors into Goa to renew the treaty of friendship between Bijāpūr and the Portuguese.[34]

This was the most serious confederacy of the Deccan powers that had ever taken up arms against the Portuguese. But from the outset it was bound to failure. The Portuguese were undoubtedly superior at sea to all the confederates put together. And the sack of Dābhol, on more than one occasion, showed that any hostilities with the Portuguese were bound to lead to counter attacks on Deccan ports, and on the maritime trade of the Deccan kingdoms.

The union of Portugal with Spain and the subsequent decline of Portuguese supremacy in the Eastern seas has little bearing on 'Ādilshāhī history. The trade of the Arabian Sea, once lost to Muhammadan shipping was never recovered by it. The decline of the Portuguese saw the rise of two other European powers, the Dutch and the English, who competed for the supremacy of the lucrative Eastern commerce. Portugal held fast to her coastal possessions in India, but slowly faded out of the picture of Deccan politics.

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THE *KALITĀ* CASTE OF ASSAM.

By

B. KAKATI, Gauhati.

§ 1. The *Kalitās* are a people of undetermined origin in Assam. They represent the main bulk of the fully Aryanised population. The social purity of a certain Assamese locality is judged by the number of *Kalitā* households in the place. In social ranking they occupy a position next to the Brahmins. They are regarded as *sat śudras* and observe Hindu rites in all their purity. Their main occupation is cultivation but as there are no functional castes in Assam, they figure also as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, bell-metal workers etc.

§ 2. The *Kalitās* spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley from Śadiyā in the east to Rangpur in north Bengal (which was a part of ancient Assam). But they constitute the most preponderating elements in the four districts of Kāmrup, Nowgong, Darrang and Śibsāgar. They appear to have held great sway in the past and foreign observers have often divided the people of mediaeval Assam into the *Kalitās* and the rest. The author of the *Fatiyah-i'-Ibriyah* who accompanied Mir Jumlah throughout his expedition to Assam in 1662 A.D. says that the ancient inhabitants belong to two nations, the *Ahom* and the *Kalitā*. This statement is apparently intended to apply to the country named Garhgāon in eastern Assam. (GAIT : *History of Assam,* 1st Edn. p. 138.) In western Assam, the people were often divided into *Kalitās* and the *Koches* (MARTIN : *Eastern India,* Vol. iii, p. 545).

§ 3. It seems rather curious that no writer on castes and tribes of India has ever tried to connect the *Kalitās* with any Aryan or non-Aryan tribe. GAIT contents himself with the remark that the *Kalitās* of the Brahmaputra valley have often a distinctly Aryan appearance and although they certainly contain other elements they are possibly to some extent the descendants of the first Aryan immigrants by women of the country. (*History of Assam.* p. 6.). Amongst the *Kalitās* themselves there is a tradition that they were originally Kshatriyas, that they concealed their caste to avoid the wrath of Paraśurāma when he was out extirpating the Kshatriyas and that the caste name *Kalitā* is a corruption of *Kula-lupta*. The connection of *Kalitā* with *Kula-lupta* is a piece of folk etymology and seems due to some accidents of history. Cf. § 22.

§ 4. *Kalitās* are heard of also in other parts of India. There are *Kalitās* (Kolitās, Koltās) in the Sambalpur district of modern Orissa and they constitute a great cultivating caste there (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* 1909. *Bengal,* Vol. ii. pp. 309, 312-13). According to their own tradition they immigrated from the state of Baudh and their ancestors were water-carriers in the household of Ramachandra (R. D. BANERJI, *History of Orissa,* Vol. i. p. 24). In the Tons valley and Jaumsar Bawar of Nepal there are two classes of people : (1) the upper classes being Rajputs or Brahmins and

(2) the lower classes the *Kaltās*. The latter are not depressed classes, only generally they work as servants. (E. C. MOBBS : *Indian Forester*, Vol. lx pp. 663-799 referred to in *JARS*. Vol. iii. No. 3, p. 87.). The *Kaltās* of the Himalayan regions are obviously immigrants from the plains in historical times along with the Rajputs. In the absence of similar traditions among the Sambalpur *Kalitās, the Kula-lupta* theory would appear to be confined only amongst the Assamese *Kalitās*.

§ 5. Quite recently there has been some amount of discussion amongst Assamese writers about the origin of the *Kalitās* in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Gauhati (Vols. i. & iii. Nos. 3, & 3, 4). Some uphold the *Kula-lupta* hypothesis, others suggest that they were Aryans migrating into Assam long before the Aryans in the Punjab divided themselves into the four *varṇas* etc...

§ 6. In pursuance of the *Kula-lupta* theory one writer in an article called *The Kalitas of Kāmarūpa* (*JARS*. Vol. i. No. 3) has sought to connect *Kalitā* with *Kolta, Kalatiai, Kalti* of the early Greek writers about ancient India, and to *Kulūta, Kulattha, Kulaṭya* etc., of the Purāṇas. These are all names of tribes in western and north-western India and they are often grouped in the Purāṇas with rude and ferocious tribes like the Hūṇas and the Kāmbojas etc. The *Kolta, Kalatiai, Kalti* of the Greek geographers may have references to Paurāṇic tribes like the *Kālatoyas* of north-western India. The *Kulūtas* of the Purāṇas survive in the place-name *Kulu* in the Kangra district in the upper valley of the Bias river, Punjab (N. L. DEY : *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India.*) Phonetically also *Kulūta* can not happily be connected with *Kalitā, Kolitā* or *Koltā*. Beyond similarity of consonantal sounds no other archaeological evidence to support cultural contact between the extreme east and the extreme west has been adduced.

§ 7. The caste-name *Kalitā* would, however, sustain a better affiliation with the following tribal names of the Purāṇas : *Kala* (*Mark* lviii, 32); *Kālibala* (*Ibid* : lvii. 49) ; *Kālitaka* (*vāyu* : xlv. 128); *Kolavana* (*Ibid*); *Kariti* (*Mahābhārata; Bhīṣma* ix 44) : *Ut-kala, Me-kala,* (*Mbh. Bhīṣ.* ix. 41); also *Kalinga* ; *kalada, kalava, kalkala* (SORENSEN ; *Index to the Mahābhārata*). These are all names of tribes living south of the Vindhyas. As the tribal names of the Dravidian people have been separately enumerated in the Purāṇas, these names may be assumed to have references to a people or peoples different from the Dravidians. Further, these varied names perhaps refer to the branches of one central tribe with the element, *-kal-*, as the basic constituent of the main tribal name.

§ 8. Amongst these analogous terms the nearest approach to the word *Kalitā* is found in the formations *Kālitaka,* and *Kariti*. The presence of *Kalitās* in Sambalpur where by their own tradition they had migrated from Baudh still further south, raises some suspicion about the original southern habitat of the *Kalitās* whence in some pre-historic time across Bihar they entered into Assam through north Bengal.

In the absence of definite records about the early history of the *Kalitās*,

certain side-lights may perhaps be gathered from instances of cultural contact between Assam and Southern India.

§ 9. It has been pointed out by historians of the Far-East that Indian colonists seem to have proceeded to the Far-East both by land and sea and that the land route passed through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam (R. C. MAJUMDAR : *Indo-Aryan Colonies in the Far-East* : Vol. i *Champa* pp. xi, xiii). It has also been noted that the beginning of the Indian Colonial kingdoms is not later than the second century A.D. (*Ibid.* p. xvi). This trade-route through Assam might be one of the many causes of the migrations of people from other parts of India to Assam.

§ 10. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (composed not later than the 10th cent. A.D.) from its mass of topographical details about ancient Assam may be presumed to have been composed in ancient Assam or in some contiguous tract. From its re-handling of the older legends about Narakāsura it appears that Naraka was the first Aryanised king and that prior to his time Assam was a land of barbarians or *mlecchas*. According to this Purāṇa he was born of Earth by Viṣṇu and brought up in Videha in the court of Janaka (*K.P.* xxxviii 21). Having killed Ghaṭaka, the Kirāta king, he was installed king of Prāgjyotiṣa by his reputed parent God Viṣṇu. He brought over the first batch of twice-born people and settled them in the region between the Karatoyā river in the west and the Lalitakāntā in the east. (*Ibid.* xxxix. 31, 32). He is said to have married a daughter of the king of Vidarbha (modern Berar) named Māyā (*Ibid.* 34, 35). It is to be noted that in the accounts of Naraka in the Mahāpurāṇas, no mention of his early training in Videha or of his marriage in Vidarbha seems to have been made.

By foisting these details on Naraka, the author of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* might have hinted at the immediate and remote cultural relationship between Assam, north Bihar and Southern India (Berar).

§ 11. These earliest immigrants seem to have been worshippers of Viṣṇu. Naraka himself is represented as being the son of Viṣṇu and the *Kālikā Purāṇa* notes it that the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa became known as Kāmarūpa only after the settlement of the twice-born (xxxix. 34). While the author reconciles the cults of Viṣṇu and Śakti by representing Naraka as a devotee of Kāmākhyā, a sort of intolerance for the Śaiva cult seems to be suggested by making the association of Bāṇa, the king of Śoṇitapura and a devoted worshipper of Śiva, mainly responsible for the subsequent debasement of Naraka's character (xl. 6, 7). Folk-mythology connects various localities of Assam with some of the heroic exploits in the life of Kṛṣṇa. Vidarbha is located in Śadiyā, in the extreme east of Assam whence Rukmiṇī was carried off by Kṛṣṇa. The horses of his chariot got tired at a place called Aśvaklānta near Gauhati. Kṛṣṇa vanquished Bāṇa and his protecting god Śiva at a place called Tezpur in the Darrang district. No place, however, is associated with the scenes of his sports in Vṛndāvana or Gokula. If folk-mythology may be looked upon as reminiscences of the local legends of the early immigrants, they must have come over at a time and from a place when and where these

legends were fondly cherished and dwelt upon. The Vidarbha legends point to the southern origin of the earliest colonists.

§ 12. That some sort of cultural intercourse existed between Assam and Southern India is shewn by the presence of ancient Assamese scholars in the south. Kumarila Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated teacher of the Mīmāṁsā philosophy and opponent of the Buddhists, who flourished a little prior to Śankarācārya is supposed by some to have been a native of Kāmarūpa (C. N. AIYAR : *Śrī Śankarāchārya, His Life and Times*, p. 26). There is mention of a certain Assamese or Kāmarūpa scholar named Vishnusomācārya in the copper-plate inscriptions of Anantavarman, the Ganga King of Kalinga, 922 A.D. (R. D. BANERJI : *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 233 *et seq*).

§ 13. Archaeological scholars like R. D. BANERJI and K. N. DIKSHIT have found in the architectural ruins of ancient Assam, points of resemblance to the Chalukya columns of the Bombay Presidency, Chaitya window patterns so common in the temples of Central India, (esp. those in the Rewa state and at Khajurdaho), in the Gupta temples at Bhumra and Deogarh (R. D. BANERJI : *Annual Reports*, 1924-25 : 1925-26 ; *Archæological Survey of India*). K. N. DIKSHIT is a little more explicit about the source of the inspiration of ancient Assamese art. "The affinities of Assamese art would seem to lie more with the schools of Bihar and Orissa than with contemporary Pala art of Bengal. This is not unnatural as of the streams of influence that have moulded the culture of Assam, the strongest current has always been from *North-Bihar and Mid-India* (*Annual Report* 1927-28 : *Archæological Survey of India* : quoted in K. L. BARUA'S *Early History of Kāmarūpa*).

§ 14. Linguistic affinities would also confirm the findings of the archaeologists. There are homely Assamese words which often with slight variations in meaning shew parallel equivalents in Oriya, Bihari, Hindusthani and other western dialects. These might have descended from common sources and in some cases might also have been due to migrations of people from different centres of Northern India in different times.

§ 15. But there is a class of common Assamese words that have similar formations only in the southern and westernmost languages and dialects like the Marathi, the Bhātrī, the Bhuliā (the latter two being mixtures of Marathi, Oriya and Eastern Hindi). These formations do not seem to be shared by intermediate languages. In this connection the Assamese equivalents for *water* and *fire* seem to yield interesting results. Assamese *pānī* for *water* is common to all the dialects of Bihari and Eastern Hindi. But Assamese *zui* for *fire* has parallels only in *joy* and *jwe* of the Bhātrī dialect of Oriya and in the Bhuliā dialect of Eastern Hindi, both across the Vindhyas. Other parallel formations are presented in the table below.

Assamese	Marathi.
khãk, savage hunger	*khankha*, savage, miserly.
khaccā, knotty as a tie,	*khacca*, hard and fast.
khāvani, scraper	*khāvani*.

Assamese	Marathi
khāp, a notch	*khāp.*
jakarā- (*bhāt*), surplus rice kept over for a next meal.	*jakerā,* surplus articles.
tāṅgaram, edition of a book;	*tāṅgaran,* improvement.
baraṅgani, subscription;	*bargani.*
etc.	etc.

Assamese	South Indian dialects
Beli, the sun;	*Ber* (Halabi); *Beir* (Nagpuriā)
Zon, the moon;	*jon* (Halabi); *janha* (Bhuliā).
Carāi, bird *care* (< carai).	*carāe* (Bhulia). *carai* (Nagpuriā)
Son, gold	*son* (Halabi).
Rup, silver	*Rup* (Halabi).
Kon, who	*Kon* (Halabi).
Kāy, who (Kāmrup)	*Kay,* what. (Halabi).
āru, and	*aru* (Halabi), *āru* (Lariā).
mai, I	*mai* (Halabi)
ami, we	*ami* (Halabi).
chān *saru* } younger.	*san* *suru* } (younger).
gahanā-gāṭhuri, ornaments;	*gahanā-gaṭhā-lā* (Lariā).
ṭēṭu, neck,	*tenṭu* (Lariā)
dagalā, a kind of shirt	*dagalā* (Lariā).
etc.	etc.

Some of the above listed words are of Sanskritic origin. But they have been selected here with a view to their phonetic and semantic identity. These as well as the common words of unknown origin in vogue both in Assamese and in Southern India may be looked upon as pointing to some sort of racial contact rather than as instances of borrowing on either side.

§ 16. There is another class of words in the Kāmrupī dialect of the Assamese language. Their formations can be explained on the supposition that they originally carried a strong initial stress which differentiates the Marathi language from other modern Indo-Aryan languages which carry a penultimate stress (TURNER: *The Indo-Germanic accent in Marathi, JRAS.* 1916). It should be noted that in two distinct dialectical regions of Assam, two different systems of accentuation prevail. In the Kāmarūpa district a strong initial stress prevails as in Marathi, but in the eastern districts the prevalent stress is on the penultimate syllable. Often therefore two distinct formations from the same Sanskritic source are met with. Compare the following formations:

Skt. kaṭāha-; Mar. *kaḍhai*; Kamrupi, *kare* (< *karai*).
Eastern As. *karāhi,* a frying vessel.

Skt. *jāmātṛ-* ; Mar. *jāvai,* Kam. *jāwe* (< *jāwai*)
Eastern As. *jõwāi,* son-in-law.
Skt. *kumāra-* ; Mar. *kūvar* ; Kām. and East. As. *kõwar,* a prince.
Skt. *nanāndṛ-* ; Mar. *nanad* ; Kām. and East. As. *nanad,* wife's husband's sister.

etc. etc.

Similarities of this type cannot be pronounced to be wholly fortuitous. They may strengthen the suspicion of racial contact or migration of a considerable batch of Aryan speakers from some regions where similar accentuation prevailed.

§ 17. All these divagations are called for by the absence of definite records about the early history of the Assamese *Kalitās.* These may heighten the suspicion raised by the similarity of pauranic tribal names. GRIERSON speaks of a certain mixed dialect called *Kalaṅga* in the feudatory state of Patna in the south-west of Orissa. Whether *Kalaṅga* might have anything to do with the pauranic *kala-* is not known. Cf. also place-name *Kali-Koṭ* in Southern Orissa.

§ 18. A few words need be said about the probable origin or the *Kulalupta* theory amongst Assamese *Kalitās.* The author of the article the "Kalitās of Kāmarūpa" (*JARS.* I. 3) speaks of a tradition "that the *Kalitās* were a powerful people who ruled a part of the country at the foot of the Himalayan mountains,—even now one comes across an old Assamese very occasionally who believes in the existence of such a kingdom and thinks that some day the *Kalitā-rāj* will rule over the whole of Kāmarūpa." This however seems to have reference to certain incidents in mediaeval Assamese history. Cf. §§ 20, 21.

§ 19. Near about the middle of the fifteenth century a dynasty of three powerful kings ruled in Kāmatā in western Assam. They are known as *Khen* or *Khyān* Kings. The dynasty was founded by a cowherd boy who on ascending the throne called himself Niladhwaj. It is said that Niladhwaj in his early years was the cowherd of a Brahmin who foretold that he would become king and helped him to overthrow the last degenerate descendant of the Pal family. On ascending the throne Niladhwaj made his old Brahmin master his chief minister and imported many Brahmins from Mithilā. Niladhwaj was succeeded by Chakradhwaj and the latter by Nilambar who was overthrown by Husain Shah in 1498 A.D. Nilambar was taken prisoner, put into an iron-cage to be carried to Gaur, but he escaped on the way and was never heard of again. It is popularly believed that he has ever since remained concealed. Buchanan HAMILTON says that the people of Kamrup look for his restoration when the usurpers, western barbarians, shall be driven out of the land (*Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers* : *Rangpur,* 1911. p. 23). Nilambar has thus become the king Arthur of Assamese folk-legends.

§ 20. The dynasty founded by Niladhwaj is called *Khen* or *Khyān.* The word *khen* or *khyān* has always remained a riddle with Assam historians. The author of the *Early History of Kāmarūpa* has in his perplexity cut

through the vowels and equated ***khen*** or ***khyān*** to ***khān***, a Bengali Mahomedan title. Now ***khen*** is an Austric word for a ***child*** : cf. ***Ken*** (Pang) ; ***Ki-yen*** (Kerbat); ***Khen*** (Samre); C 102 ; ***Khun*** (Khasi). The Austric equivalent for an *orphan* is ***Khun-rei*** (Khasi); ***Ke-non re-ni*** (Sak.) O. 57.

§ 21. Niladhwaj was an orphan cowherd and on ascending the throne he must have made himself known as something like ****Khen-rei*** in glorification of the obscurity of his early years. In folk-etymology ****Khen-rei*** must have passed into something like * *Khen-rāy, Khen*-King.

The word ***khen*** or * ***khen-rei*** does not occur in modern Assamese, but from the large number of Austric words preserved in modern Assamese (cf. *NIA*. I. 265, 571), it may be presumed that it was then a living or at least, not an unknown formation.

§ 22. Royal families in Indian history have always been dressed up with a divine or respectable pedigree. Niladhwaj, an orphan, concealed the identity of his obscure parentage. And so perhaps he was called a ***kula-lupta***, a learned coinage of the priestly panegyrists with an equivocal meaning. In reality it referred to the obscurity of his family but the priestly panegyrists must have scored by suggesting that he belonged to the Khatriya caste that had concealed its identity for fear of Paraśurāma. Many a caste has thus thrown the whole blame on Paraśurāma's shoulder for its comparative low position in society !

§ 23. Some of the adherents of the royal clan made themselves known as ***khens***, just as the ***koches*** of western Assam made themselves known as ***Rājbṅśis*** after the Koch kings had established themselves at Koch-Behar. Even now there are ***khens*** in the Rangpur district of modern Bengal, the stronghold of the ***khen*** kings. They numbered 12,000 in the census of 1911. "They are orthodox Hindus and are served by the same Brahmans as the Nabasakha group (of Bengal). Dr. Buchanan HAMILTON states that they are the only Kamrup tribe that the Brahmans of Bengal admit to be true Sudras which clearly shews the great power that their princes held. At the present day their chief occupations are cultivation and domestic service under high caste Hindus. ***In Assam they are known in Kolitās*** (***District Gazetteer*** : 1911 ; ***Rangpur***. p. 46).

§ 24. GAIT detects a considerable infusion of Aryan blood in their physiognomy (***History of Assam*** p. 41), as he has done in the case of the ***Kalitās*** (cf. § 3). He also says that the great majority of them have been absorbed in the ranks of other communities but the few who retain the old name claim to be Kāyasthas (***Ibid***). But it has become a fashion for the ***Kalitās*** of Rangpur to make themselves known as Kāyasthas. ***Kalitās*** are unknown in Bengal and along with the transfer of Rangpur from Assam to Bengal, the ***Kalitās*** have mostly equated themselves to the Kāyasthas not to "abide questions" in social intercourse. MARTIN observes that "a numerous tribe called ***Kalitā*** who once had great sway here (Rangpur), as they still have in Assam, have in the more civilized parts assumed the title of Kāyostho and conceal their descent from the ***Kolitās***" (***Eastern India***. Vol. iii. p. 528).

§ 25. If the *Kula-lupta* theory can thus be disposed of, the early history of the *Kalitās* themselves as a tribe remains largely a matter of uncertainty in the absence of further materials. The presence of *Kalitās* in Sambalpur coupled with probable instances of linguistic and other archæological parallelisms between Assam and South India noticed in the foregoing sections would seem to make the suspicion about their migration from the south not wholly unfounded. More than half the inhabitants of Assam is made up of Tibeto-Burman people. They are indigenous to the province. Genuine Kāyasthas constitute a handful and their ancestors migrated into Assam in historical times. Other caste like *Kewats, Kumārs, Śuris* etc. have pan-Indian denominations and might as well belong here as come from elsewhere. It cannot be said that they were brought over by king Narakāsura to Aryanise the kingdom. The topmost position of the *Kalitās* amongst the fully Aryanised population seems to lend itself to the interpretation that they came in with the earliest Brahmins. But nothing definitely can be said till more materials are available. But as there are *Kalitās* also in other parts of India, it is hoped that better informed scholars will throw greater light upon this subject.

PAHLAVI VERSION OF GĀTHĀ USHTAVAITI

By
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N. B. [ ] indicate glosses or explanations in the original text.
( ) indicate words and phrases inserted by the present writer to round out the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense.

Introductory Remarks :

After the conquest of Ērān by the Arabs (651 A.C.) Ātar Franabagh i Farrokhv-Zāt (761-833 A.C.), leader of the faithful, descended from Ātarpāt i Māraspand, prepared the last edition of the Avestan Scripture, which in his time consisted of Avesta, the Āzainti and the Pahlavi Zand (version and commentary) prepared by Ātarpāt i Māraspand and his disciples. Owing to the calamity which befell Zartōsht i Ātar Farnabagh in the reign of Khalifa Mutawakkil (847-861 A.C.), the work of the restoration of the works accomplished by his father, was again demolished. His fifth lineal descendant Ātarpāt i Emīt (about 931 A.C.) resuscitated the work of Ātar-Farnabagh and prepared also the Pahlavi work, which he named "The Dēnkart of 1000 chapters" of which only 419 chapters are extant. At the time of the Dēnkart there existed a translation or rather a commentary in Pahlavi to all the Nasks except Nātar and Vashtag. The Pahlavi translation must have been again and again extended and supplemented after the time of Ātarpāt.

The character of Pahlavi translation is that of an interlinear version. It consists generally of the rendering of the text, word for word by means of a Pahlavi equivalent in the exact order of the original. The full sense of the whole passage cannot often be brought out in this way. This was felt by the translator or translators themselves and they have tried to keep out the interpretation by means of numerous interpolated and appended glosses, which often extended to long pedantic disquisitions. Sometimes the Pahlavist leaves the passage unexplained if no interpretation has been handed down by saying ' am nē rōshan.' Sometimes the translator is very free and several words of the original text are joined together and reproduced by a single word. This very close adherence to the original construction, together with the inflectional poverty of the Pahlavi language and the use of transcriptions in the case of obscure Avestan words enhances the ambiguity of the Pahlavi version and makes it clumsy as compared with the Pahlavi of independent treatises like 'Dēnkart' and 'Dātistān i Dēnīk.' The Pahlavist generally meets the difficulty by the use of particles which are the sole means of indicating the syntactical relation of a word in the sentence. At times they betray gross ignorance of grammar, e.g. av. mruyē. pres. 1st pres. sg. is rendered by gōv. pres. 2nd pres. sg. It should be borne in mind that the Pahlavi translations were made at a time when the language of the Avesta had become almost dead and the knowledge of the sacred text was on its decline. The translation of the minor yashts, Āfrīngān etc. seems to be of later origin and to be less reliable. There are more commentaries on the Vendidād than on the Yasna which is mainly liturgical. The most important is the Pahlavi version of the Vendidād, although it is far from attaining to the monumental greatness of the Indian commentaries of a Śaṅkara or Mallinātha or the Kāśikā. It is also true that the more abstract and obscure an avestan passage, the less has been the attempt of the commentators to explain it. The commentators in making their version sometimes differ from each other in the matter of introducing interpretation of their own.

The Pahlavi interpretations are valuable, no doubt, but within due limits. To the Pahlavist the language of the Gāthās was as foreign as it is to us. Even though

these commentators were faithful and devoted Zoroastrians, still the religion as practised in the Sassanian Era was quite different from the Religion which was taught by Zarathushtra. The importance of the Pahlavi version lies in its vocabulary and in its cursory glosses, which although often expressed in awkward manner, still contribute essentially to the true understanding of the meaning, e.g. Varaharān yasht Karda XX where comments make clear the purpose of the quotation in its context. The tradition often proves to be a safeguard for the elucidation of obscure ideas and for the interpretation of native thought, which might otherwise be unintelligible. Even the thorough-going linguist turns towards Pahlavi version for some light when the science of Philology fails to explain certain words. Cf. ānzō-bug-(Nighāyishn 5. 11.).

In most cases it is natural to suspect that through the carelessness of the copyist the Avesta sentence has been left out, and that this oversight has involved also a similar omission in the translation. The translator leaves out, without any reason, an avestan word, which all the mss. unanimously preserve, or he seems to have had before him an entirely different word. More than one independent version of the Pahlavi Khvartak Avistāk existed in oral and written tradition and Neryosang Dhaval had access to these at time when he prepared his Sanskrit version. He must have flourished somewhere near 421 A.Y. (1152 A.C.). He was a thorough master of Pahlavi. His rendering of the Pahlavi commentary is free in various places and the author has added much from his own knowledge. For the understanding of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, Neryosang's Sanskrit version is of immense value.

The difficulties in understanding and interpreting the Pahlavi are enhanced by the following factors :—

(1) The Pahlavi translation of the Avesta contains many words which are scarcely noticed in the Pahlavi Books;

(2) many Pahlavi words in the translation are mere transcriptions of the Avesta ;

(3) the conciseness of the style which requires so much to be supplied by the translator ;

(4) the obscurity or ambiguity of the Pahlavi writings;

(5) interchange of ideogram or Semitic and Iranian words ;

(6) the usual confusion of ka, kē and ku and of hamāk and hamāy ;

(7) the ignorance and carelessness of the copyist ;

& (8) the absence of a complete " Index Verborum."

A correct method of Avesta interpretation must aim at uniting the two tendencies represented by ROTH and DARMESTETER respectively and at reconciling their contradictions. The traditional interpretation is not to be fully condemned because of its inherent defects nor are its mistakes to be accepted on simple trust. Study of Pahlavi is indispensable. The Pahlavi writers were certainly not versed in modern comparative method of research. Hence though the support of the Pahlavi is to be sought as far as possible, still the Pahlavi Version by itself has to be accepted with caution. Dr. MILLS remarks that the traditional renderings are neither to be slavishly followed nor blindly ignored. The correct viewpoint regarding the Pahlavi Version lies in the golden mean and it has long ago been pointed out by Dr. Husbschman. Dr. GELDNER holds that the scientific criticism and philological intuition should discriminate in every single case between the pros and cons of the Pahlavi rendering, without any prepossession or prejudice. In essentials, the Judgment which Dr. HUBSCHMANN in 1872 passed upon its value, in various ways, should remain : "Die Ausbeute wird frelich eine verschiedene sein ; reich für den Vendidad, befriedigend für den Jüngern yasna, aber dürftig für die Gāthās[1]." That is to say, the gain will of

1. *Avesta Studien*, von H. HÜBSCHMANN, Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 502, gives a purely objective and accurate criticism of these methods.

course be various : abundant for the Vendidād, satisfactory for the later yasna, but scanty for the Gāthās.

YASNA HĀ XLIII 81.

TRANSLATION :

Obeisance (be) unto you. O Holy Gāthās !

(1) Happy is he whose happiness is for anyone whomsoever [i.e., happiness of any person whatsoever is from his happiness. There is someone who says thus : 'his happiness is owing to religion and owing to religion every person (has) happiness']. Ohrmazd grants it to him according to sovereignty of his will [i.e. according to His desire]. Durability and powerful-qualities [i.e. strength and abilities] are my desire in their coming from Thee. The gift for the preservation of holiness [that which He will give as reward for the preservation of holiness] Spandarmat may grant me. [May she bestow upon me] the radiant, devoted [pupilage] with the life of the good mind [i.e. immortality of Vohuman so that there may not occasion life-extinction for me].

(2) And thus to him out of all who is the man full of happiness shall the best happiness [reward] be given. Do thou declare [i.e. do thou say who the man of happiness is, for the manifestation is through Thee] O Beneficent Spirit Ohrmazd ! [i.e. thou knowest who the blissful man is], (and do thou declare) what you give him a right and with the moderate thought of Vohuman [i.e. the Religion]. All the days [unto him] shall (happiness) be given with the delight of long life.

(3) Thus goodness [i.e. reward] may come up to him, the good man, who may teach [to others] our holy profitable path in this corporeal life and even that which is mental [within fifty-seven years] when the existence will be manifest [i.e., it is clear that Tan i Pasēn—the final material life shall take place] in which Ohrmazd dwells—(to the teacher) who is liberal, a good connoisseur, and one-like Thee, O Beneficent Ohrmazd !

(4) Thus I thought Thee valiant and beneficent when Thou Thyself helpest with might both-of-them [i.e. Thou dost increase the affairs of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds]. Thou givest Justice to the wicked as well as to the righteous [i.e. Thou makest manifest him who is absolved and him who is doomed] through this Thy warm fire since the strength of righteousness is through it [i.e. its leadership is good] and since the power of Vohuman [Sōshans=future benefactor] approaches me.

(5) Thus, O Ohrmazd ! I thought Thee beneficent when first I saw Thy production in the world, and when Thou gavest the reward to the doers of deeds and even to those with speech : (that is) Thou gavest smiting to the smiter and the good devotion to him, the good. By means of Thy skill, the creatures will return even at the end.

(6) By means of Thy Beneficent Spirit the change comes [from wickedness to goodness] in the kingdom of Ohrmazd in the good mind through whose actions there is a furtherance of the settlements of righteousness. To those whom the spiritual leader [viz. Sōshans] teaches with perfect devotion,

Thy wisdom is not deceived by anything thereby.

(7) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman came up to me. He asked me: "who art thou and from whom art thou? How is the sign of the day [i.e. the day] of the conference indicated [i.e. how shall I produce the sign?] about Thy settlements and Thyself?"

(8) Thus I spoke unto him: "I am Zartōsht firstly, an open-tormentor [i.e. I openly torment the wicked] and so long as I wish [I will take revenge on] him who is wicked [Ganāk Mēnok]. Thus there is the delight of him, the holy, from him who is powerful [i.e. I will rejoice him i.e., on account of his virtuousness I will lead him on to sovereignty]. When that virtuous condition takes place, [i.e. the final material-life takes place], sovereignty at will shall be given [i.e. sovereignty shall verily be given according to desire]. Thus O Ohrmazd, Thou are to be praised and to be appropriated [i.e. Thou art to be kept for one's self. There was (someone) who said: '(Thou art) to be made one's own'].

(9) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman came up to me. He [who is Ohrmazd] asked me: 'What is thy desire for instruction' [i.e. for whom care will be required by thee when thou understandest?]. Thus unto Thy Fire am I bountiful with homage and I will think of righteousness as long as I wish.

(10) Therefore do Thou grant sanctity unto me since I invoke Thee with invocations with the accompaniment of perfect devotion when that which is perfect [is made one's own; i.e. even that should be so made one's own by the path of Justice as one shall perform the work-of-religious-instruction with-perfect-devotion. There was some one who said: 'secular-instruction']. And ask thou of us these questions which are Thine [The Religion], for, (it is) thy questioning by means of which thou wilt thus have courageousness [by those questions] since the powerful [Ohrmazd] will give unto thee courageousness according to wish [i.e. when thou shalt proclaim the Religion, courageousness will be thine].

(11) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman approached me, when your word [i.e., Religion] is expounded with exposition. You spoke to me that its propagation amongst mankind was difficult [i.e. you said this: 'it is difficult to propagate the Religion']. So, I effect its accomplishment as you declared to me to be the best [Afterwards also I will do it].

(12) And what you said to me: 'thou wilt attain sanctity' (is) enough. Thus thou didst not ascribe disobedience to me [it was not on account of refusal to hear on my part when you spoke this that it was not proper to grant at present.]. You should rise up before the time when Sraosha the Holy [Vīshtāsp] comes up to me, with whom is also that great Spiritual-leader [Zartosht], who [i.e. that Vishtāsp] shall give the benefit to the disputants justly.

(13) I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! when Vohuman approached me; Grant me [as a reward] that which is the desire of him who is the announcer of the decree [of him who announces the decree to persons] at

the distant advent of life [at the Tan-i-Pasīn] into which none of you has penetrated through insight. To abide by His will is said to be Thy Sovereignty [i.e. Just as I stood (by your wish), no person stood by].

(14) Since benefit is given to a friend who is instructed [i.e. he confers on him benefit], [grant me] O Ohrmazd Thy rejoicing abundantly, which Khshatravar directed unto Thee with the help of righteousness : set up the wise leader [the Dastur], the proclaimer of the Religion [i.e. give us Zartōsht], together with all those who recite Thy 'mānthra' [i.e. together with the upholders of Religion].

(15) I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd ! When Vohuman came up to me. The token with intelligence shall be made to increase for a man of contended mind [who ought to be content with the wicked at present] [i.e. shall be quickly remembered that as long as I abide by the token, so long I will do a thing which is proper to perform]. Let no man be a great proprietor of any wicked one whomsoever [i.e. they should not do this for rejoicing] who thus regard as harmful all Thy holy beings [i.e. they regard your (followers) as imperious].

(16) Thus I who am Zartōsht love Ohrmazd's spirit [i.e. I love Vohuman in reality], O Ohrmazd, to whom any bountifulness [i.e. wisdom] whatsoever has come, whose righteousness is bodily and full-of-life [i.e. I love him more vigorously]. The manifestation of the sun [is given as reward] to him whose is the dominion through perfect mind, and Vohuman will give [a reward] to him whose is righteousness in deed.

HĀ XLIV.

(1) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! [i.e. I ask (Thee) aright. There is (someone) who says : 'I feel very confident.' And there is (someone) who (says) : 'Ohrmazd says aright.' There is (someone) who says : 'asking for the correct answer.' There is (someone) who says : 'Do thou tell me at once.']. (Tell me) about that obeisance which is thus your obeisance [i.e. Religion]. O Ohrmazd ! give me the contentment of a friend [i.e. a disciple], (who is) one-like you [i.e. for one-like-me, i.e. my contentment (will be) at that time when I shall have become Thine equal in efficiency as much as possible.] Thus we give Thee a friend through righteousness who is a co-worker [i.e. we present Thee a disciple through righteousness]. Thus He is approached unto us through Vohuman.

(2) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! Which is the first excellence in the world [i.e. first they desire this thing, for (it is) the best]. To whom is the giving of the advantage according to desire [i.e. when they verily desire the benefit, he gives it] to him who seeks for both [viz. Avesta and the commentary, again and again]. For it is this that he shall cause to increase in virtue him who is a transgressor [i.e. a great sinner] when they hold it as righteousness. (Such a one is) for all [time] a leader in spirituality for both worlds through the friendship [for the Religion] [i.e. the celebration of the Yasna] O Ohrmazd !

(3) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Whose is the progeny [whose is the begetting of Ashàvahist;] who is the first father of righteousness [i.e., who provided first nourishment for him]. Who gave the path to the Sun and the stars [i.e. who gave their path?] From whom is it that the Moon waxes and wanes save Thee [i.e. from whom is its waxing and waning?]. That is also my desire, O Ohrmazd and even other information [that I may know].

(4) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Who keeps the earth without support [i.e. there is no prop for the world] and without falling [i.e. I know this that it will not fall]. Who [created] water and plants? From whom is it when they yoke on the wind and the clouds swiftly [for activity]? Whose, O Ohrmazd! is the creation of Vohuman [i.e. the creation of vohuman—Whose is it?].

(5) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohramzd! Who with good discrimination, created light and who, the darkness? Who with good discrimination produced sleep and wakefulness [i.e., diligence]? Who (created) the dawn, noon and night [i.e., who made dawn, noon and the period of night], which (are) the rule of him, the deliverer of Judgment through Judiciousness [i.e., who fixed that period when Sōshāns will arrive?].

(6) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Speak forth unto me both [the matter pertaining to the holy and the wicked], if it (is) thus manifest. [it is clear that Tan-i Pasēn shall take place. There is (some-one) who says: How is it clear that. . . . . ?].* Whose is righteousness in action, his is the vigorous perfect mind. Vohuman assigns [a reward] to him who (attributes) sovereignty to Thee. For whom didst Thou create the labouring world, the producer of bounty?

(7) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! who moulded the sovereignty with perfect devotion desirable [i.e. beseeming for duty and meritorious work]? Who created love when the father gets a son [i.e. when he takes care of him]? I regard these as from Thy great friendship [these creatures]. O Beneficent Spirit! Thou art the creator of all [happiness].

(8) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! [Tell me] about the five gifts which, O Ohrmazd! are Thy exposition [i.e. it is possible to perform the Tan-i Pasēn in that way] and also about the conference which (is conducted) by means of the word of Vohuman [i.e., when will the Religion be progressive?], about also the perfect intelligence (acquired) through righteousness in the world [i.e. about the matter pertaining to the righteous and the wicked], and (finally tell me) how shall the good joy come to this my soul by means of both these [when I execute well the concerns of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds]?

(9) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! How shall I purify this my sanctified [i.e. pure] Religion? [i.e. how shall I promulgate the Religion?] which the truly wise has taught again and again with authority

*Some words are missing here in the text ed. by Spiegel.

[i.e., who teaches again and again this virtuous thing. The truthful with authority (will become) like Thee by means of the swift (gift) of Ohrmazd [i.e. by means of the Religion of Ohrmazd whose is the sovereignty and he maintains it justly] and he dwells in the same abode with Ashavahishta and Vohuman [i.e. in companionship (with them)].

(10) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! [Tell me] about the Religion which is the best of the existing ones, which helps my settlements with the furtherance of righteousness [whose wealth this Religion prepares from virtue], and which produces just words and actions through perfect devotion [i.e., he utters and does a thing with perfect devotion]. Whoever has the perscience of Mine [i.e., who understands the end of the matter with virtue] he (reaps) the fruit of Thy wealth [i.e., He also gives him the reward which he gives unto thee]. I am content, O Ohrmazd [since he does not give me the less].

(11) Tell me aright that which I ask of thee, O Ohrmazd ! When will the perfect devotion come unto them [i.e., when will my disciples be of perfect devotion] who declare this Thy Religion, O Ohrmazd ? Do Thou grant me the first announcement from them i.e., [do Thou grant me the first happiness from the Holy Immortals]. I shall protect all others from the afflictor [i.e., I will be separate from the Evil Spirit and the Dēvs]

(12) Tell me aright that which I ask of thee, Ohrmazd ! who is the righteous who held the conference and who is the wicked ? Who is the 'ganāk' and that[6] Ganāk', which wicked one opposes me in thy benefit [i.e., in Thy Religion] ? Why is it I do not regard them as evil in their approach [i.e., why is it if I see them, I do not recognise them as dēvs] ?

(13) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! When shall one remove the Druj [viz., the Druj of Tyranny] from that by removal ? It is they who thus contend with obedience [in not doing the work of religious instruction] nor do they associate with righteousness since they do not expound it to them, [i.e., when they talk of a righteous thing to them, they even do not perform it]. They have no desire for conference with Vohuman. [i.e., a conference for the righteous cause is not requisite for them].

(14) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! When shall the druj [of apostasy] be delivered in the hands of him who has practised righteousness, who (i.e. drujas) destroy those who teach Thy Holy-Spell [i.e. who destroy the upholders of the Religion]. The army of the wicked [Evil Spirit] give strength to destruction. They are deceived. O Ohrmazd [afterwards they realise (and say) : we are deceived], they who are not coming [i.e., they do not come up to this Religion] and are producers of profanity [i.e. they render the words of others useless].

(15) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! If at that time, with the help of righteousness, Thou art manifestly the ruler [i.e. if at that time Thy sovereignity becomes complete] and when the imperishable (a-nasishn) army will arrive [i.e. when they will give back the souls to the

bodies] and those decrees which are Thine, O Ohrmazd ! are expounded with exposition [i.e. the propagation of the Religion will be complete at that time], then upon whom from amongst them [will punishment be inflicted] and upon whom will the goodness [i.e. the sovereignity] be bestowed ?

(16) Tell me aright that which I ask Thee, O Ohrmazd ! Who is the smiter [of the sinners] with victory which is his through Thy protection and teaching [i.e. who shall effect punishment of the Sinners for Thy Religion ?]. Thou shalt assign manifestly unto the chieftainship of the creation of the creatures in both the worlds [It is clear that I am to be regarded as a 'Dastoor' here and even there]. Thus shall the good Sarosh [Vishtāsp] come by means of Vahuman [i.e. he will come over to the Religion by means of Vohuman]. O Ohrmazd ! my wish is for him [i.e. the advent of Soshyans is requisite] whose desire is that for everyone [i.e. everyone ought to wish for him].

(17) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! When, O Ohrmazd ! is your appointment of the Time [i.e. when shall the time of the Tan i Pasēn be] ? When [shall they make complete] Your work [i.e. the duty and law of Thine] who too are the seekers of my word [i.e. when shall the Religion be completely promulgated ?] (When will there be) the existence of a chief over Khordat-Welfare and Amurdat-Immortality. So it is according to Holy-Spell [i.e. they bestow the reward in such a way as is manifest from the Holy Spell (upon him)] whose allotment is owing to the accompaniment of righteousness.

(18) Tell me aright that which I ask Thee, O Ohrmazd ! How shall I justly be deserving of that reward [i.e. how will it be my own without deceit. .] of ten stallion horses and a camel. It is when, O Ohrmazd ! I comprehend welfare and immortality. Thus both are bestowed by Thee.

(19) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! (Tell me) as to him who does not give [what has come] as a reward to him who is the deserving one [i.e. Zartōsht] and as to one who gives to the just man [i.e. the virtuous man]. What shall first happen to him owing to that transgression [i.e. what is his punishment for that sinfulness at first] ? I am cognisant of what it will be for him eventually [because of his wickedness].

(20) How have the dēvs, O Ohrmazd, ever been good rulers ? Therefore I ask this how do they who are [the Kiks and the Karafs] keep back [i.e. how do they hinder men from the fulfilment of duty and meritorious deed] who speak about the beneficent animal that the Karafs] and the Usikhs [i.e. the dēvs] have given them to rapine. The Kīks too are unstupefied and repelling [i.e., they do not become stupefied by any impious thing of which they even speak that they did it], who even do not give us the reward for the work of righteousness [i.e., when they bestow it, they will not do any virtuous thing].

HĀ XLV

(1) Thus it is to be proclaimed [Religion]. Now hearing shall be

given and now it is to be listened to [i.e. it is to be listened attentively, learnt by rote and proclaimed] by those who also from near and who also from afar desire [to do the work of religious instruction and they shall do in the wise]. For, now all this is manifest that Ohrmazd created it [i.e. Ohrmazd created all the creatures], so that at the far off time [i.e. at the Tan i Pasēn] he who is the instructor of Evil [Ganāk Mēnōk] may not destroy the worlds and he [i.e. Ganāk Mēnōk] instils belief in his worst desire and wickedness through the tongue.

(2) Thus I proclaim in the world at-the-outset the Spiritual thing [the Gāthic Lore]. He of the Bountifulness, between the two, spoke thus to the wicked one : 'Not our thoughts [I do not think what thou thinkest ; for I think that which is pious and thou thinkest that which is impious], nor our teachings [I teach what is pious and thou teachest what is impious], nor wisdom [for I keep wisdom with virtue and thou with vice], nor desire [for I have a pious desire and thou hast an impious one], nor words [I speak what is true and thou what is untrue], nor actions [because my actions are pious, thine impious], nor religion [for, my religion is the Gāthic Lore and thine sorcery], nor souls—these are not in harmony [for he who abides by my religion and he who abides by thy religion are not of the same plane].

(3) Thus I proclaim in the world that which is His [i.e. Ohrmazd's own] first [to regulate the disposition, i.e., every person ought to regulate his nature at-the-outset] which He, the Wise, Ohrmazd spoke to me thus : 'Whoever of you who do not practise this Māntra in such a way as it ought to be contemplated and uttered, unto them there will be misery in the world up to the end.'

(4) Thus I proclaim in the world that which is His [i.e. Ohrmazd's own] best (thing) [to practise 'khētōdas']. With the help of righteousness, the omniscient Ohrmazd established this [i.e. the practice of 'khvētōkdas']. He also practised it in the fatherhood of Vahuman [i.e., He practised 'khvētōkdas,' for the proper nourishment of the creatures] ; so is his daughter of good deed and of perfect devotion [Spandarmat, i.e., she did not refrain from practising 'Khvētōkdas.']. She was not deceived [i.e. she did not shrink from the practice of 'khvētōkdas', because] she is an observer of everything as regards that which is Ohrmazd's, [i.e., all the duty and regulation will take place by means of the Religion of Ohrmazd].

(5) Thus I proclaim that which He declared to me the most beneficent [viz. to maintain the 'Dastobar'] (It is) the gift of the chanting of the word which is best for men [i.e., for men this one thing is good when they abide by Religion]. Whoso dedicates [his own body] for him My Sarosh [i.e. for him my 'Dastobar'] and teaches others (to do the same) will attain to Welfare and Immortality [with a view to seize the reward]. By the action of Vohuman [he comes on] to Ohrmazd [to seize the reward].

(6) Thus I announce that which is the greatest of all [viz. the performance of the worship of God], and the praise of holiness of Him, the very wise [i.e. of Ohrmazd Himself] (among those) that are. O beneficent

Spirit, Ohrmazd, do thou listen (unto me) [i.e., listen to me what I say] whose obeisance is by means of the conference with Vohuman [i.e., it is necessary to understand the intercession of God] by means of righteous conference. Do thou teach me His Wisdom that is the best [innate wisdom].

(7) By means of munificence [i.e. when I practise liberality] I seek His benefit. [I will make more perfectly my own] any whatsoever of the living ones, those who were and those who shall be, aspiring for the immortal-progress for the souls of the righteous [if at the Tan-i-Pasen it is not necessary to kill them again], and for the power while there is affliction to the wicked man. And thus (is) Ohrmazd, the Lord of His creatures.

(8) His praise and worship should be performed by us, for now this is clear to the eye [that happiness is ever from Ohrmazd]. By means of the deed and utterance of Vohuman [he will be] aware of the justice of Ohrmazd [i.e. of the Religion of Ohrmazd]. Thus shall I bestow his praise unto Him in the Abode-of-Song.

(9) With any help whatsoever of Vohuman we ought to propitiate Him [i.e. (propitiation) should be done with delight] who with content made for us even that which is uncomfortable comfortable [i.e. even the wicked has so much comfort from Ohrmazd]. O Ohrmazd ! give us the worker for the Kingdom of Ohrmazd [ever working] and for cattle and men that (are) ours [i.e., he renders protection unto cattle and men and even ourselves] whose (source of) furtherance am I [i.e., I increase things]. On account of the devotion of Vohuman [i.e., on account of the righteous devotion which I possess] [grant us] courageousness through Vohuman.

(10) We ought always to magnify His Worship with perfect devotion who is renowned by another name as the Wise Lord, who taught [i.e. Spoke] unto His Ashavahisht and Vohuman (that there shall be) in His Kingdom Perfection and Immortality. To him stands [Spandarmat in daughterhood] who bestows strength and power [i.e. force and durability].

(11) They, the dēvs came and afterwards, men for practising contempt who despised this Thine [creation] ; other than these there are saviours of the bountiful Religion, high-priests, chiefs and the King who think highly [of this Religion]. Ohrmazd is (their) friend, companion and the father.

HĀ XLVI

(1) To which land shall I turn [for a disciple, O Ohrmazd !], to whom shall I go for homage [for the desired object], since I have been given up by Kinsmen and confreres [i.e., I have been deserted by them]. Neither the workers and the companions nor even the wicked tyrant of the province [i.e. the governor of the province] please me. How (then) shall I propitiate Thee, O Ohrmazd ?

(2) I am aware of that whereby, O Ohrmazd ! I am ineffectual [i.e. I know why this incapability is for me] ; since my flock is small [i.e., my wealth is little] and since also I have few men [i.e., my men and means are few ; I know also why (this is so)]. To Thee I lament, do

Thou, O Ohrmazd, look it [i.e. seek for me a remedy] and grant me delight and desire which a friend gives to a friend, through the teaching of Vohuman [since I stand by the righteous teaching, give me] the wealth of righteousness.

(3) When (will) that dispensation (be), O Ohrmazd [i.e. when will that time come up] when the increaser of days [the performers of the Renovation] (will come) [i.e. in (that) day they will cause duty and meritorious deed to increase], and advance forth ostentatiously in the world through righteousness towards manifestation and through the act of teaching of the wisdom of the benefactors [just as is manifest from the Religion]. To whom shall that benefit come by means of Vohuman [i.e. they will give that reward on account of piety, (but) unto whom will they grant (it) ?]. I love Thy teaching, O Ohrmazd.

(4) Thus they who are the wicked hinder him who is the doer of righteousness [who performs duty and meritorious deeds]. They hinder the beneficent animal from advancing [i.e. they prevent them from being given to others] in the district and the province. It is he of unlawful violence who through his own actions has died down [i.e. there will be life extinction for him] but owing to the sovereignty of Ohrmazd that has come, they are to be opposed [i.e., they are to be kept back from sin] and are to be killed. He (the agriculturist) makes more intelligently the provision for the beneficent animals [i.e. he takes care of the beneficent animals more wisely].

(5) Whoso in your sovereignty [in this world where is your Kingdom] shall not give [i.e. shall not grant a thing to him], he is to be believed as an afflictor [who comes to inflict wounds]. With the good knowledge of the creeds and also of love [he who inflicts punishment to the sinners shall be regarded as Thine Own i.e. as discreet and loving] He who is righteous in his upright living and also he who is wicked [i.e. every one shall be maintained with lawfulness]. Thus it is discerned [i.e. it is clear that that man is a good man] and that shall be announced to him [i.e. shall be considered by himself], who has been raised up, O Ohrmazd, from violence [i.e. from wickedness].

(6) He who does not give what has come to him to that man who approaches with a desire [i.e. who comes for duty and meritorious deed] is the creature of the Druj [i.e. he produces the creation of the Druj] and he (the good man) is frightened [i.e. terror is displayed by him and he is killed]. For he is wicked who gives the best-thing to the wicked ; he is righteous who (gives) the best-thing to the righteous. [In doubt, whoso gives a thing unto the wicked shall be regarded as wicked and whoso grants (it) unto the righteous (shall be regarded) as righteous], until when they first have the religion, O Ohrmazd [until the time when Sōshans will appear, all shall thus be regarded].

(7) Whom hast Thou appointed for me and for those belonging to me [i.e. my disciples] as a protection, O Ohrmazd, when the wicked [Āhriman] holds me in hatred [i.e. who will afford me protection when he holds me with revenge], other than by Thy fire and Vohuman [for I know that (it is) on

account of you that he will render protection unto me], since by their actions we thrive righteousness, O Ohrmazd [i.e. who will render protection unto me when I perform duty and meritorious deeds?]. Do thou proclaim to me a 'Dastoor' of the Religion [pronounce this : maintain the Religion through a 'Dastoor'.].

(8) (It is the wicked one) who gives my settlements to him, the malicious (Evil Spirit) [i.e. who keeps wealth through the 'Dastoor' of the heretics —who will inflict punishment on him?]. Through his deeds I am not the expeller of him with endless wound [i.e. he inflicts wound on body, life and soul, i.e. it is not possible to inflict full punishment]. In the opposing arrival in relation to both (the worlds) [when he does not perform well the things of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds] (Sarosha the Holy) comes with torment [for that renegade]. To his body [to (that) man] a ruler shall arrive [who will chastise them] who is a protection for this (saintly man) in (his) good living [i.e. his law is this that he shall afford protection to the creatures for piety] and not in evil living. At any time whatsoever, Ohrmazd is a tormentor [of the wicked].

(9) Who is that who teaches first liberality to me [i.e. who will afford discipleship to me first] since I raise him high in Thy esteem, as a lord bountiful in action and holy? Just as Ashavahisht [dedicated his body in discipleship] to Thee [who will dedicate (it) to me] and just as Ashavahisht spoke to him the Creator of the beneficent animal [i.e. it is necessary to dedicate]. I seek both these of Thee through Vohuman [as reward].

(10) O Ohrmazd, those who are men and women shall give in the world [discipleship] to me through Thy most excellent knowledge [through Thy Religion], with devotion towards him the devoted [Zartōsht], by means of the sovereignty of Vohuman [for the virtuous sovereignty which is mine], whom (i.e. those men and women) also shall I impel for your worship [for your Religion]. They all will walk forth towards the Chinvat Bridge [i.e. they are the disciples of Zartōsht and are ever worthy-of-Garothmān].

(11) They who are the Kiks and Karaps unite for sovereignty [i.e., for an impious sovereignty]. By (their) worst actions they destroy the existence of mankind [i.e. they destroy the place beyond], and they bring into torment their own souls and their own religion. When they come to that place on the Chinvat Bridge [they give (themselves) to torment and annihilation]. Their existence is in the abode of the Druj Sæculasæculorum [until the Tan-i Pasēn].

(12) When Righteousness arises among the descendants and grandsons of the Turanian (and when) they are brought forth by the Frayānas it is said [that there will be acceptance (for them) there]. With perfect devotion they promote the settlement [with diligence]. Thus they dwell together with Vohuman [in piety]. They are said to be rejoicing Ohrmazd [i.e. they speak that thing, thereby will there be delight].

(13) That man who gives willing service towards Zartosht the Spitāmān and seeks-to-please him among mortals, is worthy for being praised [when they

make him renowned. Thus Ohrmazd shall give life to him [in the place beyond]. He shall grant progress to the settlements through Vohuman [i.e. he will cause (them) to increase]. I always regard him [i.e. Vīshtāsp] as a good companion on account of your righteousness [i.e. as a friend of piety].

(14) O Zartōsht, who to thee is the righteous friend for this great magianship (or great covenant) [i.e. for this pure virtue?]. For whom is thy desire for the giving of praise [i.e. for whom is thy religion necessary when thou dost proclaim it?]. Such is Kai Vishtāsp, the hero, who when he praises Ohrmazd will proselytise even those of his house [i.e. will bring over to Religion the members of his family]. Them [who are of the Spitamans] I call to the words of Vohuman [i.e. I will incite them on to this Religion].

(15) O you who are Haōchatapa's and you who are the Spitama's I will proclaim to you that you may distinguish the offering as well as whatever is no offering [i.e. you shall distinguish the righteous thing from the wicked]. For those deeds of yours righteousness is given unto you [as reward], of which Ohrmazd gave in abundance [viz. that reward].

(16) O Frashoshtar, thither do thou go with the offering [i.e. offering is to be made in the Abode-of-Song], thou who art of the Hvova and who wilt have satisfaction with them [i.e. his is the desired reward]. His existence is in happiness [i.e. thither is his happiness]. It is there where Best Righteousness is with perfect devotion, there where is the desired sovereignty of Vohuman, there where Ohrmazd dwells in (His) abode at will.

(17) Thus that moderation shall be proclaimed by you [i.e. your religion shall be proclaimed]; Dastoor Jāmāsp of the Hvov (will not speak of) immoderation [i.e. he will not speak of that which is not manifest from the Religion]. With several offerings he proceeds to your homage with the devotion of Srosh [i.e. he declares your Religion and even devotes himself to the code-of-religious-instruction]. He distinguishes from the offering what is no offering [i.e. he gives to him whom it is necessary to give]. Wise is his moderation; this is in accordance with the truth of Ohrmazd [i.e. he is versed in the Religion of Ohrmazd].

(18) Whoso performs by himself what is best for my Religion i.e. for my discipleship] [i.e. for him in the world this one thing is best] and who (gives) unto me strength [i.e. gives wealth to me], him Vohuman will teach [i.e. will give him the reward]. Hostility (I promise) to him who creates hostility against us. O Ohrmazd and Ashavahist, I will propitiate you according to (your) desire. I will select it [i.e. Religion] with wisdom and also with thought.

(19) He who acts with righteousness towards me openly on account of that, has shown towards Zarathushtra what is his foremost desire [i.e. his desire is more than the deed]. He is deserving of reward in both the worlds. Whoso makes an acquisition for me [i.e. gives me something], with him is for all time the labouring universe. That too is my satisfaction, O Ohrmazd, when I am cognisant of this [Thy Religion].

NAMES OF PRAKRIT LANGUAGES

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona.

The primary sources for our study of the Prakrit languages, besides the huge religious and secular literatures employing these Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, are the orthodox systems of Prakrit Grammar that have come down to us from the time of Vararuci, the earliest known Prakrit Grammarian of repute.[1] It is from these grammars that we have our present system of *nomina propria* for the different MI-A. languages. The only names that were introduced in the modern works on Prakrit Grammar are Jaina Śaurasenī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, but they are new only in the sense that the qualifying adjective Jaina has been added to already existing language names.

Vararuci refers to only four MI-A. languages: Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. Hemacandra adds to these Cūlikāpaiśācī, Apabhraṁśa and Ārṣa. Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and others follow the classification of Hemacandra. Many of the subsequent works on Pk. grammar deal only with these six languages (leaving out Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī).[2] It is only when we come to Mārkaṇḍeya that we notice altogether sixteen languages as opposed to the above six.

References to the two principal religious MI-A. languages are to be found in the texts of these languages themselves. Thus Pāli[3] and Ardhamāgadhī[4] are attested in their own literatures. Not so, however, with the other Prakrits, and we have to depend upon the above grammars for defining their names and characteristics.

While most of these names of Prakrit languages refer to literary dialects, we find in some of the later grammatical works references to the non-literary dialects current in the various parts of India, many of which are now lost to us in that we have not sufficient literature surviving in them.

References to names of these Prakrit languages are also sometimes found in exegetical literature on Sanskrit Plays which employ them for the women and other characters. Thus we find Pṛthvīdhara in his commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* mentioning and defining, besides the well-known Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, the less-known Āvantī, Prācyā, Śākārī, Ḍhakkī, etc. A third source for the names of Prakrit languages is to be discovered in the extensive critical literature on Alaṁkāra, including Nāṭya and Saṅgīta works. Here also we

1. Reference may be made here to the well-known work of PISCHEL and the recently published excellent work of Mme. Luigia NITTI DOLCI, *Les Grammairiens Prakrits* (Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1938) for a comprehensive account of these grammarians and their contribution to Prakrit linguistics.

2. See AUFRECHT'S *Cat. Catal.* under *ṣaḍ-bhāṣā—°*

3. GEIGER, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* p. 1.

4. PISCHEL § 16.

find the classification of language in several divisions, their main characteristics and names.

One particular work belonging to the Saṅgīta class was recently brought to my notice by Mr. Chandra Śekhara PANT while he was working on his history of Saṅgīta Literature as a research scholar of the Lucknow University, as containing a chapter devoted to composition of songs in various languages. This is the *Gītālaṁkāra* attributed to Bharata.[1]

The fourteenth chapter, entitled *Bhāṣālakṣaṇa,* refers to forty-two different languages current probably in the days of the author, either as living speech or known through literature. What is interesting to us primarily is the list of names given to these Prakritic languages and secondarily the actual stanzas supposed to illustrate the characteristics of these languages. There are 41 stanzas of an illustrative nature, but the names of all the languages illustrated are not found there. In the introductory Sanskrit verses, however, there are hardly over 30 actually enumerated, but the author mentions in the next verse *dvi-catvārimśatiḥ proktā etā bhāṣā prasaṅkhyayā* : There is no indication of any verse having been lost, and we can only conclude that this is an imperfect copy of an original which may or may not have contained the exact list of 42 language names.

According to the introductory verses we have the following list. 1. Mahārāṣṭrī, 2. Kirātī, 3. Mlecchī, 4. (lost), 5. Somakī, 6. Colakī, 7. Kāñcī, 8. Mālavī, 9. Kāśi-sambhavā, 10. Devikā, 11. Kuśāvartā, 12. Sūrasenikā, 13. Vaudhī, 14. Gūrjjarī, 15. Romakī, 16. Mālavī (repeated, see 8 above), 17. Kānamūkhī. 18. Devakī, 19. Pañcapattanā, 20. Saindhavī, 21. Kauśikā, 22. Bhadrā, 23. Bhadra-Bhojikā, 24. Kuntalā, 25. Kośalā, 26. Pārā, 27. Yāvanī, 28. Kurkurī, 29. Madhyadeśī, 30. Kāṁvojī and 31. (lost).

In the illustrative material in these individual dialects we find the following names enumerated (the figures within square brackets referring to the number of the illustrative verse): 1. Deśī [1]; 2. Kirāī [2]; 3. Soraṭṭhiyā [3]; 4. Māgaha [4]; 5. Agolā [6?] ;[2] 6. Pañcayabhāsa [11]; 7. Mecchī [13]; 8. Kaṁvī [17]; 9. Mālivī [18]; 10. Kāsī [19]; 11. Vedī *and* 12. Kuramarī [20]; 13. Kusuma-uttaya-bhāsā [21]; 14. Sūrasenā [22]; 15. Puṁdī *and* 16. Bhojī [23]; 17. Gujjarabhāsā [24]; 18. Romaya-bhāsā *and* 19. Vaṁga [25]; 20. Meya-bhāsā [26]; 21. Mārava-bhāsā [27]; 22. Lāvaṁdī [28]; 23. Paṁca-paṭṭalī-bhaṇia [30]; 24. Kāsiyā [32]; 25. Jāraṇa-bhāsā [37]; the verses offer some problems of their own which I have not attempted to solve here. For scholars interested in MI-A. dialectology this material will be of great value if properly sifted, and I am reproducing this particular chapter from the work of which other copies have not been available to me so far, in the shape of an appendix to this paper.

Below is a list of the names of Prakrit languages as found in grammatical and other literatures :

1. See Appendix below for this work.
2. I am not sure if this is the name of the language illustrated. Hence the question-mark.

APABHRAṀŚA PISCHEL §§ 3-5, 28-29 ; three varieties : *nāgara, upanāgara* and *vrācaḍa* (v.l. *-ṭa*), § 28. Mārkaṇḍeya mentions 27 different kinds as follows : 1. Vrācaḍa, 2. Lāṭa, 3. Vaidarbha, 4. Upanāgara, 5. Nāgara, 6. ?, 7. Bārbara, 8. Āvantya, 9. Pāñcāla, 10. Ṭakka, 11. Mālava, 12. Kaikaya, 13. Gauḍa, 14. Auḍhra, 15. Pāścātya, 16. Pāṇḍya, 17. Kauntala, 18. Saimhala, 19. Kālingya, 20. Prācya, 21. Kārṇāṭa, 22. Kāñcya, 23. Drāviḍa, 24. Gaurjjara, 25. Ābhīra, 26. Madhyadeśīya and 27. Vaitāla. But for actual descriptive purposes he accepts only the three classes mentioned above. Puruṣottama[1] also follows the same classification as Mārkaṇḍeya.

ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ PISCHEL §§ 16-19. Mārkaṇḍeya mentions this under I.4 comm. and I.5.

AVAHAṬṬHA-BHĀSĀ PISCHEL §28. The word *avahaṭṭā*[1] has been used by Vidyāpati in his *Kīrttilatā* (edited by Dr. Baburam SAKESENA), and in the *Saṁnehaya-rāsaya* of Abdur Rahman[2] we find *Avahaṭṭaya* (v. 6) as the name of a language in which the work is composed.

ANDHRĪ NITTI-DOLCI,[3] p. 77.

ĀRṢA PISCHEL §§ 3, 16-17.

ĀVANTĪ § 26 ; Mk. I. 4-5 ; XI. Puruṣottama XI.

KIRĀTA *Gr Pr*. 77.

CĀṆḌĀLĪ §[4] 24 ; *Gr Pr*. 75, 77, 120.

CŪLIKĀPAIŚĀCĪ § 27 ; *Gr. Pr*. 20, 158, 170, 175 and 192.

JAINA-MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ §§ 16, 20.

JAINA-ŚAURASENĪ § 21.

JAINA-SAURĀṢṬRĪ § 20.

ṬĀKKĪ *Gr Pr*. 97, 120-3, 203. Mk. XVI ; Pur. XVI (*ṭakka-deśī*).

ḌHAKKĪ § 25.

DĀKṢIṆĀTYĀ § 26 *Gr. Pr*. 75, 77, 115.

DEŚĪ-BHĀṢĀ §§ 4, 5 ; *Gr Pr*. 73, 77, 118.

DEŚĪ §§ 8, 9 ; *Gr Pr*. 6, 70, 80, 180, 192, 193.

DRAMILĪ *Gr Pr*. 77.

ḌRAVIḌA *Gr. Pr*. 122.

DRĀVIḌĪ *Gr Pr*. 120, 122.

PAIŚĀCIKA, °*-kī*, °*-cī* : § 3, 27 ; three kinds, § 27, Mk. 1, 8, and XVIII-XX. The three are 1. *kaikaya* Mk. Pur. XVIII, 2. *śaurasena*, Mk. Pur. XIX, and 3. *pāñcāla-*, Mk. Pur. XX. See above for *cūlikā-paiśācī*. In Mk. I. 4 com. eleven kinds are mentioned from an unknown author. 1. Kāñcya, 2. Pāṇḍya, 3. Pāñcāla, 4. Gauḍa, 5. Māgadha, 6. Vrācaḍa (see under *apabhraṁśa* above), 7. Dākṣiṇātya, 8. Śaurasena, 9. Kaikaya, 10. Śābara and 11. Drāviḍa.

1. *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama, edited by Luigia NITTI-DOLCI, Paris 1938.
2. See my paper on " A Muslim contribution to Apabhraṁśa literature " in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. IV.
3. *Les grammairiens Prakrits* (= *Gr Pr*.)
4. The sign § refers to paragraphs in PISCHEL's *Grammatik d. Pk. Spr.*

PRĀCYĀ § 22. Mk. I. 4 com., 5 ; Mk. Pur. X.
BĀHLĪKĀ, °-ī § 24 ; *Gr. Pr.* 75, 77, 115, Mk. I. 4 com.
BHŪTA-BHĀṢĀ § 27 ; °*-bhāṣita* and °*-vacana*, § 27. = *paiśācika.*
MĀGADHIKA, -°ī §§ 17, 18, 23 for *māgadha-paiśācikā* see above under *paiśācī*, § 27.
MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ, §§ 2, 12-15-18.
VIBHRAṢṬA § 8.
ŚAKKĪ §§ 3, 28.
ŚAURASENĪ (v. 1. *sūra*-°) §§ 21, 22.

APPENDIX

The Ms. of *Gītālaṁkāra*, bearing the number 977 of 1887-91, is described in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Mss.* deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XII, p. 374. The present section forms the last in the whole book. The colophons of the first four chapters bear the number of the chapter, but the following nine chapters do not bear any number. As there are no other Mss. of this work mentioned by AUFRECHT the text which remains unintelligible to me in most places, is reproduced here as it is found in the Ms., omitting only absolutely illegible or partly disappeared letters. The Ms. appears to be very old.

गीतालङ्कार

[vol. 16] १६ ॥ ठ ॥ ठ ॥

महाराष्ट्री किराती च म्लेच्छी चैव तु—रिका ॥
सोमकी चोलकी कांची मालवी काशिसंभवा ॥
देविका च कुशावर्त्ता तथान्या सूरसेनिका ॥
वौधी च गूर्ज्जरी चैव रोमकी मोदसंभवा ॥
मालवी कानमूखी च देवकी पंचपत्तना ॥
सैंधवी कौशिका भद्रा तथान्या भद्रभोजिका ॥
कुंतला कोशला पारा यावनी कुर्कुरी तथा ॥
मध्यदेशी च कांवोजी—त्यमा स्मृता ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशतिः प्रोक्ता एता भाषाः प्रसंख्यया ॥
एता विमृश्य कर्त्तव्यं गीतं गीतविचक्षणैः ॥
लक्षणानि च सर्व्वेषां कथयिष्ये यथाक्रमम् ॥
संक्षेपेण समस्तं तु न शक्यं त्रिदशैरपि ॥

अथ **देशी**

रम्भीभलवो सीहो कइया तिणतद्दियषिणेयथा ।
तह हलिउं विहुवग्घो जाइत्थो (च्छो) पडम—[fol. 17] भासाए ॥ १ ॥
लिज्जाइअ अन्नेद्दिट्टं मंजिट्ठ जंजुअं मुलायत्थ ।
तह गुच्छिडं पहट्ठो सुहियं रीणं **किराइए** ॥ २ ॥
डुल्लवं अजलजुत्तं गाहुडिगाहो तरो मंडो ।
सोरट्ठियाए भणिउ तं दोहथीहउ णासो ॥ ३ ॥

अणक्कं डोअलसमउ **मागहे** भासाए पद्दभारयली ।
साह्वाला कंकोलीरूवहुंतामरं भणियं ॥ ४ ॥
मुच्छा एसा लच्छीविरहं कुसुंभजंवथं ।
डुल्लांघं अणजुत्तं तुंगी खणीधवो भत्ता ॥ ५ ॥
जाइल्लो जोइडवो पल्ली वग्धो परंसुवो सद्दो ।
आलासो विसकीडो छारो विरिवो **अगोलाए** ॥ ६ ॥
कासीरीअ पयट्टो मोरो केलो नराहिवो तुंगो ।
विच्छेएतु विलासो तह सूरो पूरणो भणियं ॥ ७ ॥
पज्जाए तासु पुरिसो दिट्ठं भणियं महीसज्ञा ।
तह पुरहिल्लं खिचं अत्तासासूहरो हीरो ॥ ८ ॥
मेहुणिहं तह भणिए तीरोपवलो अयंजुलो नउलो ।
अंपंचायाय मोरो रीहो.........मंकारो ॥ ९ ॥
गिरियंलिये विघोसंतु—पीवरो तदा भणिउं ।
सारंगो तह भसलो सारो सय उक्कवला ॥ १० ॥
पंचयभासो भणियामयण..........रो तीरं ।
गीयंगुट्ठावद्ध—उ जांजलं वच्छं (त्थं) व ॥ ११ ॥
तह वोलिया सहारो भल्लइपिसु.........सव्वेयं ।
पिंगलं तं नारी कंटारइत्तेहो ॥ १२ ॥
मेच्छीए पुलभणिउ तप्पिलिचहारा..........
गुज्जीतेलं आट्ठी जहापुल्लं ॥ १३ ॥
तुरं वाराएस सद्यो सत्थारो तहिउ तहा कल्हो ॥
.........इत्त पुष्ककाकोउ आभणिया ॥ १४ ॥
इंदवहूई दोउदासालो हरिलो ।
मायाहिउभ..........ए नरणाहो भल्लइवहलो सुराहिउ मसलो ॥ १५
वसुआवदि हुसुक्कं सद्दं पुण पुरी इयत्थं (च्छं) ॥ १६ ॥
रभिछामो असमत्थो **कंवीए** पद्दव्वमणो तुंडं ।
सूवरवयणं अरिपल्ली भणए वग्धो ॥ १७ ॥
रच्छा (त्था)—(Lost) असुलहो कूलग्धोणो अ—भणिउ ॥
उजअंतण चकुरीरं **मालिविए** मेयलो विंगो ॥ १८ ॥
लंपिउच्चातहवोरी **कासीए** पिजरी चोरी ।
चेलुं पट्टउ वारं नाहणी..........[fol. 18]......... ॥ १९ ॥
लुद्दं मोसो भणियं **वेदीए कुरमरी** तहा वंदी ॥
हेरवो तह पडहो थेणो चोरो चलंपीलं ॥ २० ॥
कुसुमउत्तयभासा—तहच्छुरीच्छुरीया मुणेयत्था ।
पिंडवलो...दवग्गो कूहं वाहापि ओजाला ॥ २१ ॥
संगाभल्लइवग्गा सापं तिक्कं च **सूरसेणाए** ।
भाइलऊं वरउरऊं अरिया असईं मुणेअत्था (च्छा) ॥ २२ ॥
कूलं सेणावच्छं (त्थं) **पुंडीए** अंवियं च विवरीरं ॥
भोजी काइरपुरिसो भडिलअसई करीनाजी ॥ २३ ॥

छिचु विभलइ असई **गुज्जरभासाए** माहरं संगं ।
वालुंकिं हुडियाजत संखलं हुसं ॥ २४ ॥
रोमयभासा भणिउ पावी सघो सहारवो वडवो ।
वंगं तहअकलंकं विसलं सज्जं वियाणेहि ॥ २५ ॥
गंदी मंगलतूरं जगरं कवचं मुणेयत्थं ।
परिघो परिवारो कलिवं कंठं च **मेयभासाए** ॥ २६ ॥
मारवभासा भणिउ धवलो सूरो अमंगलो अग्गी ।
चंपं तहविच्छुपुच्छं पुरिसो कीरो मली घुसिउं ॥ २७ ॥
इम्हो तहयव लद्दोहरिसो चंदो अकाचपउं ।
साहीलं सुपउत्तं मंकंदियहं तु **लावंदी** ॥ २८ ॥
हयमीए.........तालच्छी फारो कूउ सुहासिहं सेलं ।
उद्दासो संताउ चढेणअं लज्जियं भणियं ॥ २९ ॥
आहच्चं अंसं..........सीलं हससिअं च **पंचपट्टलीभणिए** ।
मंडलउ तह सुणउ ताही लिच्छणि सा**भिद्दा** ॥ ३० ॥
सिद्धयभासा भणिए तहा पवलो भूपियासिउ हेरो ।
दोलंवउ महोसहउंगवलं अवसेहिं संभलियं ॥ ३१ ॥
तहा **कासिया** भल्लइ दुहिया.........स्सो ॥ ३२ ॥
हिणवो पिंडारो मउली थूणी पऊमधरो ॥ ३२ ॥
सहभणाए तहच्चियगोरोगी......सीसी ।
जलणं भल्लइ दीणं हत्थो साहापवोईवा ॥ ३३॥
कु.........व इषहीरा लज्जाखलोकोणो ।
पासंडं निउवेदव्वं घीउ पहरो सइसन्नी ॥ ३४ ॥
तह कोमल यभणिउ मुखोठेरो असी विउ साही ।
गोला भणई नाई थेरो कसरो मनुं न हरो ॥ ३५ ॥
टिघी भणइ विलउ पूसो कीलोपले विअं सरिअं ॥
मल्लाणियाय जणणी पाराए अट्टिया वहिणां ॥ ३६ ॥
(क)
जारणभासा.........ऊ [fol 19] गोडु खिली तहा वेशा ॥
—ल्लिरि भल्लाई ससवो कुहुणी रच्छा (त्था) महो जत्तां ॥ ३७ ॥
.........सुणह वाकुरीए सेट्ठो (lost......) होत घो ।
अलुअंगो कलपन्नो सवलोणचलोफरोक.........॥ ३८ ॥
भण इंदवीरं रामं **शिमभासाए** वारिअं पीअं ॥
लंवोसा (lost).........कुट्टिलिद्दोलासर.........भणइ दोरो ऊं
कंडोव कंचुजाईए ॥ ३९ ॥
संखोवंदीहजीहो गावो कसलो मलो भीलो ।
.........उद्दाए गेयं भल्लसुकलंतुली वीणा ॥ ४० ॥
तोलो तहय पसारो मुच्छाणयलो भणिऊं ॥ ४१ ॥
इति भाषालक्षणमध्यायः ॥ १४ ॥
इति **भरतकृतं गीतालंकारं** वादिमत्तगजांकुशं समाप्तमिति ॥

DATE OF SĀGARANANDIN

By

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It is well known that Dr. Sylvain LÉVI, the great oriental scholar of Paris, discovered Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭakaratnakośa* in Nepal and his pupil and friend Dr. M. DILLON, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Dublin, has recently edited the text. Though based on a single manuscript the edition has been excellently brought out. Owing to a corrupt text in the original in a number of places there appear to be some lacunae. The learned editor has promised to issue a companion volume containing the English translation and an elaborate introduction. This interval has given some chance to the readers of the work to express their views on it.

There are indeed very few works on dramaturgy in Sanskrit. Besides the ten kinds of dramatic composition (*daśa-rūpakas*), there exist at least twice the number of these of quite a distinct nature (*uparūpakas*). Bharata's *Nāṭyaśātra* (chs. 18 to 20),*Daśarūpa, Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Sāhityasāra, Bhāvaprakāśa, Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Alaṅkārasaṅgraha* (of Amritānanda), *Rasārṇavasudhākara, Sāhityadarpaṇa, Nāṭakacandrikā,* etc., are considered to be the best works in dramaturgy yet available. The first six are more original in their treatment, extensive and replete with details. Excepting Bharata's work the others date roughly from 1000 A.D. Abhinavagupta the great expounder of Bharata's work, gives us previous ideas on the ten *rūpakas* in his commentary on chaps. 18 to 20. He was a contemporary of Bhoja of Dhārā and it is even surmised that the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of the latter might have evoked his criticism on certain topics. Abhinava criticises the views of the older writers on the subject and gives his own decisions (*siddhāntas*) but Bhoja rearranges the older conceptions on a new basis and giving definitions of Bharata adduces profusely and precisely examples from ancient authors. *Daśarūpa* (of Dhanañjaya) and *Sāhityasāra* (of 1100 A. D.) only define categories in dramaturgy while *Bhāvaprakāśa* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* are mere collections of masterly opinions on the subject with examples in the case of the latter work.

One is curious to know what the state of dramaturgy was before 1000 A.D. and whether any definite stage of progress was reached by the great writers of the 11th century (Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava). *Nāṭakaratnakośa* seems to satisfy such curiosity to some extent. This note confines itself to the question of the date of Sāgaranandin, its author, as could be determined from the evidence external and internal.

Sāgara quotes from the works of Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Bhāsa, Viśākhadeva, Bhavabhūti, Śrīharsha, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Brahmayaśassvāmin, Rājaśekhara, besides *Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Rāghavābhyudaya, Kundamālā,* etc. Of the known writers in this list Rājaśekhara of 920 A. D. has the lowest date. Sāgara quotes

from *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (I. 31. line 3072) and mentions a scene from *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (line 324—gṛdhrāṇaka is in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*)—where the text appears to have lacunæ.

Brahmayaśassvāmin (quoted by Sāgara, lines 3042, 3066, etc.) is the author of *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, a prakaraṇa, where Nandayantī, the heroine, is subjected to great physical and mental agonies. Brahmayaśasvi was probably of 820 A.D., a Kashmirian contemporary of Bhavabhūti and Yośvarman of Kashmir. Ānandavardhana quotes from Puṣpadūṣita without name. Thus the upper date of Sāgara is limited by that of Rājaśekhara, i.e., to 950 A.D.

Now for the lower limit. The examples given by Sāgara for various Śṛṅgāraceṣṭas are found in the *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśri, under the same categories; but in *Ratnakośa* examples are given for all categories while Padmaśrī illustrates only a few.[1] The date of Padmaśrī is not settled definitely and it is still doubtful who is the borrower. The same illustrations are given by Subhūti (in his commentary on Amarakośa Kaṇḍa I) and by Kumbhakarṇa in his *Rasaratnakośa* (Anubhāva parīkshaṇa). Subhūti quotes both the definitions (*lakṣaṇas*) and examples as given by Sāgara. Kumbha gives lakṣaṇas from Bhikṣu (that is, Padmaśrī) and examples from *Ratnakośa* (Sāgara's work). This differentiation would make us infer the priority of Sāgara to Padmaśrī.[2]

The following writers have mentioned or quoted from *Ratnakośa* :— Subhūti,[3] Sarvānanda,[4] Jātaveda,[5] Rāyamukuṭa,[6] Kumbhakarṇa,[7] Śubhaṅkara,[8]

1. It may be doubted whether, as Padmaśrī never gave any example for any of his definitions, his commentator, Jagajjyotirmalla, the King of Nepal, added them to the work borrowing from Sāgara's *Ratnakośa.*

2. After defining लीला Kumbhakarṇa proceeds :—तत्र रत्नकोशादुदाहरणावली लिख्यते यथा and gives the sloka illustrated by Sāgara, Padmaśri and Subhūti.

3. Subhūti quotes in his Amara's commentary Kāṇḍa I, lines of Ratnakośa 2233-6, 1882-3, 1885-6, 1893-4, 1937-41, 1953-54, 1917-21, 1988-9, 2825-9, 1911-2, 1933-34, 1956-57, 1964-5, 2603, 2680-2, 2645-50, 2685-88, 2676-9, 2610-11 etc. (Page 115 of Ms. G. O. Mss. Library).

4. Sarvānanda Kāṇḍa I, (p. 147) तदुक्तं रत्नकोशे etc. cf. *Ratnakośa* lines 2822-2830.

5. Jātaveda (T-2-15 G. O. Mss. Library, Madras p. 131) शृङ्गारवीर etc. (lines 2822-2830) इति रत्नकोषः चकारात् शान्तोऽपि गृहीतः ॥

6. Rāyamukuṭa I. 1. 7.

7. Kumbhakarṇa quoted above.

8. Śubhaṅkara in *Saṅgītadāmodara* :—

सङ्गीतचूडामणिरत्नकोशसङ्गीतसर्वस्वनटोरगीषु ।
वसन्ति सर्वे च गुणाः प्रयुक्ता मुक्तावलीनारदशारदासु ।
शुभङ्करः संवृतमादरेण सङ्गीतदामोदरमातनोति ॥

Here शारदा is the work of शारदातनय. नटोरगी was mentioned by a Śaiva writer of the 12th century (Keśirāja).

Jagaddhara[1] etc. Of these scholars, the first four have referred to Ratnakośa in their commentaries on Amarakośa, the other three in their treatises on Saṅgīta Nāṭya.

Of these writers, Sarvānanda (1153 A.D. ?) quotes from *Nāṭakaratnakośa* as well as from *nighaṇṭu Ratnakośa.*[2] Sarvānanda's quotation from *Ratnakośa* is in Sāgara's work. Subhūti quotes amply from *Ratnakośa;* all the examples given under Śṛṅgāra-ceṣṭas and many other definitions given by Sāgara are found in Subhūti's commentary.

Sarvānanda seems to have freely borrowed from Subhūti and this fact can be established by a close examination of both the commentaries. Śaraṇadeva who gives his date as 1179 A.D. quotes from Subhūti whose lower date falls about 1150 A.D. Subhūti quotes also from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Cittapa's (Bhoja) *Bhūpālacarita, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Anargharāghava* etc.[3] Cittapa and Bhoja are contemporaries (1000 to 1060 A.D.) and Murāri of the drama has to be assigned to 1050 A.D.[4] Thus Subhūti must be placed between 1060 and 1150 A.D.[5] Thus the lowest date for Sāgara would be about 1060 to 1100.

Internal examination of the work carries him to an earlier date, i.e., before 1000 A. D. Before such evidence is adduced and examined, the nature of Sāgara's treatment of dramaturgy deserves mention for the benefit of those who have not yet read the work. He treats of Nāṭaka (the perfection of the ten rūpakas) at length and relates the general conceptions of the other nine kinds and of the uparūpakas which writers like Kohala designate geya-

1. Jagaddhara (probably of 1450 A.D.) quotes frequently from *Ratnakośa* in his commentary on *Mālatīmādhava* and *Mudrārākṣasa.* He mentions among his authorities as—

दशरूपं रत्नकोशं भरतोक्तादिकं तथा ।
सङ्गीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति श्रीजगद्धरः ॥

2. The authorship of *Nighaṇṭu Ratnakośa* is not known. Śubhaṅkara quotes a line from *Ratnakośa* which is probably a Kāvya.

The main division of *Saṅgītamīmāṁsā* of Kumbhakarṇa are called *Ratnakośas* as Nṛttaratnakośa, Gītaratnakośa, etc. But Jagaddhara, Kumbha's contemporary, and Śubhaṅkara referring to Nāṭakalakṣaṇa mean Sāgara's work. Kumbha does not treat of Rūpakās in his *Saṅgītamīmaṁsā.*

3. Subhūti's Ms., p. 156 यथा चित्तपस्य भूपालचरिते, p. 24 सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे, p. 48 शृङ्गारप्रकाशे (identified in Prak : VI), p. 31 अनर्घराघवे (पुरालोपामुद्रासहचरमुनेराश्रमपदं...)

4. Murāri is assigned to a period earlier than Ratnākara based on a verse in Haravijaya wherein the word Murāri occurs. There in the double entendre the word can only mean Viṣṇu as जगन्नाटकसूत्रधारी. Great authors like Bhoja, Abhinava, Kuntaka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka who are later than Ratnākara have not mentioned or quoted from Murāri. The earliest writers who mentioned Murāri's drama are Subhūti, Śāradātanaya (1150), Bahurūpa, etc.

5. The editor of the Tibetan translation of Subhūti's commentary places him earlier than 800 basing on Kṣīrasvāmin who mentions Subhūti. This Kṣira is wrongly identified with his Kashmirian namesake who lived in 820. There was another Kṣira, the pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja, Amara's commentator who mentions Subhūti is of 1100 A.D.

Kāvyas (dramatic pieces involving song and dance). Nāṭya is a general term embracing all the kinds. Sāgara names his authorities thus :—

श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्त-
गर्गाश्मकुट्टनखकुट्टकबादराणाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य
घुष्टं मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ॥

Here the use of the singular *matena* suggests that there is much unanimity among the opinions of Harṣavikrama, Mātṛgupta, Garga, Aśmakuṭṭa, Nakhakuṭṭa and Bādara, and Sāgara professes to compare Bharata's views with theirs. Bharata is the oldest in the list and the others must have departed from his views. Sāgara points out the differences.[1]

Sāgara summarises the categories in a nāṭaka thus :—

पञ्च पञ्च चतुष्षष्टिश्चतुरष्टैकविंशतिः ।
षट् त्रिंशन्नवतिर्यत्र तदाहुर्नाटकं बुधाः ॥ (1850–9)

Śāradātanaya gives the same śloka but reads चतुः पञ्चैकविंशतिः and explains—

Arthaprakṛtis	5 (Bīja, bindu etc.)
Avasthās	5 (Ārambha, prayatna etc.)
Aṅgas	64 (Upakshepa etc.)
Vṛttis	4 (Bhāratī etc.)
Sandhis	5 (Mukha, pratimukha etc.)
Sandhyantaras or Pradeśas	21 (Sāma etc.)
Lakṣaṇas	36 Bhūṣaṇa etc.
Gītāṅgas	90 (Lāsyaṅgas of Bhāṇa 10.) (Vīthi—13). (Śilpaka 27). (Bhāṇika 7). (Nāṭaka 33).

Thus Śāradātanaya also enumerates and illustrates 230 members of various dramatic compositions[2] and Sāgara dwells in addition on the charac-

1. Harṣavikrama seems to be the patron of Matṛgupta if Kalhaṇa can be relied on. Śrīharṣa and Vikrama can be assumed as two different writers. Vikrama as a writer on dramaturgy is not yet known from any reference. But Harṣa's views are quoted in the description of Toṭaka by Śāradātanaya in his Bhavaprakāśa (तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक्) Nakhakuṭṭa is mentioned by Bahurūpa in his commentary on *Daśarūpa* in describing Toṭaka. Bādara appears to be Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa) who condensed four upavedas including Gāndharvaveda all in about 10,000 ślokas. For Āyurveda section now available extends over 2,000 granthas while that upaveda is said to be of 20,000 slokas. Garga is the author of a Saṁhitā encyclopediac in the subject-matter.

2. Bhoja enumerates 256 for ten rūpakas, which include 4 patākāsthānas, four-fold division of the four vṛttis, 5 Āmukhāṅgas, five-fold division of arthaprakṛtis, but omits the aṅgas of śilpaka, bāṇikā and 33 alaṅkāras of Nāṭaka, increasing the number of Lakṣaṇas from 36 to 64.

teristics of the hero and heroine with their companions and on the nature of the rasas and bhāvas.

A few of the peculiarities of Sāgara's work are noted below to show that internal evidence may place him not only prior to Subhūti but to Dhanañjaya (980 A. D.), Bhoja (1030) and Abhinava (1040 A.D.).

1. Abhinava, Dhanañjaya and Bhoja use the paribhāṣā words of Bharata in the same technical sense in dealing with the various aṅgas; but Sāgara uses entirely different words or forms of the same word, as *pradeśa* for *Sandhyantara, Ullāpya* for *ollopya, lāsya* for *naṭana* etc.

2. Categories or aṅgas differ from those of the *Daśarūpa* school.[1] In 33 vyabhicāribhāvas śauca is substituted for supti,[2] ancitam for prapañca and many in śilpakāṅgas,[3] Vaimūḍhaka for Trimūḍha and dvimuktaka for dvimūḍha in lāsyāṅgas.

3. Sāgara permits the use of a contemporary king as hero in the plot of a drama. Abhinava does not recommend a contemporary plot as the dramatist is disabled from adhering to the true trend of events and from imparting ethical instruction by creating a perfect ideal.[4]

4. Definitions are interpreted by Sāgara in a brief and unsatisfactory way and it indicates that he had not the benefit of the great advance made by Abhinavagupta and others. If Sāgara read Abhinava's commentary and still held different views he ought to have criticised Abhinava's interpretations and maintained his opinions.

5. His readings from Bharata's text are very deficient or vague.[5]

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1. Though Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava are grouped together as against Sāgara's wider departure, there are minor differences among themselves. In this note Daśarūpa school is used for brevity's sake to include the three writers.

2. Sāgara enumerates 33 Sañcāris taken from Mātṛgupta, who reads वितर्को व्याधिरुन्मादो मरणं शैाचमेव च, that is, substitutes शौच for सुप्ति of Bharata (VI. 19 to 22). Sāgara defines शोच (l. 2090) thus—उत्तमानां श्रुतिशास्त्रविवेकैः तद्दमशमसत्यादिभि : । Abhinava who reads सुप्ति for शौच comments on the word only. Sarveśvara reads vibhrama in the same list जडता मरणं स्वप्नविषादौत्सुक्यविभ्रमाः ।

3. Śilpakāṅgas of Sāgara are taken from Mātṛgupta to whom Amṛtānanda also owes his source. Śāradātanaya leaves off प्रथन, बोधन, अप्रतिपत्ति, विलाप, वाम्या, चमत्कृति of Mātṛgupta and substitutes आतङ्क, नाट्य, प्रमाद, प्रमद युक्ति, and प्ररोचना retaining the number 27.

4. Cf. Sāgara (l. 51-2) वर्तमानमपि नृपतेर्महाभूतस्य (हाद्भुतस्य ?) कविबुद्धिप्रकर्षादासादितबीजबिन्द्वादिकं यदि भवति भवत्येव नाटकविषयम् . Abhinava views thus (XVIII-12) अत एव प्रतीतिविघातस्य वैरस्यदायिनः संभवो यत्र यत्र तन्नाटके नोपनिबद्धव्यम् । तेन वर्तमानराजचरितं चर्वणीयमेव, तत्र विपरीतप्रसिद्धिबाधयाध्यारोपस्याकिञ्चित्करत्वाद्योगानन्दरावणादिविषयाध्यारोपवत् । एतदर्थमेव प्रख्यातग्रहणं प्रकर्षद्योतकं पुनः पुनरुपात्तम् ।

5. There are numerous instances. One is shown below at random :—
बन्धुजनवियोगजनित उद्वेगः (l. 3081). This is one of the aṅgas of Śilpaka. This must be distinguished from उद्वेग of sañcāri list and from that of दशावस्थाः. In the above definition substantive for जनित is not stated.

6. He follows Kohala in assigning rasas to vṛttis and not Bharata. Kohala according to Abhinava based the distribution on the nature of the expression. Daśarūpa school distributes the same on the conduct of the characters in the scene.[1]

7. In lāsyāṅgas Sāgara's definitions and interpretations differ from Abhinava's though both of them profess to follow Bharata. For instance Sāgara says of Geyapada :—

तन्त्रीभाण्डोपबृंहितमासने संनिविष्टया नायिकया गीयते । यथा गौरीगृहे मलयवती—उत्फुल्लकमलकेसरेत्यादि पठति ।

Abhinava condemns it as तच्चेदमसत् । and exposes those who advocate it to ridicule (nāṭya : Vol. III. p. 67). Sāgara simply copied Śaṅkuka's view.

In defining स्थितपाठ्य Sāgara has यच्च पञ्चपाणिना युक्तं भौमचारीपुरस्कृतं चर्चरीपाठभूषितं[2] लासिकया प्रयुज्यते स्थितपाठ्यं तत्. But Abhinava's text reads :—

प्राकृतं यद्वियुक्ता तु पठेदात्तरसस्थिता ।
मदनानलतप्ताङ्गी स्थितपाठ्यं तदुच्यते ॥

and condemns the older reading thus :—अन्ये तु बहुचारीयुतेन चच्चत्पुटेनोत्तरेण यत् स्थितपाठ्यमिति लक्षणं कुर्वन्ति तत्पूर्वमेव निरस्तम् (Vol. III. p. 69).

The older reading condemned by Abhinava is :—

बहुचारीसमायुक्तं पञ्चपाणिकलानुगम् ।
चच्चत्पुटेन वा युक्तं स्थितपाठ्यं विधीयते ॥

This is the reading in most of our MSS. of Nāṭyaśāstra. Śāradātanaya who follows Mātṛgupta has :—

चच्चत्पुटादिना वाक्याभिनयेन विना कृतम् ।
भूमिचारीप्रचारेण स्थितपठ्यं तदुच्यते ॥

चारी is a foot-pose in motion and is either a त्र्यश्र or चतुरश्र used according to वीर or शृङ्गार gait to display. Abhinava rejects the reading on the ground

1. Kohala has—वीराद्भुतप्रहसनैरिह भारती स्यात्
सात्त्वत्यपीह गदिताद्भुतवीररौद्रैः ।
शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरपि कैशिकी स्या-
दिश्रा भयानकयुतारभटी सरौद्रा (1059-63)

Abhinava referring to the third line says :—यत्तु शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरिह कैशिकी स्यादिति कोहलेनोक्तं तन्मुनिमतविरोधादुपेक्ष्यमेव । तस्य तु यत्र यत्रानुल्बणा चित्तवृत्तिः सा सा कैशिकीत्याशयः (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, Vol. II, p. 452). Later writers like Vidyānātha followed Kohala, Sarveśvara agrees with Abhinava.

2. चर्चरीपाठ in Sāgara's edition is an error for चच्चत्पुट. The original Ms. reads चर्चरपुट as a scribal error. चच्चत्पुट is a चतुरश्रताल while पञ्चपाणि or उत्तर is of त्र्यश्र nature.

that in the real world (लोकधर्मी) no chārī either त्र्यश्र or चतुरश्र accompanies conversation.[1]

In many of the above cases Sāgara seems to follow Harṣa, Mātṛgupta, Rāhula etc., while Dhanañjaya, Abhinava and Bhoja have interpreted on a more psychological or logical basis adhering to reality (लोकधर्म).

Bharata does not treat of Uparūpakas; Kohala simply names them.

Sāgara in defining them paraphrases in prose the definitions of Mātṛgupta while Amṛtānanda quotes them verbatim.[2]

Trilocana, whose date is not determined, in his Nāṭyalocana, borrows from Sāgara many of his examples which are not found elsewhere. For example—

हस्ते कर्णस्य का शक्तिः क्षसमध्यगतोऽस्ति कः ।
परैः किमधितिष्ठन्तो न वाच्याः शक्षिणो हृताः ॥

It is a puzzle on the word वासवदत्ता हरणम् offered for solution probably by Sūtradhāra to Naṭī in a drama of that name.

From the foregoing evidence it may be assumed that Sāgara represents an earlier school than that of Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava. Hence he appears to have lived prior to them; had he been later he would have followed or criticised their views. It may be said that he was their contemporary and stuck to his views disregarding them. The closer one studies Sāgara the stronger grows the impression that he was prior to Daśarūpa school.

Even if the internal evidence is not very convincing, his date cannot fall later than that of Subhūti (1080 A.D.). Nānyadeva whose lower date according to Gaya Insc. is 1080 mentions *Ratnakośa* twice on desī gīta (हंसी and चित्रा) in his *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṅkāra*. The references are probably to one of the other productions of Sāgara.

Sāgara was a descendant of Mukuṭeśvaranandin, and probably a Kṣapaṇaka.[3] He seems to have written a drama presumably *Jānakīrāghava* and

1. In defining lāsyāṅgas Sāgara's school was followed by Śāradātanaya, and Amṛtānanda. Subhaṅkara quotes from both the schools. Great writers like Bhoja, Aśokamalla, Kumbha, and Nānyadeva follow Abhinava's school of thought.

2. An example may be sufficient to explain the point. Sāgara describes Prasthāna thus :—अथ प्रस्थानम्—घटचेट्यादिनायकं, कैशिकीवृत्तिबहुलं, बहुताललयात्मकं सुरापानराजितं, विटोपनायकं, दासादिनायकं च; यथा शृङ्गारतिलकम् ।
Amṛtānanda has :—

दासादिनायकं दासीनायकं घ्यङ्कमीरितम् । कैशिकीवृत्तिबहुलं बहुताललयान्वितम् । सुरापानसमायुक्तं तथा हीनोपनायकम् । विलासोद्दिष्टसंयुक्तं प्रस्थानमिति कीर्तितम् । निदर्शनमिह ज्ञेयं शृङ्गारतिलकाह्वयम् ॥ (काव्यालङ्कारसंग्रह–IX),

3. Sāgara means that Nandin and Nagna (naked) are synonymous. When referring to the appellations of dramatic characters, he recommends the names ending in Nandin to Kṣapaṇakas and Bhikṣus (नन्द्युत्तरपदा वाच्या क्षपणा भिक्षवस्तथा). Again

various *Ratnakośas* in rhetoric, saṅgīta, nighaṇṭu, etc. The following verse is presumably from the prologue of one of his dramas :—

नाटकं कैर्गुणैः श्लाघ्यं ये हरन्ति सतां मनः ।
क्व तेषां दृष्टमुत्थानं रत्नकोशकृताविति ॥ (l. 1191)[2]

It has been suggested that Sāgara was a Kṣapaṇaka and followed Rāhula, a Śākyācārya. Sāgara was quoted mostly by the writers who inhabited Oḍhra, East Magadha, Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Dakṣiṇa Kosala countries. Daṇḍin speaks of certain Eastern school of rhetoric (पौरस्त्या काव्यपद्धतिः). This school seems to have a tinge of Buddhist logic and philosophy about it. Later writers like Bhoja and Abhinava defended the Vaidika sciences (i.e., those based on the Veda-prāmāṇya) and quoted mostly from writers who upheld the Vaidika renaissance against the Buddhist, Cārvāka and Kṣapaṇaka developments. Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māyurāja, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara etc., were staunch Vaidika poets.

There appears to be an Eastern school in various Śāstras in Sanskrit other than rhetoric and dramaturgy. For instance the Prābhākara school is more rational and he is accused (by Jayanta) of importing Dharmakīrti's views in Vedic school. Prabhākara, and his host, Śālikanātha, Bhavanātha, Bhavadeva hail from the Eastern parts of India. Similarly Gauḍapāda in Vedanta, Nārada in music, Viśvambhara in Śilpa, and certain writers on Tantra offer us material for postulating an Eastern school of thought differentiated materially from the school which may be termed Pāścātya including Kashmirian, Mālava and Dākṣiṇātya endowments to Indian thought.

in a quotation from *Jānakīrāghava* given by him, Nandin means a naked being :—

अवज्ञानं ब्रीति क्षितिधरसुतायाः कपिरसी-
त्यधिक्षेपो नन्दिन्यथ रघुपतेर्दारहरणम् ।
अमी दोषाः सर्वे ध्रुवमधिगतोत्पातकटवः
करिष्यन्ते घोरं व्यसनमधुना राक्षसपतेः ॥ (l. 803-806)

Again in defining चूलिका, Sāgara quotes from Kohala—

यथा पटीमध्यगतैः सूतमागधवन्दिभिः
अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र क्रियते सा हि चूलिका ॥

and comments thus—सूताः सारथयः, मागधाः स्तुतिपाठकाः, वन्दिनो नमाचार्याः Nowhere is found वन्दिनो to mean नमाचार्याः, probably Sāgara read it as नन्दिभिः in the verse in which as it is often quoted some scribe would have altered it as वन्दिभिः.

1. The same verse is repeated in lines 2916-17 where instead of Ratnakośa, devalatta occurs. Trilocana in his *Nāṭyalocama* reads the same verse with Kālidāsa kritan in the fourth pāda. Devadatta is a general name like John Bull. Ratnakośa is probably the original reading. Kālidāsakritan would bring a new *Nāṭaka* to our notice, which is not very probable. Kuntaleśvaradautya and Mālatikā (a vīthi) are already to his credit but not available.

ŚVETADVĪPA IN PRE-CHRISTIAN CHINA

By

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Ever since A. WEBER directed the attention of orientalists and historians of religion to the Śvetadvīpa-legend in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* the question of its origin has been discussed by a great number of Indianists. WEBER's identification of Śvetadvīpa with Alexandria was not shared by anybody else. But that the legend has something to do with Christianity has been supported by so many scholars that even GARBE, in 1905 still upholding the theory of an Indian origin, sided with the majority in 1914.

By the arguments brought forth by W. J. CLARK[1] and KASTEN RÖNNOW[2] the question was settled. All the characteristics of the white people living north of Mount Meru have been proved as being purely Indian. "The points of contacts with Christianity must be rejected" (RÖNNOW).

If Indianists had been able to demonstrate that the notion of a pious white people far in the north was already known in pre-Christian times much time and acumen could have been spared. Unfortunately this was obviously impossible to prove by the data at their disposal.

This conclusive proof is furnished by a number of passages from Chinese sources.

The essential features of the legend may be summarized as follows (according to GARBE): The white, brightly shining inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa are supernatural beings; they have no senses, live without taking food, are sweet of scent, and sinless; their luster makes sinful men blind; they adore the one invisible god Nārāyaṇa in their hearts by low murmuring of prayers and constantly folded hands; they are filled with the highest love for him.

A white people is spoken of by HUAI-NAN-TSŬ in the *Shan-hai-ching*, in LÜ PU-WEI's *Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu*, and in the *I-chou-shu*.

HUAI-NAN-TSŬ, who died in 122 B.C., in the series of people living "beyond the (four) seas from Northwest to Southwest" also mentions the White People. The others are the Longlegged, the Heavenly, the Shu-shen, the Wu, the Female People, the Male People the Onelegged, the Onearmed, and the Threebodied (chapter 4, 11a/b). From this list alone we may suppose that this white people is no more real than the rest (whereby we may justly exclude the Su-shen).

In an almost equal enumeration in chapter 7 of the *Shah-hai-ching*, treating what is "beyond the seas in the West", we read :

1. *JAOS* 39 (1919), 209-242.
2. *BSOS* 5 (1928-1930), 253-284.

" The kingdom of the White People is north of the Lungyü. They have a white body and wear their hair open. They have Sheng-huang that look like foxes with horns on their back. They ride on them. They reach an age of two thousand years."

This is not the place to inquire into the relations between HUAI-NAN-TSŬ and the *Shan-hai-ching.*[3] Whatever strata in the text of the *Shan-hai-ching* as handed down to us may be distinguished it is to be remembered that it was commented on by KUO P'O (276-324 A.D.). Not taking into account minor additions and omissions the text was fixed at the latest in the third century A.D.

In the West, too, lives the White People acc. to *Shan-hai-ching* ch. 16; in the East, however, acc. to ch. 14. In the latter passage it originated from the mythical emperors Ti Tsün and his son Ti Hung and belongs to the clan Hsiao. The chapters 14-17 may, with perfect safety, be considered as the latest part of the *Shan-hai-ching.* Their tendency to connect even the fabulous peoples with Chinese emperors and Chinese clans dates them at a time when Chinese imperialism claimed the sway of the world and considered all nations as subjects, that is after Ch'in Shih Huang-ti.

The characteristics of the White People in the older chapters of the *Shan-hai-ching* are therefore: white body, possession of Sheng-huang, living in the far West, north of the Wu-people. The kingdom of the White People is north of the Wu (HUAI-NAN-TSŬ, loc cit.); the Lung-yu live north of the Wu (*Shan-hai-ching* ch. 7, 5a).

Sheng-huang are the tribute given by the White People to king Ch'eng according to *I-chou-shu* ch. 59, 7a. To whatever part of the patched-up Wang-hui-chapter this passage has to be assigned is of no importance to us. It is quoted by KUO P'O.[4] He identifies the Sheng-huang[5] with the " Flying Huang", and that is correct. The Flying Huang appears with other fabulous beings when the world is following the Tao, the right way (HUAI-NAN-TSŬ ch. 6, 9a). In the reign of the virtuous emperor Shun Sheng-huang-horses came forth from the ground (*Chu-shu-chi-nien,* LEGGE, *Shoo-king* prol. 115). HUAI-NAN-TSŬ ch. 8, 20b says that in olden times under the reign of virtuous rulers the earth produced Sheng-huang, but that nowadays they are not seen any longer.

The White People is therefore a people given to Tao, a pious people.

3. *Asia Major* 1 (1924), 564-565.

4. G. HALOUN, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer.* Leipzig 1926., p. 116.

5. I believe that formerly not the sheng-huang but the lung-yü were regarded as the riding-animals of the White People. An analysis of the Shan-hai-ching led me to the conclusion that the nucleus of the chapters 6 to 9 was a simple enumeration of names of peoples and fabulous beings, later enlarged by descriptions of pictures illustrating them and finally presented as a geography.

Lung-yü " dragon-fish " is, as shown by the variants, the etymologization of a non-Chinese name (*lung-yü, ling-yü, ling-kü, pang-yü,* pointing to **plung-kiwo*)

And this people is immortal. It reaches immortality by riding on the Sheng-huang (cf. KUO P'O's commentary to *Shan-hai-ching* ch. 14, 4b). That was the mean by which Huang-ti became a hsien (see the commentary to *Han-shu, Li-yo-chin* 22, 13b).

In the above quoted article (see note 3) I proved the identity of the Wu with the Uttarakuru. The Kientree is the Jambū-tree. It yieldes clothes, its leaves shine and glisten, its fruits remove all maladies (loc. cit. 572-578). The White People lives north of the Kientree acc. to LÜ PU-WEI's (died 235 B.C.) *Lü-shin-ch'un-ch'iu* ch. 13, 4b.

We have thus in China, in pre-christian times, the white, righteous, pious people, north of the World Tree. All essential features of the Śveta-dvīpa, therefore, are pre-christian.

I close with references to statements of several ancient authors that, as far as I can see, have not been thought of as connected with our subject. A CONRADY[1] presumed the White People spoken of in the *Shan-hai-ching* might be a slight proof of a knowledge of India. It reminded him of KTESIAS' Pandare and of MEGASTHENES' Pandai. CONRADY, as LASSEN, connected these names with *pāṇḍu*, white. If actually these names contain *pāṇḍu* and if a white people be really meant thereby then we understand why the Pandare-Pandai are long-lived (annos ducentos vivere, PLINIUS, nat. hist. VII 2, 28) and most righteous (Nicol. Dam. 145).

1. *ZDMG* LX, 345.

NEWLY DISCOVERED DURGĀ-PĀṬHA MINIATURES OF THE GUJARĀTI SCHOOL OF PAINTING

By

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Durgā Māhātmya—a non-sectarian text.

The Caṇḍī-Māhātmya,[1] though concerned with the exploits of the goddess Caṇḍī, curiously enough does not form a part of the Pauraṇic texts sacred to the Śākta sect, namely the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, and the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, which are taken as *Upa-purāṇas*. This fact clearly testifies to the non-sectarian nature of the Caṇḍī-Māhātmya, which comprises of 13 Adhyāyas (Adh. 78 to 90 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*). The same episode is, however, found expanded to 35 Adhyāyas in the Fifth Skandha of the *Devī-Bhāgavata.*

Its popularity in Gujarāt.

It is this non-sectarian character of the contents of the Durgā Māhātmya that has led to the prevalence and popularity of the theme, which is a panegyric to the glories of Śakti—the mother, protector, and the benefactor of the human race. Love, in its various spiritual forms thus permeates the cult of Kāli-Durgā in Gujarāt, where she has lost most of her terrible phase and has become the Sweet Mother of the Universe—our Madonna.

Subject-matter of Durgā Māhātmya.

The Durgā-Devī Māhātmya describes in great details the furious fights in which the goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly expression. She devours unnumbered foes and drinks their blood. It also deals with the exploits of the Goddess Caṇḍī, who killed the Buffalo-demon, emanated as she was as the spirit of light from Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the minor deities of the Olympus, who had contributed to the formation of the Mahādevi's limbs, as well as her ornaments and weapons.

The narrative.

The story runs that there was a king by the name of Suratha of the line of Caitra, who was driven away from his kingdom by powerful enemies and treacherous friends and who rode alone on horse-back to a dense jungle, knowing not what to do. There he met a Vaiśya by the name of Samādhi, who had been robbed by greedy sons and selfish wife. Both Suratha and

1. The text is variously known as "Devī Bhagavatī Māhātmya" or "Devī Māhātmya," "Durgā Pāṭha," "Caṇḍī-Pāṭha" or shortly "Caṇḍī" and also "Saptaśatī" (comprising of 700 verses).

Samādhi sought the hermitage of the Saint Médhas for the solution of their troubles and the attainment of mental peace. The Saint narrates the exploits of the Goddess, by whose grace both of them got the desired boons.

A mahākāvya on the subject by a Gujarāti poet.

The earliest literary reference to the Devī-Māhātmya episode in Gujarāt is the poem "Surathotsava"[1] by Someśvaradeva the reputed author of the historical panegyric, *Kīrti-Kaumudī*, a Nāgar Brāhmin from Vaḍnagar, who was honoured as Gurjareśvar Purohita during the reigns of two Hindu sovereigns Bhīmadeva and Viśaladeva in the 13th century A.D. It is a Sanskrit poem of 15 cantos in the style of Mahākāvya woven round the incident of king Suratha's banishment, who ultimately recovered his kingdom through the boon of the Devi, whose Māhātmya he heard, and by his devotion appeased her.[2]

Absence of Brāhmanical illustrated mss. on palm.

All the illustrated mss. of Devī-Māhātmya so far traced in Gujarāt belong to the second period of Western Indian Painting i.e. the paper-period from 1400 A.D. onwards.[3] Barring the Jaina and Buddha miniatures on palm of the First Period (1150-1400) no illustrated Brahmanical ms. on palm has yet to my knowledge, come to light.

Prolific sources of miniature-painting in Gujarāt.

The most prolific sources of materials for the school of Early Western Indian Miniature painting are decidedly the numerous palm and paper mss. of two Śvetāmbara Jaina works entitled the *Kalapasūtra* and the *Kālakācārya Kathā*. To this, however, may be added the equally popular series of the *Devīmāhātmya* and the *Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha* mss. that we come across in Gujarāt, lying scattered over several private collections, now in custody of Brāhmin families of old literary tradition.

Oldest known miniatures on paper.

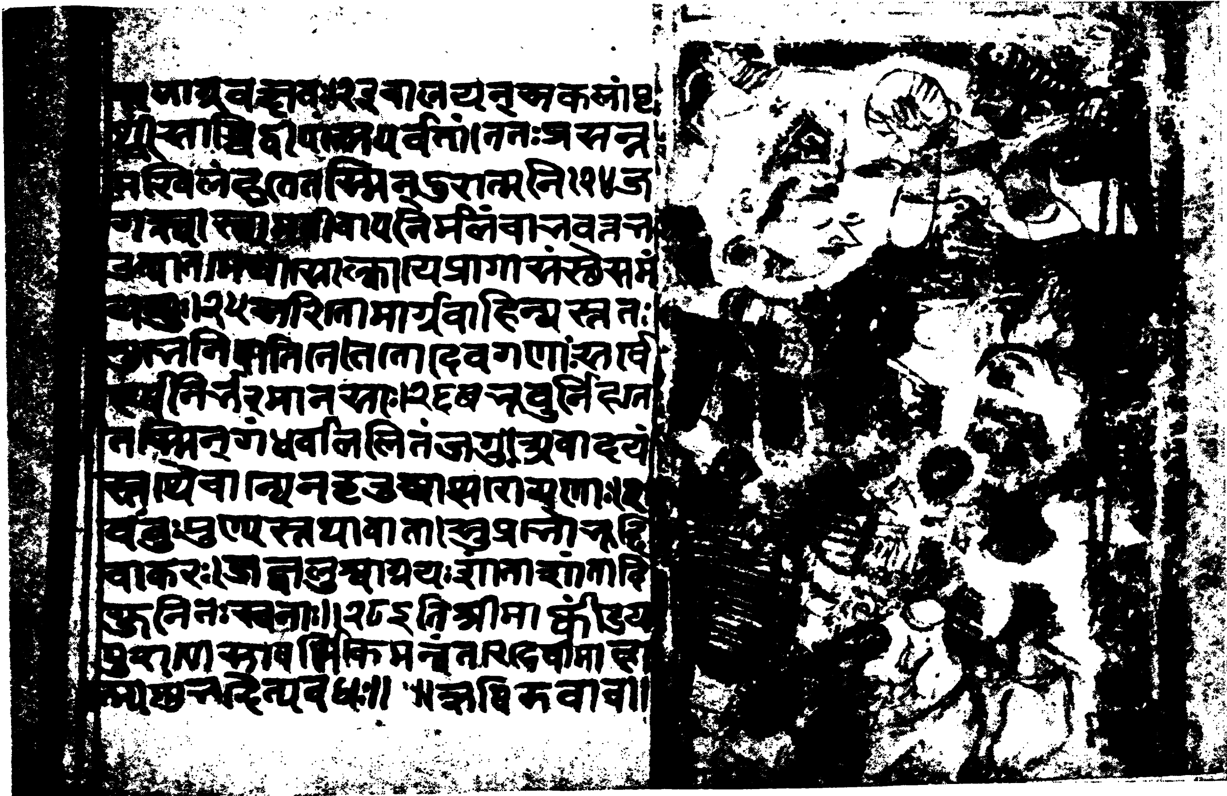
The Devī-Māhātmya miniatures, introduced through this paper, are the oldest known Indian painting on paper bearing on the Śakti legend, representing an almost hitherto unknown school of Indian art, based on old traditions, and carrying us back at least a century and a half further (i.e. of the beginning of the 15th century) than the oldest available examples of Rājput and Mughal pictures on the same theme.

1. Published in the "Kāvya Mālā" series.

2. The popularity of this theme is found to be catching even during the modern times in that it has been utilized as an epilogue to a Mahākāvya in Gujarāti. This poem is "Śānti Sudhā," by the late Pandit and Poet Chhoṭālāl N. BHAṬṬ of Baroda, Published in 1869.

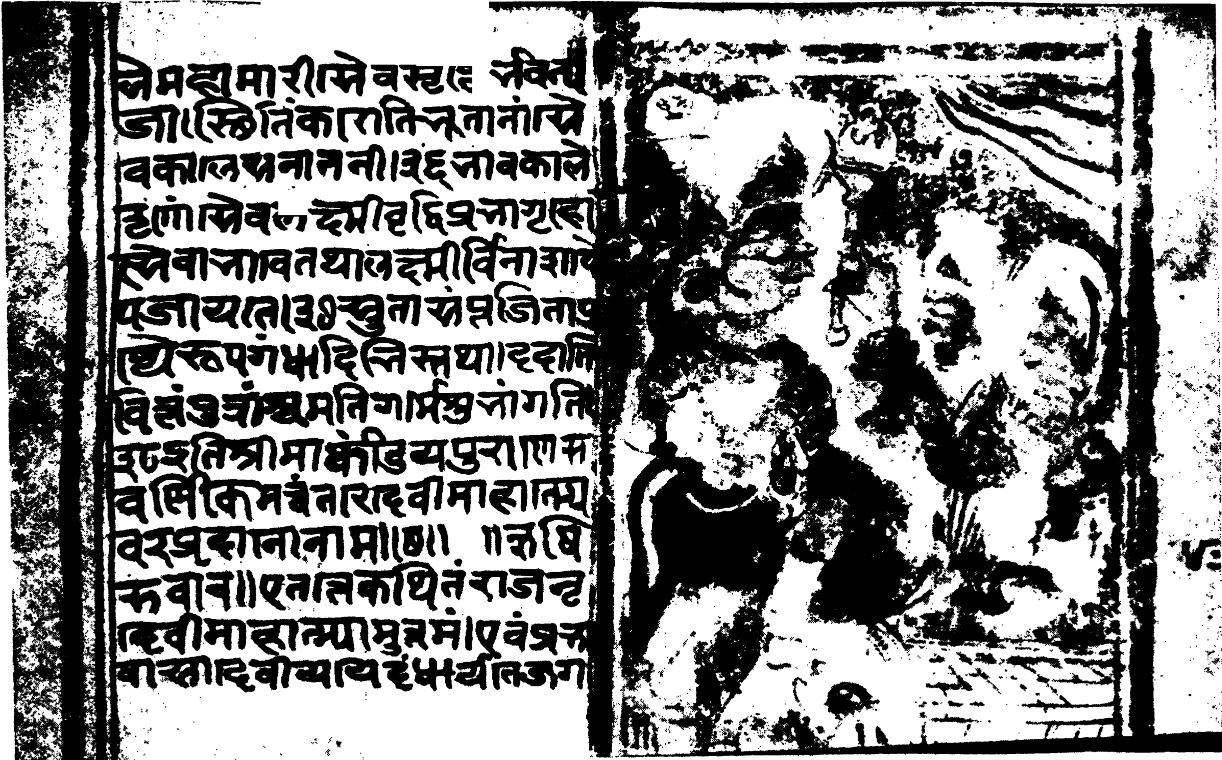
3. For the discussion of the Periods of "Western Indian Paintings" see the Story of Kālaka edited by Prof. W. N. BROWN (1933, Washington) pp. 13-24; ch. II styled "Miniature Painting in Western India: 12th to 17th century."

PLATE



Fight with Śumbha

PLATE



GRANTING OF NS TO KING SURATHA AND SAMĀDHI VAIŚYA

The discovery of the earliest series of Devī-Māhātmya miniatures.

The earliest paper ms. dealing with the episodes of the "Glories of the Goddess"—"the Devī-Māhātmya" is an incomplete ms. with about 35 folios which includes 12 miniatures, done in pure Gujarāti style. It was first discovered by me in 1934.

The following four illustrations will give a fairly good idea of the original.

Condition of the miniatures.

The condition of the miniatures is deplorable, the colours having all but worn out including even the brick-red back-ground. However the outline is in high relief and gives an adequate idea about the draughtsmanship of the artist. We are incidentally reminded of some of the panels from the *Vasanta Vilāsa* scroll, which are irreparably damaged. This series is important as being a valuable addition to Hindu miniatures of the Paper Period in the pure Gujarāti style i.e. from 1400 A.D. to about 1650 A.D.

The size of the folio is 7½″ × 4½″ with the miniature-panal to the right-hand, which generally measures 3″ × 4″. It has 14 lines in the page, and the writings are uniform. The fact that the scribe uses *pṛṣṭhamātrā* invariably in the ms. gives some antiquity as to its age. The ms. being incomplete we have no direct evidence as to its date. However the miniatures might have belonged to the 15th century A.D. at the latest, irrespective of other facts like the stylistic grounds.

Plate I.

Fight with Śumbha.

When Śumbha learnt the news that his commander-in-chief Dhūmralocana was killed and his army totally destroyed by the furious lion—the carrier (Vāhana) of the goddess—he himself entered the field riding on an elephant (Adhyāya 10) to face the goddess.

The figure of the goddess (folio 28 reverse) is depicted in full action, all the four hands being busy doing their might. The delineation of the lion, to be seen by her feet is done in a conventional manner. The style resembles one come across in figures given among the "fourteen dreams" of Triśalā in the illustrated mss. of the *Kalpasūtra.*

Plate II.

Granting of boons to King Suratha and Samādhi Vaiśya.

King Suratha and the merchant Samādhi, before whom the sage Médhas narrated the various episodes (*caritra*) and exploits of the goddess, as a result regained their peace of mind and they then practised penance and worship of the goddess. As a consequence they succeeded in appeasing the Goddess, who in her turn gave them what they wanted—the lost kingdom was given back to the banished King and highest knowledge leading to salvation was given to the Vaiśya, who was driven away from his home by unkind relatives.

In the miniature Suratha and Samādhi,—both shown with a halo,—are standing with folded hands before the Almighty yet kind Goddess. The conventional sky and the Devi's vehicle—lion—are also shown there.

Plate III.

Brahmā and Viṣṇu meeting the Mahādevi.

Brahmā with four faces and bearded accompanied with four-handed Viṣṇu is seen in front of the Goddess, obviously praising the Mahādevi, who is shown seated in *Vīrāsana* pose, but has a quiet and majestic look. In two of her upper hands she holds a *Vajra* and a *Khaṭvāṅga,* the lower left hand holding a lotus, and the right being in the *varada mudra.* The conventional cloud figures, here also, on the left hand top.

Plate IV.

Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa being taken by Cāmuṇḍā in two of her eight hands.

The standing figure of the eight-handed goddess (folio 30) came to be known as 'Cāmuṇḍā,' on account of her extraordinary exploit, viz. she carried in two of her hands both Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, seizing them by their locks of hair. The self-complacence on the face of the Goddess is remarkable in the miniature. The two wretches being carried in her mighty hands, held so as to face each other, add to the grandeur and almightiness of her figure.

A narrative Art.

As already noticed, the art of Western Indian Painting, as manifest in Jaina and Hindu specimens, ranging from the 12th to the 17th centuries, is essentially a narrative medium and obviously intellectual rather than aesthetic in its motives. Their chief occupation is to illustrate the incidents as related in the text. Apart from the function of story-telling, they display a peculiar character in their drawings, nervous yet calligraphic, facile yet restless, and they have a charm quite their own.

This narrative art is as though it were a folk-art converted to the purpose of religion, used to illustrate legendary stories from the Epics and the Purāṇas, and as such it is not hieratic to the same degree as the cult image, but it is a dramatic presentation comparable to the stage.

An Art of Drawing.

It is evident from the bare outline that has survived the colours, (now deplorably worn out in many of the miniatures of this Devī-Māhātmya ms.) that it is the outline that establishes all the facts of the narrative. Though the colouring is strong and brilliant at places, still one feels that it is less essential than the drawing. The composition, though formal and traditionally fixed with abundance of details gives a valuable picture, as the presentation is characteristically linear.

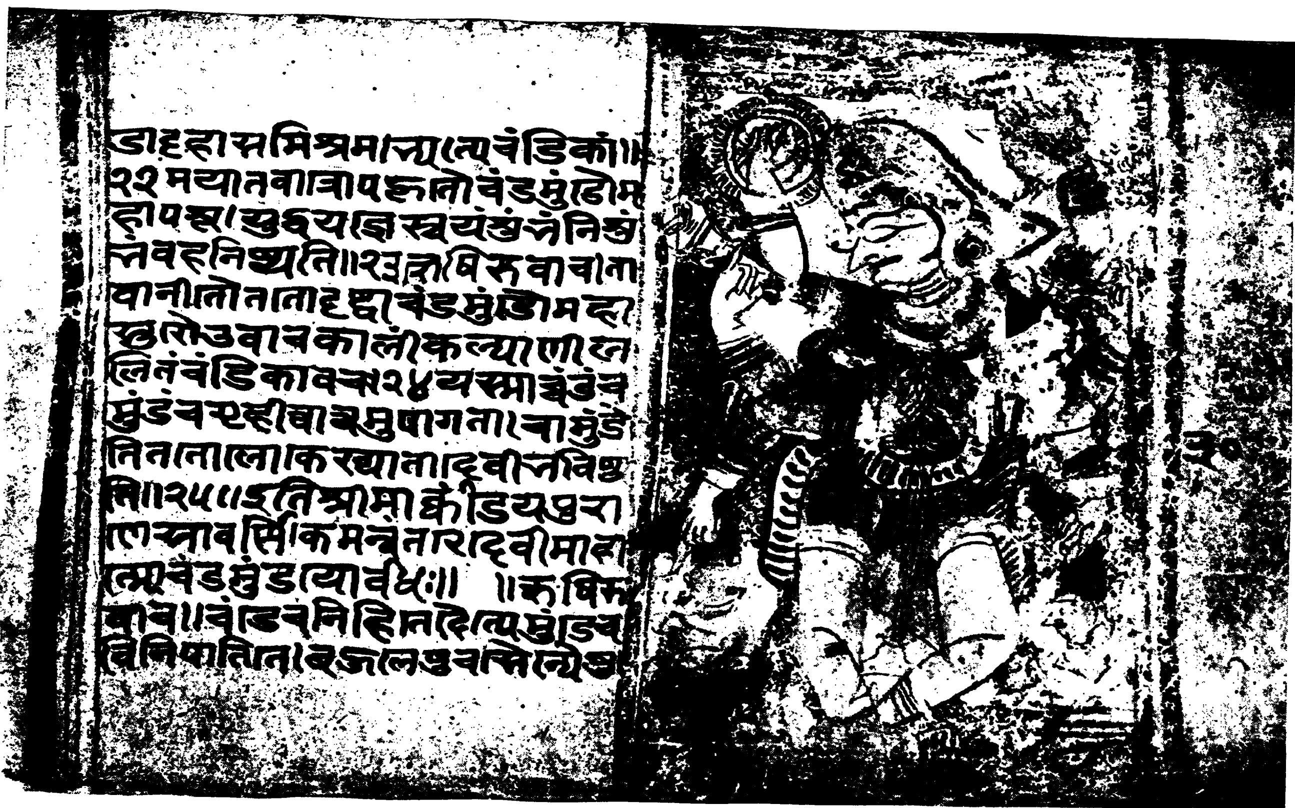
The pictures are brilliant statements of facts and at times expressive of emotions from the story of the Devī Māhātmya, and every event is told in the

PLATE III



Brahmā and Viṣṇu meeting the Mahādevī

PLATE IV



CAṆḌA AND MUṆḌA BEING TAKEN BY CĀMUṆḌĀ IN TWO OF HER EIGHT HANDS

art of symbols. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity ; text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same fact.

Landscape clouds.

A typical peculiarity of Indian Painting is the kind of perspective known as 'vertical projection,' whereby the landscape is presented as seen from the height, so that the horizon almost reaches the upper edge of the frame—nearly to the top of the page, leaving only a narrow strip of dark sky, in which are depicted heavy storm-clouds. This is characteristic of early Gujarāti and Rājasthāni painting alike, and may be regarded archaic ; but it is anything but Persian or Chinese in manner.

The fondness of clouds is visible in the early series of the Devī-Māhātmya, (Plates II & III) where they appear in layers, curved and indented in shuffled surfaces, each slightly modelled, in about half dozen miniatures ; and the planes are differentiated in the sense that the object or figure behind or at a distance is represented as above it.

Stereotype forms.

This is one of the reasons why these Gujarāti paintings became somewhat stereotyped, common in motif and composition—particularly in angular features of the human faces and types. The scenes depicted from one story are bound to be common, as each artist seems to have reproduced those known to his predecessors, and naturally the depicting of new scenes was a rarity. This does not mean, of course, that the art had not varied in style, nor that the details of costume, architecture and manners did not largely reflect the painter's own environment nor that there is no diversity of merit in these mediaeval works. However, as time went on, new ones were conceived, and the latter mss. contain sometimes twice as many scenes as this earlier one. In any case, we see here a purely Indian Art derived from old traditions.

Some peculiarities.

The miniatures of the earlier series have all the strongly marked characteristics in the peculiar angular physiognomy of the men and women, and in the extraordinary drawing of the big eyes, which are unduly elongated and often projected to the nose and even beyond. Generally there is no attempt at individual portraiture or definition of facial expression ; the emphasis is almost wholly on the movements of hands and feet.

The study of Durgā Pāṭha.

The episodes narrated in the Devī-Māhātmya and the occasional panegyrics to the glory of the goddess refer more to the controlling of brute-force by the Soul-force of the kindest yet the cruellest of women—the Mahādevī—which is the Supreme Power. The real *Devī-Yuddha* is the destruction of egotism, pride and self-seeking with the power of God that is in us and acts through us. The study of the text and the paintings of the Devī-Māhātmya is, therefore, believed to lead to this ideal, if properly understood.

Jaina Representations of the Goddess.

The Jainas in Gujarāt are not averse to Śakti-worship ; however, they do not allow Śakti the place of principal reverence as creative energy of the world. And generally speaking, figures of women are in the background in the Śvetāmbara Jaina miniatures of the Gujarāti school, as they naturally play a restricted part in the lines of the Jinas, appearing mainly as their mothers. But representations of the glorified super-woman—Śakti—are met with in Jaina miniatures on palm as Vidyādevis, Śrutadevatās and the Yakṣiṇis of the Tīrthaṅkars, which disclose points of identity in respect of names, attributes vāhanas, etc. with those of the Ṅavadurgās mentioned in the *Durgāpāṭha.*

The Gujarātī Style of the Miniatures.

The style of these representations of the Vidyādevis has been faithfully handed down, without any alteration upto the paper-period of the Hindu miniatures in the Durgāpāṭha Ms. illustrated above. The horizontal *tilaka* with a circular mark in the centre on the forehead, the tuft of hair artistically twisted in curls so as to touch the cheek, the peaked *mukuṭa,* the circular *kuṇḍalas,* the three-fourths profile of the face, with the other eye elongated shown in relief, the pointed nose and the roundness of the face, not to talk of the halo, and other minor accessories—these are facts sufficient to establish direct relationship and continuity of the older tradition in representing female figures as super-women. The facial expression, the drapery, ornaments, etc. of the male figures playing a subordinate rôle in the text describing the "Glories of the Goddess" such as Viṣṇu, Brahmā, demons, and their messengers, warriors, etc. are of the conventional type, with no special points of distinction between one another. The miniatures in this Ms. in short, exhibit all the marked peculiarities of style and manner going by the name of the "Gujarāti school of miniature-painting," which is in evidence from the 12th to the 17th century, after which it is more or less modified by Mughals and Rajput influences.*

* For a fuller treatment of these miniatures the reader is referred to my paper on "Earliest Devīmāhātmya miniatures with special reference to Śakti-worship in Gujarat" in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Calcutta, for 1938 (published in April 1939).

OLD-TAMIL *PARI*

By

PIERRE MEILE, Paris.

The Tamil word *pari* as a noun is no more used in the common language; it belongs to Old-Tamil. The verb *pari-dal* itself is not very common; practically it appears only in one expression: *parindu* with an adverbial meaning: "with partiality, with a prejudice in favour of a person".

For *pari* as a noun, the *Tamil Lexicon* gives the following meanings: (1) Motion, gait; (2) Speed, rapidity, quickness; (3) Pace of a horse; (4) Horse; (5) The first *nakṣatra;* (6) Wooden horse used as a contrivance for directing the course of water; (7) Height, elevation; (8) Greatness; (9) Blackness, darkness; (10) Delusion, deception; (11) Cotton plant.

As it is often the case in Tamil dictionaries, we can hardly conceive how a single word can have so many different meanings. Those various meanings are either derived from one fundamental notion or quoted by ancient dictionaries without being backed by proper references.

The verb *pari-dal* means "to move, to run, to run about". Ta. *ōḍudal*: *māvē, parandoruṅgu maleinda maḷavar polambeindār keḍap-paridalin. Puḷanāṉūṟu,* 97, 11-12 "the horses,—because they ran about, so that the beautiful and green garlands be spoiled, (the garlands) of the gallant men who gathered in a large number and fought.."

"In Kannada, the verbs *pari* and *hari* also mean "to run", sometimes "to flow" or "to move about, to creep", speaking of a snake, of an ant (cf. KITTEL, *ad. VV. cit.*) A Sanskrit etymology of this word has been recently proposed by Professor Jules BLOCH. (*F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume,* p. 34).

Ta. *pari* as a noun is the corresponding name of action; it means "motion". It can be translated by "pace, gait, gallop": *alaṅguleip parī-i yivuḷi* (*Puḷa.* 4, 13) "the horses with the shaken mane (or plume) and the gallop"—or "the horses shaking their plume, as they are galloping".

We observe that this word, in most of the instances, is more particularly applied to the pace of a horse. Not only is the horse described in the above quotations, but it occurs also in all the instances we have been able to collect from the *Puḷanāṉūṟu* and the Ten Idylls. The word *pari* as a noun is generally preceded by an epithet which describes the motion: *vaṇbari neḍundēr pūṇga nin māvē* (*Puḷa.* 146, 11); comm. "*vaḷaviya selaveiyuḍeiya..*" "may your horse be attached to the great chariot which has a great speed." Also *pāyparip puravi* (*Madureikk.* 689) "the horses with leaping steps" *pāyparik kalimā* (*Neḍunalv.* 179).; *kaḍaṟpariya kalimāvum* (*Puḷa.* 55, 7)

"the proud animal with impetuous steps". Compare *kavarparip puraviyar* (Silap. 5, 159).

A special mention must be made of the word *nimir* used in connection with *pari*. "*Nimirparip puravi* (*Paṭṭinap*. 185, etc.), is generally understood as "the horses with increased speed". I would rather suggest: "the horses walking with a straightened head." Still *parinimirndu* (*Madureikk*. 387) does not seem to support my suggestion.

We come to the conclusion that *pari* is: "the way, the manner in which a horse walks or runs", that is "the gait". We can sometimes translate by "the gallop".

One controversial point is: how *pari* has been given the meaning of "horse"? In some commentaries and lexicographical works, *pari* is considered as the equivalent of *kudirei*.

At first sight this meaning seems to be attested in a few ancient texts; but it appears more than doubtful when we examine those texts carefully. In *tuneipari, turakkuñ celavinar* (*Mulleip*. 102) the commentary understands "the one who is hurrying, driving his fast running horse". We suggest that *pari* should not be isolated from *tunei*: it is not *pari*, but the complete word *tuneipari* which can be considered as an equivalent of *kudirei*.

Tuneipari "with a rapid gait" is a compound similar to *nimirpari, pāypari, vaṇpari*. This epithet can be used as a noun, Tamil grammarians would say "as *anmoḵittogei*." In this *pari* retains its original meaning "*gait*." *Tuneipari* is "the one with a rapid gait," that is "the horse."

I have not been able to find in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* or *Pattuppāṭṭu* a single instance of *pari* having by itself the meaning of "horse."

Still this meaning has developed later: in *Sūḍāmaṇi Nigaṇḍu* (3, 10) *pari* heads the stanza where the equivalents of *kudirei* are enumerated; we find a clear instance in *Tiruvāsagam* 8, 3; *pandambaṟiyap parimēl* "on a horse that has run away." Also *vilāḵi parittānei* (*Puṟapporul Veṇbā*, 4, 22). I have not been able to find many instances of this use of *pari*, but I think it is quite common in mediaeval and poetical literature.

We can easily imagine how *pari* has come to mean "horse": the intermediate stage must have been the use of *anmoḵittogei*-words like *tuneipari*. Only the beginning of this evolution belongs to the earliest literature, where *pari* always retains the meaning of "motion, gait." The final stage—"horse" —has not been reached earlier than in Middle-Tamil.

Let us finally mention that in the ancient works the usual names of the horse are: *kudirei, ivuḷi, puravi, mā*. *Kudirei* has survived in Modern Tamil. *Mā* does not mean properly "horse"; it is a common designation for a four-footed animal (a deer, an elephant). The names of the horse which belong specifically to Old-Tamil are *ivuḷi* and *puravi*.

NOTES ON AN OLD PASHTO MANUSCRIPT, CONTAINING THE KHAIR-UL-BAYĀN OF BAYĀZĪD ANSARĪ

By

G. MORGENSTIERNE, Oslo

We learn from RAVERTY[1] that 'Shaykh Malī Yūsufzī, in A. D. 1417, wrote the "History of his tribe and their conquests in the Peśhawer Valley, etc."... This is the earliest work I have been able to discover; but of course it must not for a moment be inferred that previous to this there was no Puśhto literature. On the contrary Ākhūnd Darwezah mentions...that in his time (about A. D. 1600) there was a celebrated book entitled "The Pure" which had been in the possession of the Yūsufzīs for some centuries past?—RAVERTY also mentions another history in Pashto, written by Khān Kajū, Rārrnizī 1494 A. D., and informs us that he has in his possession Pashto works which were composed many years before and during Akbar's reign (A. D. 1555–1604).

Unfortunately none of these pre-Akbarian Pashto works known to RAVERTY have been quoted in his grammar or included in his Chrestomahy or among his Translations, nor have I been able to find out what has become of these very interesting ancient Pashto manuscripts in his possession. The most ancient Pashto work made accessible is still Ākhund Darweza's Makhzan-ī-Pashto[2], published in Peshawar, by DORN in his Chrestomathy, and, in extracts, by RAVERTY in the Gulshan-i-Roh. According to DORN his mscr. "was arranged in (A. H.) 1614 (read 1014!) = (A. D.) 1605 by Abdulkarīm, another son of Akhūnd Darwēzah."

Akhūnd Darwēza wrote in defence of orthodoxy against the arch-heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the Pīr Rōshan or "Saint of Light" of his own adherents, the Rōshanians, and the Pīr Tārīk or "Saint of Darkness", of his opponents. According to the Dabistān[3] "it was in the year of the Hijira 949 (A. D. 1542/3), that Miyàn Róshen gained strength and established his sect," and he died in A. D. 1585[4].

The tenets of his sect are known mainly from the Dabistān, and from the malicious quotations[5] and gross invectives of Ākhūnd Darwēzah. Dr. LEYDEN[6]

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1. A Dictionary of the Pukhto, etc., II ed., p. XV.

2. Also called Makhzan-i-Islam, or Makhzan-ul-Asrār, V. DARMESTETER, *Chants populaires*, CLXXXVII, and the preface to RAVERTY's Gulshan-i-Roh.

3. Tr. Shea and Troyer, III, 41.

4. DARMESTETER, *Chants populaires* CLXXXV.

5. E. g. the frequently repeated sentence: *dā 'aurate di gulūna, gul ham har cok būyawīna* "women are flowers and everyone may enjoy the fragrance of a flower."

6. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI, 363 sqq.

has given an interesting account of this heresy, which has played a great rôle among the Pathans, and which may still have its secret adherents on the North-West Frontier. But no part of his original work has been known.

In 1926, however, Sir E. Denison Ross kindly drew my attention to, and put at my disposal a manuscript of Bāyazīd Ansārī's Khair-ul-Bayān, belonging to him. He thought it might be of interest as well on account of its subject as on account of its age. According to the Persian colophon the manuscript was written by Faqīr Bahār Ṭūsī, a disciple of Pīr Rōshan, and was finished on Wednesday the 20th of Ramazan, A. H. 1061 (A. D. 1650). It is older than any of the Pashto manuscripts belonging to the India Office or the British Museum (of which the most ancient is the Dīwān-i-Mīrzā, B. M. Or. 4228, from A. H. 1101), though it yields in age to DORN's mscr. of Ākhūnd Darwēza. On the other hand Khair-ul-Bayān is the most ancient work hitherto known in Pashto, and it is of interest as well for the history of this language, as on account of its being an original work of the famous heretic. Unfortunately the time at my disposal for examining the manuscript was very limited, as I was leaving London. Besides, my unacquaintedness with Muhammedan Theology and its terminology, as well as my inexperience in reading Pashto and Persian manuscripts rendered the task of copying and interpreting the text rather difficult. I did, however, copy a number of passages at random, and I venture to hope that a few remarks on the work and some extracts from it may not be without interest, and that they may induce a competent scholar to take up the work of editing and translating the whole book.

The mscr. contains 167 leaves and is written in the Nastaʿliq character. According to tradition[7] Khair-ul-Bayān was composed in four languages. And we actually find several Persian and Hindustani passages in the introduction, while Arabic quotations are frequently inserted into the Pashto text. Persian notes, in a different hand, are written in the margin.

The orthography is remarkable in several ways. With the works of Ākhūnd Darwezah, our mscr. shows a tendency to omit final و , ی and ه, even the hā-i-zāhir. Thus, e. g., حرفون *harfūna,* and ḥarfūno; وة *wata*; نشته, نشت *nista*; باس *bāsī*; اسپ *aspe* زز, زژه *zṛə (h),* but usually اوبه *ōbəh*, لیوه *lewəh,* etc. Characteristic of Khair-ul-Bayān is the frequent writing of several words in one, e.g. خویهوبدی = خوي هوی دی *xōē hawī dai*; پشپیڐیر کرزی *pa spē ḍēr garzī*; پکسیمی *pa kṣē mē.*

For the sounds peculiar to Pashto the ordinary symbols are used in the case of ح with three dots above for *c, ts*[8]; ر and د with a ring below for *ṛ* and *ḍ*; س with dot above and below for *ṣ*. We also find ك with a ring

7 V. Leyden, op. cit., p. 415.
8 The same symbol is used in Khorasmian. There may be a direct connection between the usage in the two Eastern In. languages.
9 Cf. the Alphabet fol. 4 r.

below for *g*, but the ring is frequently omitted. But Pashto *j* (*dz*), *ẑ* and *ẓ* are written د with dot below, ر with dot above and below, and و with dot inside, instead of ordinary ح with three dots above, ژ and ر with dot above and below.

The same orthographical peculiarities are found also elsewhere, thus in the British Museum Dīwān of Mīrzā. According to RAVERTY[10] Mīrzā Anṣārī was a descendant, probably a grandson of Pīr Rōshan, and his orthography may be due to a family or sectarian tradition[11].

The circumstance that all Pashto consonants have got their separate sign in the Khair-ul-Bayān, and that some of these are the same as those employed by Ākhūnd Darwēzah, points to a previous literary tradition. It is not conceivable that this defender of the faith should, even in matters of orthography, have borrowed from his despised opponent.

By birth Bāyazīd was an Ōrmuṛ from Kaniguram in Waziristan[12]. But he does not write in the Waziri dialect of his birthplace. His language conforms in the main with that of the ordinary, "classical" literature, based apparently upon the Mohmand-Yusufzai type of dialect, but fixed at a time when Northern Pashto still distinguished between *ṣ* , *ẓ* and *x* , *g*.

Thus forms such as لار 'road'; گبین 'honey; وائي 'he says'; نور 'sun', ستا 'thy', *jmā* 'my', *ghwaẓ* 'ear', *calōr* 'four', *warbu* (*ẓ*) *ṣē* 'barley' are normal, northern forms. The corresponding Waziri forms are *lyār* : *gēmnē*; *wyaiyī*; *lmēr*; or *myēr*; *ē tō* (*d ə tō*); *emō*; *ghez*; *ghoz*; *calwēr*; *ṛēbəṣe*,) which cannot have developed from the northern ones in recent times. Nor does *nūnd* 'wet' agree with Waziri *līmd* (<*nūmd*), but it is found e. g. in Afridi, and from it is derived the ordinary literary form *lūnd*. نمسی 'grandson' may as well be an older form of Waz. *lmsai* as of the usual literary form *nwasai*. *Ḍar* 'fear' is not a common word in the literary language, but it is found in many dialects besides Waziri, and ستر 'big' corresponds not only to Waz., but also to Afridi, etc. *stər*. I have come across one word only which clearly betrays Bāyazīds origin, viz. *taṣtan* (ordinary Pashto *caṣtan*) 'master', a form found also in Ormuṛi of Kaṇiguram, where it is evidently a loan-word from Pashto, although the Waziri form given by Lorimer is *cəštan*.

Bāyazīd does not employ the archaic and poetical form *kāndī* 'he does' 'they do' ' nor the 3rd prs. in-*ina*[13], both of which are common in Ākhūnd Darwēza's works. In accordance with other early Pashto texts and with some

10 Selection from the Poetry of the Afghans, p. 51.

11 According to RAVERTY Mirzā commenced writing poetry about A. H. 1040 (A. D. 1630). In an ode composed A. H. 1081 (A. D. 1670) Khushhal Khān says that Mirzā was dead long ago. Cf. BIDDULPH, Afghan Poetry, ۳۲ and Transl., p. 76.

12 V. Makhzan-ul-Islām, DORN, Chrest. ۱۱ ; B. M. Or. 6274, f. 117v.; I. O. 2792, f. 137 a.

13 But note *bāyawīna* in the verse quoted Akhund Darweza.

of the more archaic dialects of to-day, the plurals in *-una* have an oblique form in *-o*, not in *-ūno*. Thus *kabuna* 'fishes' *-psuna* 'goals': obl. *psō*, *kabō* (but once in my extracts *harfūno.*) Similarly *firiṣtagān* 'angels', but da *firiṣtō.*[1]

A plural form to be noted is اس, آس, probably to be read *āsə* 'horses', instead of *āsuna*. Cf. Wanechi Pashto *lāstə* 'hands', as against standard Pashto *lāsūna*. Also obl. pl. *namūno* 'names' is probably a more archaic form than standard Pashto *nūmūnō* (cf. *Wrūn* 'thigh', pl. *Wranū na*).

Regarding the pronouns we may mention the aberrant form هغ *ehgha* = هغ, هغه *hegha* (*h*) 'that'. In the same sense is used هوي *havi* or *havē* (?), probably derived from the well-known Iranian pronominal stem *ava*, but hitherto unknown in Pashto. For test, the pronouns appear to be of the ordinary type. Thus, e. g. *dā* 'this', pl. *dūl*, obl. pl. *dūl*, *dīō*.

The vocabulary of the mscr. does not present any striking peculiarities. Note however, *zyaṛ-zar* 'gold' (ordinary *srə-zar*); ژوال *żowāl* (?) 'morsel'; *kṛandar* 'action'; '*aurata* 'woman'[2].

The present writer is not competent to discuss Bāyazīd's theology or the characteristics of his heresy. To a reader initiated in the details of Islamic doctrine his heterodoxy is not very prominent, at any rate not in the parts of the book which I have looked through. According to Ākhūnd Darwēzah Bāyazīd's heresy consisted in the following theses[3]:

1) God is all in all; all existing objects are only forms of the deity.
2) Pīrs are the great manifestations of divinity.
3) The sole test of right and wrong is obedience to the Pīrs.
4) Those who will not receive the precepts of a Pīr, are in the situation of brutes and may be killed.
5) Human souls transmigrate.
6) Korán and Hadís are not to be interpreted literally.
7) This mystic sense of the law is only attainable by religious exercises and the instructions of a Pīr.

I have not come across passages referring to transmigration or to the worship of Pīrs, which are among the chief tenets of the Roshaniya Sect according to Ākhūnd Darwēza. But the pantheistic tendency is very much in evidence. The work acknowledges the authority of the Koran and contains sections on the nature and attributes of God, and gives detailed rules about ablutions, fasts, almsgiving and tithe, and other religious duties, after the manner of other Muhammadan handbooks.

It is perhaps not only an accident that Bāyazīd belonged to the Ōrmuṛ tribe, which is said to have been converted to Islam at a recent date, and

1 Cf. my Notes on Wanechi *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, IV, 164.

2 Never *saja*, but this may be due to the specifically theological style of the work. cf. Waziri *vratīna* 'wife' < '*auratīna*.

3 V. Leyden, op. cit. 420.

whose very name—rightly or wrongly—has been explained as corresponding to Persian Chirāgh-Push "fire-extinguishers" with allusion to the peculiar and *disreputable* ceremonies attributed to them.

In the vocalized transcriptions underlined a, i, u, stand for vowels written in the original, *a, i, u,* etc. for those supplied by me. ō, ē represent و, ی of the text, while *o, e* have been added. Initial ā- stands for (ا) but *â* for آ. ḡ represents a ك which ought to be read *g*, and underlined *ẓ* an original ژ

For typographical reasons I have given some specimens of exact transliterations of the consonants, instead of the original texts in Arabic script, which would have entailed the use of special letters.

The translations are in several cases conjectural and provisory.

Au Bāyazīd wu·kaṣ hagha ḥarfūna či pa hara žiba Sāzēẓī da fāide da pāra da ādmīāno. Tə dānā-ē la hara cīza mā na-zda bērūn ḥarfūna da Qurān.

And Bāyāzīd wrote those letters which are suitable for every language for the benefit of men. Thou art wise above everything (?), by me nothing is learnt (?) but the letters of the Koran.

Fol. 11 r

Gunahḡār au badḡār gaṇam la-wāṛo gunahḡārāno la-badkārāno Muḥammad pa ummat kṣe ʻalaihi as-salām walē umēdwārī mē stā wa nēkī u raḥmat (11 b) u baxš wata da; rā wu baxṣa wa mā wata au jmā wa yārāno u farmān bardārāno wa mijastī wata gunāhān bəl-mē zṛə qarār šī au pa·stā wa kalām wata wuzgār šī.

I reckon as (the worst) sinner and evil-doer of all sinners and evil-doers Mohammed—in the religion peace be upon him (?)—; but I am hoping for Thy goodness and compassion and forgiveness; forgive me and my friends and servants (and ?) for the mijasti (?) our sins; besides may my heart become quiet and leisured for (= to hear) Thy word.

Fol. 16 r

Nabī wa (yə) lī·dī raḥmatī ʻalaihi na*-dəh al-kalām:

(Ma) rg ba-war šī wa saṛī wata nangahān, ništa da saṛī pa-dunyā kṣe təl-da-təl maqām. Gōra da daghē zamānē ādmiān ghwāṛī dunyā au har či pa·kṣē-dī, pē mašghūl dī ḍēr ādmiān. Jinē pa-karəlo yā pa·bāzargānī yā pa-pwndkly yā pa-tarkaš-bandī jinē pa-nōr nōr čār mašghūlī kah ādmiān.

The Prophet has said—compassion upon him—about this is the word: Death comes to man suddenly, there is no place for ever for man in the world. Look, the men of this time seek the world and all that is in it, many men are occupied with it. Some with ploughing or trading or........., or with wearing of quivers, some men make busy with some other work.

Fol. 43 v.

Mē kāṇī kəṛī-dī (or: kāṇai kəṛai-dai) pa-kṣē-mē sūrī (sūrai ?) kəṛī-dī pa-kṛandar da prē war da ādmiāno. Pa·har sūrī kṣē-mē ʻa·ẓāb kəṛai-dei dai pa aṭkal da gunāhāno. Zə ba wa ōr wata kṛəm farmān či-har yau ʻaẓāb wī, pa

* Read pa-dəh ?

aṭkal ghwāṛī pa-har yau. Ka la-ōr wu-wuzəm hēc kala ba-na-wu-bāsam* yau la-gunahgārāno âdmiāno.

Dā kalām ba-mūmī pa-kṣē hagha marg (44a) čī la-'azāb xilās šī au nah hagh žwandūn či-la-rāḥat wī da dōzaxīānō gor šəm.

I have made stones (or: a stone ?), and in them I have made holes for the making of a door in them for men (?). In every hole I have made a torment according to the judgment of (their) sins. I shall give a command to the fire, that every torment that may be, it shall seek it according to the judgment on each one. If I emerge from the fire, I shall never take out one of the sinning men. This word he will find in it (?): That death which is from torment and not that life which......(?)

Fol. 61 r

Pa-hagha saṛī farẓ dai-čī ōbəh war-jaxa na-wī, yau krōh lār wī da dəh au da ōbō pa-miyān (daṛi krōh yau farsang dai, au krōh dai calōr zara gāmūna).—(ARABIC) qad ja'ala 'llāhu li-kulli-šay'yan (sic!) qadran. (PERSIAN) ......(*Pashto:*) Yā ōbəh wī, da-ranj pa-bahanah yā da dunbamand yā da lē wəh ḍār wī; yā da kūhī ōdəh wī, gālī war-jaxa na-wī čī ōbəh ē kāẓī, pa-dəh farẓ dai-čī tamīm dī kah. Tamām.

For this man it is obligatory, if there is no water present, [if] there is one kōs road between him and the water, (three kōs make one farsang, and one kōs consists of 4000 paces).—(*Arabic*) God has made for every thing its power (?)......(PASHTO). Or if there is water, there is through the pretext of suffering, fear either of the sailed one (n. of some animal?) or of the wolf; or [if] there is well-water, it is not near to him, that he may draw the water,—for him it is obligatory to make a substitute (for water). Finished.

Pa-dəh dā kalām: Da saṛī (Fol. 101 r. or: saṛīo?) bōya čī pa-nəwištama špah har yau la-'āqilo wa myāšt wata di gōrī pa-Sa'bān. Kah cōk (as)-ē wu-wīnī, rōža di wu larī; kas-ē na-wīnī, rōža di nā-larī da hēghə pōre cō muddat tamām šī da Sa'bān. Ka-yau kas wu-wīnī myāšt da Ramaẓān, guwāī di ē qabūla-ki da 'adl da-pāra imām kah 'illat wī pa-āsmān kṣe.

About this there is this word: It behoves a man (or: men) that on the twenty-ninth night of Sha'bān every one of those who have sense should look out for the new moon. If anybody sees it, they shall keep the fast; if nobody sees it, they shall not keep the fast until the period of the Sha'bān is finished. If one person sees the moon of the Ramazān the Imāma shall accept his testimony on account of his competence if there is a reason for it in the sky.

Fol. 101 v.

Da Kam 'Id myāst yau kas wu-wīnī, rōžah di na-guṣāī ka 'illat wī pa-āsmān. 'Ayān: Guwāhī di na-qabulawī imām bērūn ka dwa mēṛəh yā yau mēṛəh dwe 'aurate wī. Patā di wī. 'Ilām ka 'illat na-wī pa-āsmān, guwāhī di na-qabulawī imām bērūn da ḍēro ādmiāno.

If one person sees the moon of Shawāl, he shall not break the fast if there is a reason (for fasting) in the sky. Demonstration: the imām shall

* Ba-na uncertain reading.

not accept the testimony, unless there be two men or one man and two women. May it be a sign for thee. If there is no sign in the sky as a reason, the imām shall not accept it, unless it be of many men.

Fol. 105 v.

Zakāt da áso da âspo dai. Bayān: Ka-cōk ās aspē larī, kāl tēr šī tamām, taṣtan ē ixtiyār larī cī yau dīnār dı war-ki da her Xaryān (?) yā dī bahā ki la-dwo sawo diramo di pinjəh war-ki tamām. Patā di wī.........Ništāh zakāt da āso na-da qajaro na-da xro bērūn ka-da bāzargānī wī.

There is tithe (to be payed) of horses and mares. Explanation: If anybody has horses or mares, and a whole year passes, their owner is at liberty to give one dinner for each ass (?); or he shall value them, then he shall give five fuel dirhams out of two-hundred. May it be a proof for thee.........No tithe is to be given on horses or mules or asses, unless they are for sale.

Fol. 102 n.

Da dəh la-dwo-sawo diramo la-xarca ziyāt wī yā calwēṣt carandah psūna yā dērš carandah ghwā yā pinjəh carandah wī ūṣān yā ās yā aspē yā kālī yā da bāzargānī wī čl-dwa-sawa diram ē bahā wī au kāl pa-dūī sēr sī tamām, hagha tuwāngar dai.

His expenses exceed 260 dirhams, or he has 40 grazing sheep, or 30 grazing cows, or 5 grazing camels or horses or mares, or household articles for trading, the value of which is 200 dirhams, and a whole year has passed for them (in his possession), he is powerful.

Fol. 114 r.

Tro ba-kamzōrī-wata wāyī šaiṭān ma prēẓda (114 b) māyah wa zōr war wata nah wa ghal u kāsīr wata. Šarm šmārī či-wa-dūī wata prēẓdi.

Then Satan says to the feeble: Do not give up thy wealth to the powerful, nor to the thief or adulterer. He reckons it a shame to give (anything) up to these.

147 b.

Da āwāz rāhat bē da ghwaẓ, da dīdan rāhat be da stərgo au da xušbūī rāhat bē da pōze wī, da āghustan rāhat bē da tan au da xulē rāhat bē da cṣō au da xwaṭō da atām (?). Ārwī au wīnī āghundī mūmī pa-hēgha-či pa-dunyā ē ārwēdəlī līdəlī āghustī mundlī na-wī ghwaẓ stərgē ō tan pōza xulē dā da, ʻiyān.

The repose of the voice is without the ear, the repose of seeing without the eyes, and the repose of fragrance without the nose, the repose of dressing is without the body, and the repose of the mouth without drink or food. He hears and sees, dresses and finds in that which he has not heard, seen, dressed or found in the world.......(?)

Fol. 145 r.

d' kl'm kwr dlywh nxṣ hghh d čy pšpḍyr krzy d nws phws pṭlb d mrd'ri y'd jn'wr'n y' d nwr čyz dp'r čd dwy xwrdndy ' y'n hsy čsph ḍyr krzy frm'n-

brd'r d šyt'n 'y'n d nws phws d ghl' d k'syry dp'r y' d nwr ḥr'm p'ẓ'b wm '' dṃy'n pngh(m ?)t d nws d šyṭ'n p'ẓ'b d'w čdy.

Dā kalām ğōra: Da lēwəh naxṣa haghah da či pa-špa-ḍēr ğarzī da nōs pa-hawwas pa-ṭalab da murdārẹ yā-da janāwarāno yā da nōr čiz da-pāra či-da dūī xwardan-di. 'Ayān: Hase či-špah ḍēr ğarzī farmānbardār da Šaitān. 'Ayān. Da nōs pa-hawwas da ghlā da kāsīrī da pāra yā da nōr ḥarām pa-'aẓāb wum. Âdmiān pa-nagh(m) at da nōs da Šaitān pa-'azb da 'wč (?) dī.

Consider this word: The proof of a wolf (or: beast of prey) is that it wanders much about at night in the lust of its desires, in search of carrion or of animals (i.e. prey), or of other things which are their food. Demonstration: I was in torment on account of the lust of desire, of theft, of adultery, or of other forbidden things. Men are in the torment of w'č (?) on account of the voice (?) of the lust of Satan.

Fol. 145 v.

nxṣ d jn'wr'n hghh d čy prwj bḍyr krzydh w nws pṭlb dw'sh d 'wbw 'w hr čxwrdndy d jn'wr'n pšph pghflt ḍk cml'st nyy rs'wh w nwr č' wt zy'n hsy čy pšry't kṣ qr'r ww d nws phws bprwj ḍyr krzyḍyr by xw'ṛ cṣ 'ghstn wyl pšph bpghflt ḍk cml'st lk jn'wr'n čnh by rs'wh nwr č'(r) wt zy'n.

Naxṣa da janāwarāno haghah da či pa-rwaj ba-ḍēr garzēdəh u nōs pa-ṭalab da wāṣəh da ōbō au har či-xwurdan-di da janāwarāno. Pa-špah ap-ghaflat ḍak camlāst (ə) na-yē rasāwəh wa nōr ca-wata ziyān. Hasē či pa-šarī'at kṣa qarār wū da nos pa-hawwas ba-pa-rwaj ḍēr ğarzī-ḍer b-ē xwāṛ (ə), caṣ, aghastan, wayəl. Pa-spah ba-pa ghaflat ḍak camlast, laka janāwarān ci-nah b-ē rasawəh nor ča(r)-wata ziyan.

The proof (: sign) of the (grazing) animals is that they used to wander about in day time, and (their) lust (is) in the search for grass and water and everything which can be eaten by animals. At night they carelessly lay down replete. They did not bring harm upon anybody else. Thus they who were firm in the law, wander much about in day time in the lust of desire. They have much food, drink, dress, (talk?). At night thy carelessly lay down replete, like the animals, who did not bring harm to anybody else.

Ādmīān jmā pa-hastī kṣe-dī, jmā hastī da pā-admīāno. Laka kabūna pa-ōbəh au ōbəh pa-kabō kṣe, laka kabūna pa-ōbəh zwandī-dī, hasē pa-mā žwandī-dī ādmiān. Patā di wī. *I'lām*: Mina-l-mā'i kulli šayyun ḥayyun. Pa-Qurān kṣē-dī. (Arabic) *Bayān*: Anā fī kulli sayy'in kā 'l-mā'u bi-jamī'un (?) mā kāna fī 'l-mā'i. (Pashto) Wayali-dī Subḥān. Kab či pa-ōbo kṣē garzī max ē wa ōbo wata ši, hasē har lōr wata cī wu jārwuzī, max ē wa mā-watā sī da-ādmiāno.

Men are in my existence, and my existence is in men. Just as fishes are in the water, and the water in the fishes, just as the fishes are alive in the water, thus men are alive in me. May it be a sign for thee. (ARABIC)

Or read: wy = wi?

The teaching: From the water is every thing alive. (PASHTO) It is in the Koran. (Ar.) *Explanation*: I am in every thing, just as the water. All that exists is in the water (?). (PSHT.). The gracious one has said it. When the fish moves about in the water, its face is turned towards the water. Likewise in whatever direction they turn round, the faces of men are turned towards me.

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Zə yəm pa-wēṣtəh pa-pōst kṣe da âdmiāno, pa-wīno pa-ghwaṣa da ādmiāno, pa-rag pa-pala da ādmiāno, pa-haḍḍo pa-māghzəh da ādmiāno, pa-har cəh ksē-yəm čī cə šta da saṛī (or: saṛīo?) pa-jān. Taḥqīq da jmā hastī la-hara cīz bar, laka da la-ādmiāno......Zə yəm pa-ādmî kṣē-jmā hastī pa-čārsūno da ādmiāno, zə nižde yəm wa-ādmināno wata la-jāna.

I am in the hairs and in the skin of men, in the blood and in the flesh of men, in the veins and in the sinews of men, in the bones and in the marrow of men. I am in everything which exists in the soul of a man (or: men). The truth of my existence (is) above everything, just as it is (above) men [or: Forsooth, my existence is... ?]......I am in man, my existence is in the crossroads of men, I am near unto men in their soul.

THE RELIGIOUS SECTS OF SOUTHERN INDIA MENTIONED BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

By

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Arab writers furnish a certain amount of information on the caste, religion and custom of the people of Hind. The details on these subjects are gathered principally from the works of authors who cover the period from about the 9th to the 10th century A.D. and occasionally from writers of later period.

The accounts of these writers, as it happens, refer chiefly to the coastal cities of the Indian peninsula, Ceylon, and other islands of the East Indies. As the trade of Southern India with Arabia, Persia, Rome and Egypt on the west and East Indies and China on the East, was very extensive at this period, it may be deduced that the people with whom the Arabs came into contact were preponderantly of south Indian origin and culture, and that the information refers chiefly to the people of Southern India.

Only four writers Ibn *Kh*urdā*dh*beh, Idrīsī, Abul Faraj and Qazwīnī speak about the religious sects. But Abul Faraj alone has given us more original information on various religious sects than any other writer before or after him.

Ibn *Kh*urdā*dh*beh (844 A.D.) writes that there are forty-two sects among the people of Hind. Of these some believe in God and His apostles, some deny the apostles, while others deny everything.

IDRĪSĪ (1154 A.D.) bases his information in Ibn *Kh*urdā*dh*beh and gives additional facts. Some, he says, acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones,[1] others worship heaps of stones[2] on which they pour butter and oil. Some pay adoration to fire[3] and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun and prostrate themselves to it believing it to be the creator, and dictator of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, considering them as means of divine favour. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.

ABUL FARAJ (988 A.D.) writes that the people of Hind have no unanimity of opinion concerning their idols. One sect says that the idol is the re-

1. *al-Aḥjār-al-Manḥūta.*
2. *al-Aḥjār-al-Mukaddasa.*

ELLIOT (Vol. I, p. 76) translates it as 'holy stones.' It is not correct. *Kuds, Mukhaddas* what is collected together of wheat, etc. heaped up.

This may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers and in places that are far off from regular temples by people generally of the working class. A deification of some soul which they have in mind, is supposed to take place in the stone, and it is made an object of worship.

3. An exogamous sect of the Kurubas and Gollas, and sub-division of the Pallis or Vanniyans. The equivalent Aggi occurs as an exogamous sect of Boya. The Pallis claim to belong to the Agnikula Kshatriyas, i.e. to the fire race of the Kshatriyas. See *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, THURSTON.

presentation of the creator. Another sect says that it is the representation of His messenger to him. Again they differ on this last point. Some hold that the prophet is one of the angels; another group says that he is a man. Yet another group says that he is a demon; while another group considers that it is the representation of Būdāsaf[1]—one who came to them from God. Each sect has its own special rites for worshipping and exalting the idol. Some whose words may be relied upon have reported that each sect has a representation which they worship and adore. The word *budd* is the generic noun and the idols *aṣnām* are species. The supreme idol is represented as a man sitting on a throne, without any hair on the face, with a receding chin. He has no garments and he has a smiling appearance. He holds his hand in a position which indicates number thirty-two. It is heard from reliable men that in each house is found its image[2] made of materials which vary according to the resources of the individual, either in gold set with precious gems, or in silver, or brass or stone or wood. They worship it as it faces them, east to west or west to east. Generally the idol is kept with its back to the east, and the worshippers face eastwards. It is related that this image has four faces and it is made with such geometrical precision and skill that in whichever direction they face it, they can see its full face. The front is clearly seen and nothing is invisible. It is said that the idol of Multan is of this kind.

They have an idol called Mahākāl.[3] It has four hands, its colour is

1. *Būdāsaf*—Is this a reference to Vāsudeva cult?

2. These refer to the family idols kept in a room apart, and worshipped morning and evening. They are often objects of exquisite skill and beautiful to behold. A story is told of a Muslim princess of the royal family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kafur from the temple at Srirangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed.

See *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, by Dr. S. K. AYYANGAR.

4. The term *Mahākāl* may refer to Śiva as *Mahākāla* or his consort *Mahākāli*—the exalted goddess Kāli.

The impersonation of female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses (*grāmadēvatā*) some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like Kāli or Māriyamma, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Prithivi appears as a kindly guardian-deity but with her, by a process of syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult.

In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Rajput Gauri, "the brilliant one". In other cognate manifestations, she is known as Śākambhari, "herb-nourisher," or Āśāpūraṇā, "she who fulfils desire." Cults of her malignant aspects are specially common in South India. Such is that of Ellamma, "mother of all," whose ritual includes animal sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation, the plant springing as the victim rises in the air; Māriyammā, "plague mother" at whose shrine an officiant known as Potraz "ox king," tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess as in the murderous orgy which was a feature of the Dionysiac ritual or Pidāri, the Tamil form of Skr. Viṣāri "poison-remover", a passionate, irascible goddess with a red-hot face and body, and

sky-blue, and its head is covered with hair which is not crisp. Its face has a grinning expression. The stomach is uncovered but the back is covered with the skin of an elephant from which drips blood, and the two feet of the elephant are tied before it. In one of its hands there is a big snake opening its mouth, and in the second is a stick; and in the third is the head of a man, while the fourth is raised. It wears two serpents as ear-rings; two huge serpents twisted round its body, a crown made of skulls on its head and a collar similarly fashioned. They believe that Mahākāl is a powerful Spirit, deserving worship on account of its great power, and its possession of all the qualities, good, benevolent, bad and adverse, which enable it to give or refuse, or to be kind or wicked.

Dinikitiya.[1] These are worshippers of the sun. They have an idol placed upon a cart supported by four horses. There is in the hand of the idol a precious gem[2] of the colour of fire. They believe that the sun is the king of the angels deserving worship and adoration. They prostrate themselves before this idol, walk round it with incense, playing the lute and other musical instruments. There are estates endowed for this idol, and a steady income. It has priests and other employees to look after its temple and estate. There are three services for this idol in a day with different rituals. The sick and lepers and those who suffer from skin disease, palsy and other grave illnesses, stay there spending their nights. They prostrate themselves, make humble supplications to it and pray for the cure of their illness. They do not eat or drink, but remain fasting. They continue to do so until they see a vision in sleep which says "You are cured; you have attained your desire." It is

on her head a burning flame; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-treading and the sacrifice of a bull; lambs are slain in the route of her procession and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil. *Enc. of Ethics and Religion*, Vol. 6, p. 706.

1. *al-Dīnikitiya*—Abul Faraj.

Compare *al-Dīnikitiya* Nuwayri Part I, p. 49.

Dīnikītiya—Dinakṛt—sun, *Dina* (day) (he does). Dinkṛt+yya the Arabic termination to form the *nomina relativa* or relative adjective. Thus the word should have been Dinakritiyya, those who are devoted (associated) to the worship of the Sun.

Gustav FLUGEL on the authority of REINAUD derives it from *Aditi-Bakti*, adoraterus d'Aditi (der Sonne). This view is incorrect. *Āditya* is the Sanskrit word for the sun but *Dinakara*—is more often used in Tamil for the sun. Abul Faraj might have got his information from the Tamils.

The *Saurapatas* are those who worship *Sūryapati*, the sun-god only. There are few of them to be met with nowadays, though at one time they were numerous. They differ but little from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances, although there are certain peculiar practices which they observe. The cult of this deity which prevails among the non-Aryan races is probably not based on imitations of the practices of the Aryans.

For further details, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.*

2. This refers to Sūryakāntam—a kind of gem, crystal, lens or burning glass; the sunstone said to emit fire when placed in the sun's rays. WINSLOW. *Tamil English Dictionary.*

said that the idol speaks to the sick in sleep and that they are cured and restored to good health.[1]

Jandrīhkniya.[2] They are the worshippers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels deserving honour and adoration. Their custom is to set up an idol, to represent it, on a cart drawn by four ducks. In the hand of this idol is a gem called jandarkīt.[3] Their cult is to prostrate themselves to it and worship it and observe fasting for half the month, not breaking the fast till the moon rises, when they bring food, drink, and milk to the idol, pray solemnly, look at the moon and ask what they desire. If it is the beginning of the month, and the crescent moon appears, they assemble on the roof, watch the crescent moon, burn incense and pray to it. Then they descend from the roof to eat and drink and rejoice. They do not look at it except with good faces. In the middle of the month, after breaking the fast,

1. The narration as it reads, seems to be a confusion of two accounts, one of that of a sect devoted to sunworship and another of a well-known temple resorted to by the sick and ill. The latter may refer to the Suryadeul or the Sun Temple at Konark. "The vimana of this great temple", says R. D. BANERJEE in his *History of Orissa*, (Vol. II, p. 380), "collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of Ain-i-Akbari and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century. According to tradition, the great temple of Konark was built by Narasimha I. This tradition is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants, Narasimha the 2nd and the 4th. It is said locally that Narasimha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the God.

2. *al-jandrīhkiniya* Abul Faraj. Compare Nuwayrī Part I, p. 57.

Jandrīhkniya—Candra + *kānti* Skr. + *yya* the Arabic termination to form the relative adjective. The original word seems to be Candrakāntiyya, "those who are devoted to the worship of the moon possessed of a bright gem." The word as it stands in the text is a corruption of the original Candrakāntiyya.

G. FLUGEL again on the same authority derives it from *Candrabhakti* "adorateurs de Tchandra" which is incorrect. In this connection it may be noticed that in the description of the sect Dīnikītiya we read also of a gem of the colour of fire placed in the hand of the idol, though they do not call that gem by any name as they do here, i.e. jandakrit. Considering this fact the original name of the sect *Dinikitiya* should have been *Dinakrt-Kāntiyya*, "those who are devoted to the worship of the sun" possessed of "gem."

Worship of the moon in one or other of her aspects either alone or in conjunction with other rites is common in India at the present day, and such worship has in all probability never been interrupted. There are, however, no exclusive votaries or sects who make the moon their chief deity.

The phases of the moon are often decisive for the work of the fields; and the economy of the household, with its various anniversaries and important events is similarly determined by the moon's position and aspects.

Among the seasonal festivals, the moon feast always held a high rank, and even the Buddhists preserved a memory of it in the Uposatha festival, though reduced in that sober organisation to a Sabbath day observance.

For further details see *Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion.*

3. Candra-kāntam is a kind of mineral gem, the moon-stone, said to emit moisture, when placed in the moonlight, and believed by some to be a congelation of the moon's rays.

they dance and play on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.

Anshaniyya[1] are those who abstain from food and drink.

Bakrantīniya[2] are those who fetter their bodies with iron. Their practice is to shave off the hair and beard and not to cover their body except for the private parts. It is not their custom to teach or speak with anyone apart from those of their religion. They command the followers of their creed to give alms to humble themselves. Those who join the sect are not fettered with iron till they attain a rank which entitles them to do so. The fettering of the body is from the waist as far as the chest, lest the stomach should split, which might happen, they believe, on account of the excessive knowledge they acquire and the force of their meditation.

Kankāyatra.[3] The members of this sect are scattered throughout the country of Hind. Their belief is that if a man commits a grave sin, he must travel to the Ganges from far or near, wash in it and thus become clean.

Rāhmarniya.[4] They are supporters of kings. Their cult is rendering assistance to kings. They say "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise."

There is another sect whose practice is to grow long hair, which surrounds their face and covers the head, the hair on all sides being of the same length. These people do not drink wine. They have a hill known *hawr'an* to which they go on a pilgrimage. They have, on this hill, a big temple in which is an image. On their return journey from the pilgrimage, they will not enter inhabited places. If they see any woman they flee from her.

Qazwīnī (1203-1283 A.D.) says that there are various sects among the people of Hind. Some believe in the creator but not in the prophet. They are the Brahmans. There are some who believe in neither. There are some who worship idols, some the moon and some others, fire.

1. *Anaśana* Skr. Fasting.

2. This may be a reference to Pakavarpattan, one devoted to the deity, being one of the six names given to such as are ripe for emancipation.

3. Gaṅgāyātrā—pilgrimage to the Ganges. According to the Hindus, the Ganges or Gaṅgā, as she is called, is a divine being, wife of Śiva. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a story is found which explains her descent from her heavenly home. The same work also explains why the waters of the Ganges are so efficacious that people come from all parts of India once in a lifetime, at least, to wash away their sins. There is a fulness in the promise to those who bathe in its flowing waters; it is that all sin—past, present and future—is by that act at once removed.

There are many works (Prayer to Bhāgīrathī : Gaṅgā Bākyābali) which teach of the benefits which Gaṅgā can confer on mortals. *Modern Hinduism*, W. C. WILKINS.

4 Rāhmarniya—The first part of the word presents no difficulty. It is Rājā, king. The second part is a word that has relation with *Tamil* Mānam, honour, favour, price, self-respect, shame, strength, etc. This word generally takes certain prefixes. *abi, anu, ava, uva, san,* etc. and differs a little in meaning according to the connection. When it is joined to the word Rājā it will take the form Rājā-apimāni or Rājāpimāni, loyal and faithful to the king. Thus the word must have been Rājāpimāni + yya, the Arabic termination being added to form the relative adjective. It is a long word and one not easy for a foreigner to grasp, hence the mangled form we find in the text.

AN UNNOTICED PRĀKRIT IDIOM

By

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On p. 110 ff. of her beautiful book on Prākrit grammarians (*Les grammairiens prakrits*, Paris 1938) Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI collects the additions made by the "oriental grammarians", in regard to conjugation, to the rules already given by their older colleagues. Many of these additions are of remarkable importance: so the one represented by Mārkaṇḍeya's rule VI, 35 and accordingly to Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI (p. 111) not returning elsewhere, which runs as follows: —

jjo jjāhi ca tiṅāṃ vā

Translation of Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI "(Les désinences) *-jjo* et *-jjāhi* peuvent être employées à la place de toute désinence verbale."

I am not able to find this statement in PISCHEL'S *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen;* probably it remained unnoticed by this author, owing to the bad conditions of the MSS. used by him, cp. *Grammatik* p. 43 §40.

What is the linguistic meaning of Mārkaṇḍeya's rule? And before all, which are the endings named by him? *-jjāhi* is, as known, one of the endings of the second person of singular optative; *-jjo* contains also evidently the *-jj-* characteristic of optative, the final vowel is on the contrary enigmatic. I am inclined to think that *-jjo* stays before voiced consonant for *-jja-ḥ*, that is the nominative of singular of a declined *-jja;* Mārkaṇḍeya is not consistent in declining or not the grammatical endings which he speaks about, and so f.i. he has in our sūtra an undeclined *-jjāhi*, where as in sūtra 32 we read *madhyame h i r ekācaḥ*. But, before examining the value of *-jja*, let us consider the best identified *-jjāhi*.

It is at first sight significative, that of the different endings of 2. sg. opt.: *jjăsi*, *-ijjăhi*, *-jjāsu*, *-jjā* taught by PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 325 §459, only *-jjāhi*, (of which *-jjahi* is only a secondary variant) can stay for all verbal desinences; the *-jjahi* namely which adds to the optative suffix *-jjā-* the old ending of 2-sg. imperative *-hi* (PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 327 §461). Also *-jjāsu*, contains an imperative ending, *-su;* only, this *-su* is a doubtless younger formation made from the *-si* of indicative according to the relation of imperative *-tu* to indicative *-ti* in the third person (PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 331 §467), whereas *-hi* is a very old ending, returning not only in Sanskrit (*-hi*, *-dhi*), but also in other Indo-European languages: Avestic *-di*, Greek *-thi* and so on. We must conclude, 1. that the use of the forms on *-jjāhi* for any verbal form is a very old one, prior to the establishment of *-su* as ending of 2. sg. impt. (or at least to the creation of *-jjāsu* and II. that such a use of *-jjāhi* is due, principally at least, not to the optative suffix, but to the imperative ending.

In other words: we have in this use of *-jjāhi* the same fact that I have largely considered in my paper *Pāṇini, Māgha e l'imperativo descrittivo* (*Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, vi, ix, p. 246 ff.; reprinted in PISANI, *Saggi di lingua e filologia*, Rome 1934, p. 87 ff.), of the 2. sg. impt. appearing in many languages as substitute for every form of finite verb. I must refer to that paper for examples of such an idiom out of Indian languages and for an attempt to explicate it; here I will only hint very briefly to the results which I arrived as far as Sanskrit is concerned. Pāṇini III, 4, 2-4 teaches :—

kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamoḥ || 2 ||

(BÖHTLINGK's translation : Um die Wiederholung einer Handlung auszudrücken wird der Imperativ gebraucht, und zwar die zweite Person sg., die auch statt der zweiten Pl. stehen kann);

samuccaye 'nyatarasyām || 3 ||

(B. : Wenn mehrere Sätze auf einander folgen, ist diese Construction nicht nothwendig);

yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin || 4 ||

(B : Das nach dem imperative hinzugefügte Verbum richtet sich nach dem vorangehenden);

samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya || 5 ||

(B : Wenn in dem 3, 4, 3 erwähnten Falle verschiedene Verba vorangehen, muss in der Folge ein Verbum gesetzt werden, welches alle diese Bedeutungen umfasst).

According to the commentators, sūtra 2 would prescribe locutions as *lunīhi lunīhīty evāyaṃ lunāti*, respectively *imau lunītaḥ, ime lunanti, ayam alunāt, ayaṃ laviṣyati*, etc. 'he cuts, they both cut, they cut, he did cut, he will cut, etc. repeatedly', where (*ity evam ayaṃ*)*lunāti* etc. is called the anuprayoga; sūtra 4 orders that the anuprayoga must be from the same root as the imperative; sūtra 5 that, if there are many imperatives from different roots, the anuprayoga must be taken from a root including their meanings (f.i. *odanaṃ bhuṅkṣva saktūn piba dhānāḥ khādety evāyam abhyavaharati*). In my paper I have shown that the tradition of commentators is not completely in accordance with that of the *Candravṛtti* and, above all, with the use of the sole Indian author by whom such a construction is employed, viz. Māgha, who in his *Śiśupālavadha* I, 51 says: —

purīm avaskanda lunīhi nandanam muṣāṇa ratnāni harāmarāṅganāḥ |
nigṛhya cakre namucidviṣā vaśī ya ittham asvāsthyam aharniśaṃ divaḥ ||

"He who repeatedly besieged the city, destroyed the garden, stole the jewels, kidnapped the women of the gods, and so fighting with Namuci's fiend (Indra) he, the powerful (Rāvaṇa), caused night and day the unhappiness of the Heaven". Here the anuprayoga is *cakre asvāsthyam*, and we don't

find the embarrassing and pedantic *ity evāyam* (in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* only *iti* : *yāhi yāhīti yāti*), which has no correspondence in the other languages where such a use of the imperative appears again. I concluded therefore that the words *ity evāyam* were dropped into the text of the comment from a marginal gloss of a somewhat pedantic grammarian, who would explain in this way the logical origin of the imperative formula taught by Pāṇini : the rightful application of Pāṇini's rule must therefore be seen in Māgha's stanza.[1]

According to BÖHTLINGK, note to III 4, 2, an analogous use of the imperative finds place also in Marāṭhī. Therefore the use of forms with *-jjāhi* taught by Mārkaṇḍeya is proved to come from the *-hi* of the ending, and not only does it find analogies in non-Indian languages, but inserts itself in the Indian tradition. That in the present case *-hi* is added to the optative suffix, may be connected with the narrative value of optative (as in English *he would say* = *he used to say*, etc.), of which I have given examples (also from Sanskrit) in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* L, p. 21 f.; cp. also *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* XVI, p. 22 f. with note. Another example is now produced by S. M. KATRE, *NIA*. I, p. 536.

If consequently we must see in these "omnibus" forms on *-jjāhi* 2. sg. persons of optative enclosing in themselves the value of narrative optative, brought by the suffix, and of "omnibus" imperative, brought by the ending, the other formation taught by Mārkaṇḍeya is very easily explained. According to what has been suggested above, *-jjo* stands for *-jja-ḥ*, where the visarga is a nominative ending : the proper form ended with *-jja*, which is arisen besides *-jjāhi* according to the doublet *-a* : *-āhi*, *-ahi* in the imperative paradigmi : *-a* (of the first conjugation) is as old as *-āhi*, cf. Sanskrit *bhara—yāhi*, Greek *phére—kly'thi*, etc.

1. I have also suggested to substitute for the actual reading of sūtras 2-4 of Pāṇini the following one: —

kriyāsamuccaye loṭ, loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamau || 2 ||
samuccaye yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin || 3 ||

For the reason of suggested changes I beg to see p. 248 f. (89 f.) of my paper. The actual sūtra 3 is of course senseless. For a source of errors in the traditional text of Pāṇini cf. now *NIA* I, p. 562 f. (S. P. CHATURVEDI).

THE "VAIŚYAVAṀŚASUDHĀKARA" OF KOLĀCALA MALLINĀTHA

By

V. RAGHAVAN, Madras.

Kolācala Mallinātha, the scholiast on the Mahākāvyas, is a very well-known writer. Besides the commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the *Kumāra-sambhava*, the *Meghadūta*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the *Śiśupālavadha*, the *Kīrātārjunīya* and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita*, he has given us a commentary on the work of poetics, *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara, and a commentary on the *Tārkika-rakṣā* of Varadarāja. It has been pointed out by Mr. Vidhyesvari Prasad DVIVEDI in his introduction (p. 33) to the Paṇḍit Reprint of Varadarāja's *Tārkika-rakṣā* with Mallinātha's gloss, that Mallinātha wrote a commentary on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* or the *Padārtha-dharma-saṁgraha* of Praśastapāda and that this work of his, Mallinātha refers to twice in his gloss on the *Tārkika-rakṣā*. It has also been pointed out by Mr. K. P. TRIVEDI in the Introduction to his edition of the *Ekāvalī* with Mallinātha's *Taralā* that Mallinātha refers in his *Taralā* to two more works of his, a commentary on the *Tantra vārtika* and another on the *Svara Mañjarī*. Kumārasvāmin also cites his father's *Siddhāñjana* on the *Tantra vārtika* in his gloss on the *Pratāparudrīya*. We knew of no other work of this Kolācala Mallinātha, though we knew of a number of other Mallināthas, some of them also of the Telugu country, who have been mistaken frequently for our Kolācala Mallinātha. We knew that BHANDARKAR, TRIVEDI and others fixed his date at the end of the 14th century A.D., that Kumārasvāmin, commentator on the *Pratāparudrīya-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* was a son of his, and that the genealogy furnished by a descendent of this Mallinātha, a Nārāyaṇa, in his gloss *Padayojanā* on the *Campū-rāmāyaṇa* (Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, D. 12281) is inaccurate. In the present article, some new Mallinātha material is placed before the scholars.

On p. 563 of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Government Library, Mysore, 1922, we find our Kolācala Mallinātha as the author of a work called *Vaiśyavaṁśa-sudhākara*. It is noted here that the work is in Āndhra-bhāṣā. A Devanāgarī transcript of this work secured by Dr. N. VENKATA-RAMANAYYA, Reader in Indian History, University of Madras, who has noticed this work on pp. 181-184 of his book "Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire", was kindly placed by him at my disposal. On perusal, I find that there are only two passages in it, in the middle and at the end, in Telugu ; the work is mainly in Sanskrit.

That our Kolācala Mallinātha is its author is clear from the colophon which runs thus :

इति पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीण कोलाचलमल्लिनाथसूरिविरचिते वैश्यवश्य (वंश) सुधार्णवे (–करे ?) [चातुर्वर्ण निर्णयो नाम] स्मृति पुराणेतिहास नैघंटि(टु)कादि प्रसिद्धि (द्ध)

वैश्य वाणिज्य वणिङ् नागर ऊरुज वैश्यत्क (त्व) काञ्चीस्थलशासनोदाहरणोपरञ्चितविद्वज्जनहृदयानन्दकमल चातुर्वर्ण्यनिर्णयो नाम दशमोऽध्यायः ।

The work is firstly useful in that it decides the date of Mallinātha. The document was the result of an enquiry ordered by King Vīra Pratāpa Prauḍhadevarāya of Vijayanagara. We find at the beginning of the document :

"× × × इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज राजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरप्रताप प्रौढदेव महारायेण विज्ञापितम् । आज्ञापनानन्तरं तच्छासनमानीय त्वष्टं (दृष्टम्) । तदृष्टान्तेनैव विद्यानगरधर्मासन प्रकारोऽयम् ।"

This king is Devarāya II who ruled between 1422 and 1466 A.D. See also Mysore Arch. Rep. 1927, p. 26.

This *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākara* is a very interesting document. It is more or less of the nature of a report made or decision given by commissioners appointed on a board to enquire into a case or problem. A social trouble evidently arose in Devarāya II's time over the identity of the community of Vaiśyas. It seems there was an inscription in Kāñcī (*Kāñcī sthala śāsana*) in which a previous decision on the same question was recorded. This inscription has not come to light. It is the basis of the discussion in this document of Mallinātha and is therefore frequently mentioned by him. In that inscription it has been decreed that the characterisation *Vaiśya*, *Nāgara vaiśya*, *Nagareśvara devatopāsaka* and *Tṛtīya jātīya* applied only to a certain section of the merchant community. And King Devarāya II desired that only they and not others also should call themselves by those names *Vaiśya* etc. Where was the necessity to discuss this question and what was the advantage that those who were permitted to call themselves so enjoyed ? The advantage seems to be the license to trade in the 24 cities and the 108 shrines [*caturviṁśati purīṣu, aṣṭa (uttaras) śata tirpate (ti) (ṣu)*]. The eligibility for this trade is frequently mentioned in the course of the discussion. Evidently subcastes (***Vaijāti***, as they are frequently referred to here) like the Komati claimed this right of trade. The King seems to have entrusted the case to the court (Dharmāsana) at his capital Vidyānagara. Kolācala Mallinātha was either presiding over this court or was on the board of judges. It is natural that a scholar of his reputation, well-versed in literature, should have been called upon to decide the correct meanings of the names appying to the main and subsidary mercantile castes. On the order of the King, the ***Kāñcīśāsana*** was brought for examination and on the basis of its decision, the Vidyānagara Dharmāsana presented the following report on the case.

"मङ्गलं विधाय वाणिज्यनैजात्या (?) विवदमानयोः विवादशान्त्यर्थं काञ्चीस्थशासनोक्तप्रकारेण वैश्यशब्दाभिधेयत्वं नागरवैश्य नगरेश्वर देवतोपासकत्वं तृतीयजातीयत्वं काञ्चीस्थलशासने

1. It is to be noted that Vijayanagar continued to be called Vidyānagara at the time of Devarāya II. See Dr. VENKATARAMANAYYA, *Vijayanagar, Origin of the city and Empire*, p. 184.

यस्य प्रवर्तते तस्य भवतु नेतरस्येति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज + + + प्रौढदेवमहारायेण विज्ञापितम्। आज्ञापनानन्तरं तच्छासनमानीय त्वष्टं (दृष्टम्)। तद्दृष्टान्तेनैव विद्यानगर धर्मासनप्रकारोऽयम्। यस्तु वैश्यः स एव नागरः etc."

The report first summarises the findings of the epigraph thus : He who is called Vaiśya is Nāgara, Ūruja and Tṛtīya ; his occupation and privileges are agriculture, trade, Svādhyāya, Yajana, and Dāna ; he alone can marry a woman of his caste ; he who is called Vaṇik is born to him through a woman of the lower caste, (Vijāti). The Komaṭis, Vāṇi vyāpāris, Vāṇijya vaiśyas, Uttarādi vaiśyas are then mentioned, perhaps as coming under the Vijāti Vaiśyas. The right to carry trade in the 20 cities and the 108 shrines belongs only to the caste Vaiśyas and not to the Vijātī vaisyas like the Komaṭi. The Komaṭi is permitted only to buy and sell paddy and other grains.

एतादृशी शासना पर्यालोचनाय (-नीया)।

The document then proceeds to examine the above verdict. The evidences sought for the clarification of the question are Veda, Smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kāvya, and Kośa. The chief of the few Śruti texts met with in the discussion is the passage in the Puruṣa-sūkta on the origin of the four Varṇas. In the Telugu resumé at the end of the document, the Vedic commentator, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is also mentioned as an authority used for this discussion. Some old smṛtis and later commentaries on some of them are cited. Under Itihāsa, we find the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the Āśvamedhika and the Śānti-parvans of the Mahābhārata, and the Itihāsa-samuccaya, the well-known compilation from the Mahābhārata. The only text of Vālmīki discussed is the Phalaśruti at the end of the *Saṅgraha Rāmāyaṇa*, i.e. Bāla, Canto I, *paṭhan dvijo* etc., where in the third quarter, Vaṇig jana is blessed with Paṇyphala as a result of reading the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The passage is discussed with special reference to its explanation by a commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, whom we shall speak of in the section on writers and works quoted in this document. The Itihāsottama is utilised for its section dealing with the Jābāli-Tulādhāra Upākhyāna (taken from the Mahābhārata). A number of Purāṇas and the Padma among them frequently, is referred to. Among Kāvyas, the only work used is the *Dharmapālacarita*. The synonyms of Vaiśya in the *Amarakośa* (II. 9, 1, 98) and the low sub-castes (vivaraṇa, II. 10, 16) mentioned in the *Amarakośa* and a number of commentators on the *Amarakośa* are met with during the discussion. In the light of evidential materials, Mallinātha submits the Kāñci award to a searching examination, abolishes its distinction of the mercantile community into the two classes of Sajātīyas and Vijātīyas and declares that all the current names of the class refer to one and the same class of traders.

"काञ्चीस्थलशासनोक्त वैश्य नागर वणिग् वाणिज वाणि व्यापारि ऊरुज तृतीयजातीय स्वजातीय भेदज उत्तरापथ नगरेश्वरदेवतोपासक शब्दानां एकार्थतेति सिद्धम्। अत एव वैश्यो

वणिक्, वणिगेव वैश्यः, वणिगेव नागरः, वणिगेव ऊरुजः, वणिगेव तृतीयजातीयः, वणिगेव नगरेश्वरोपासकः, स एव उभयकुलप्रसिद्ध सद्वैश्य इत्यर्थः।"

The liberal outlook of Mallinātha is evident in this decision.

The following are other points of interest in the discussion :—

1. It is urged in an examination of the term 'Vaijāti' that it is a corruption (Ābhāsa) of the full word Vaiśya jāti, and as an analogy, it is said here that the word Brāhmaṇa becomes Bhāṇa. But Mallinātha rejects this pseudo-philology.

2. Mallinātha says that the Vaiśyas are born of the *Ṛg Veda* and suggests that it is because of a Vedic (Naigama) origin, the Vaiśyas are called Naigamas. The real meaning of Nigama in Naigama (=merchant) is however City or Bazar.

THE AUTHORS AND WORKS CITED IN THE TEXT.

1. *Svayambhū and his Commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa.*

After citing the last verse of the first canto of the first Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* "Paṭhan dvijo" etc., Mallinātha reproduces the comments which one Svayambhū, son of Viśvambhara, offered on the verse. The comments of Svayambhū on this last verse of the canto close thus :

वाल्मीकीयाद्यसर्गस्य व्याख्यानं रचितं स्फुटम्।
विश्वंभराख्यपुत्रेण स्वयंभू र्णा चधि मतम् (?)॥

Since this verse says that Svayambhū commented on the first canto of the epic, it is not likely that Svayambhū was only called upon on the occasion of this discussion and asked to give his exposition of the verse, "Paṭhan dvijo" etc., only. But we cannot decide whether Svayambhū produced a commentary on the whole of the epic, or commented only on the Saṅgraha Rāmāyaṇa. Mallinātha refers to Svayambhū's interpretation of the line referring to the Vaiśya more than once :

i. भवतु स्वयंभू ध्यान (व्याख्यान) बलान् (द्) वणिग्जनः etc.
ii. तथा च वाल्मीकायादि (आदिसर्ग) व्याख्याने स्वा (स्व) यंभूप्रोक्त वणिक् शब्दस्य वैश्यार्थकत्वम्।
iii. स्वयंभूव्याख्यानबलेन वणिग्वैश्यशब्दयोरेकार्थता।

2. *Purāṇas.*

The Purāṇas quoted are: *Padma* (frequently), *Varāha, Vāyu, Nārasiṁha, Bhāgavata, Mārkāṇḍeya,* and *Viṣṇu.*

3. *Itihāsa Samuccaya.*

This compilation based on the *Mahābhārata* is referred to more than once and the chapter utilised for the discussion here is the dialogue between the Brāhmaṇa Jābāli and the Vaiśya Tulādhāra.

The Śānti parvan of the *Mahābhārata* is quoted once and so also the Āśvamedhika parvan on the sin of a Vaiśya not observing Dharma and the merit of a Vaiśya observing it, respectively.

4. *Smṛtis.*

The Smṛtis and commentaries thereon quoted here are : *Parāśara* and *Mādhavīya* on it (frequently), *Manu, Yājñavalkya* and *Vijñāneśvara* and *Nārada.*

5. *Kāvya.*

The only kāvya used for this discussion is the *Dharmapāla-Carita* and it is frequently cited. It is a Telugu Kāvya, in Dvipada metre and two long passages from it are cited during the discussion. It is these passages, as well as a final resumé in Telugu of the discussion that is responsible for the information in the *Mysore Catalogue* that the *Vaiśya vaṁśa sudhākara* is a Telugu work. The *Dharmapāla-Caritra* is the life of a Komaṭi and his family and, in the second passage extracted here, the various Vaiśya-names discussed in this document occur. The 25 cities referred to as centres of their trade, are mentioned here ; they are not confined to South India only. The charities done by the Komaṭi-family are detailed. I find here two important towns of the Tanjore Dist. mentioned, Kumbhakoṇam and Tiruvārūr, the latter (the present writer's native place) having offered a bride for a member of this family. This Telugu kāvya is a rare and hitherto unknown work.

6. *Kośas.*

The *Ratnamāla* is twice mentioned. Besides that, the only other Kośa met with here is the *Amarakośa*. The *Amara* and its names for the mercantile class form one of the bases of discussion and in this connection some known and unknown commentators on *Amara* are cited.

The following is a list of the commentators and commentaries on *Amara* cited here :

Kṣīrasvāmin, Nāgabhaṭṭa, Vandyaghaṭīya (i.e. Sarvānanda, author of the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*), *Subodhinī, Subhūticandrīya, Haridīkṣitīya, Bālaprabodhi, Prabodhinī, Marma bhedinī* and *Liṅgābhaṭṭīya.* In the final Telugu resumé, which lists all the authorities, two more commentaries on the *Amara, Suprabodhaka* and *Kācirājīya,* are mentioned.

Of these, the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin, Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda and Subhūticandra are well-known.

The *Liṅga*(or *ā*)*bhaṭṭīya* or the *Amarakośa-pada-vivṛti* by Vaṅgala Liṅgabhaṭṭa, son of Vaṅgala Kāmyabhaṭṭa, is a commentary well-known in South India. It is usually presumed to be a late work. Mr. Seshagiri SASTRI said in his Second Report, p. 32,[1] that it was the latest commentary on the

1. The extracts from the Liṅgabhaṭṭiya are given by Mr. Seshagiri SASTRI on p. 186 of his II Report. But the extracts given prove that the commentary is Bommagaṇṭi Appayācārya's and not Liṅgabhaṭṭa's, as the colophons mislead us to take.

Amarakośa. That this is not a fact and that the Liṅgābhaṭṭīya is earlier than Mallinātha i.e. earlier than 1400 A.D., is proved by its citation in the *Vaiśya-vaṁśa-sudhākara*.

The *Subodhinī* is the commentary of Jātavedadīkṣita, son of Yājñika Devaṇabhaṭṭopādhyāya who wrote a *Vivaraṇa* on the *Mīmāṁsābhāṣya*. The *Subodhinī* is also called *Bṛhadvṛtti*. Mss. of it are available in the Madras Government Oriental Library. See *Triennial Catalogue*, II, R. no. 1844.

The commentary of Nāgabhaṭṭa, given as Nānābhaṭṭa in the final Telugu resumé, is a Telugu commentary on the *Amarakośa*. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogues*, III, No. 1673 ; also *Triennial Catalogue* R. no. 4151.

Haridīkṣita, mentioned as a commentator on the *Amarakośa*, is evidently not the grammarian who was Nāgeśa's teacher. This commentator on *Amara* must have lived earlier. No Ms. of his *Amarakośa vyākyā* is known.

Bālaprabhodhikā or *Gurubālaprabodhikā* is a commentary on the *Amarakośa* in Telugu and Sanskrit available in many Mss. Its author belonged to the Tālappākam family of Tiruppati, one Tiruveṅkaṭārya, son of Cinna Timma, son of Tirumalaguru, son of Tāllapāka Annamācārya. See *Madras Des. Catalogue*, III. No. 1709. Evidently this is not *Bālaprabodhi* which Mallinātha refers to. In the Sanskrit section, the passage where this name occurs is corrupt and it is from the final Telugu resumé that I have given the name *Bālaprabodhi*. Besides this, the Sanskrit portion refers to a *Prabodhinī* and the Telugu resumé, to a *Suprabodhaka*, of both of which nothing is known.

The *Marmabhedinī* on the *Amara* cited by Mallinātha is obscure ; I have not been able to gather any information about it.

The *Kācirājīya* mentioned in the final resumé is evidently the *Nācirājīya* or *Nācarājīya*, of which two Mss. are noted in the *Mysore Catalogue*, I, p. 607.[1]

Did Mallinātha write on Jyotiṣa ?

The scion of Mallinātha who wrote a commentary on the *Campū-Rāmāyaṇa* and gave us an incorrect genealogy, says that the great Mallinātha wrote on Jyotiṣa also. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogue* No. 12281. In the final Telugu resumé at the end of the *Vaiśyavaṁśa sudhākara*, some Jyotiṣa authorities are mentioned like the *Pañcapakṣi Śakuna* and the *Rāśinighaṇṭu*. In the Sanskrit portion itself, soon after the discussion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-verse, Mallinātha refers to the caste-classification of the planets and in this connection quotes the *Nīlakaṇṭha tājika* ; the passage mentioning the name of this work is corrupt. Under *Madras Triennial Catalogue* R. no. 2387 (b), we find the chapter on Nakṣatrapāta from a work ascribed to Kolācala Mallinātha.

इति कोलाचलमल्लिनाथ विरचितायां नक्षत्रपाताध्यायो द्वितीयः ।

1. At the end of his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Tārkika rakṣā*, Mr. Vindhyesvarīprasad DVIVEDI says that he has not examined the *Bhaṭṭi-Ṭīkā*, the *Ekāvali-Ṭīkā* and the *Amarakośa Ṭika* of Mallinātha. It must be noted that Mallinātha who wrote the *Amara pada pārijāta* on the *Amara* is not our Kolācala Mallinātha, but Bollāpinni Mallinātha, son of Nṛsimha. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogue*, III, No. 1696.

It is also possible this Jyotiṣa work was written by some other Mallinātha, falsely specified as Kolācala. In the *Madras Descriptive Catalogues*, XX, No. 11846 is found as Kolācala Mallinātha's gloss on Kālidāsa's *Nalodaya* and most probably, Kolācala Mallinātha's authorship of this gloss is only as true as Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Nalodaya*.

The last point to be noted here is the significance of the expression "वैश्ववंशसुधार्णवे (·सुधाकरे) × × × दशमोऽध्यायः" in the colophon to this document. This perhaps implies that this portion forms the tenth section of a series of decisions given by the court of paṇḍitas at the Vidyānagara Dharmāsana.[1]

1. Besides Kumārasvāmin Kolācala Mallinātha had a son named Girinātha Sūri, pupil of Nṛsimha. Nṛsimha wrote the *Svaramanojña mañjarī* and Girinātha commented upon it. See *Madras Triennial Catalogues*, IV, R. No. 3488. It may be that Girinātha was only another name of Peddibhaṭṭa, whom Kumāraswāmin mentions as his elder brother. There is cause for some confusion regarding the authorship of this work, *Svaramañjarī parimala*, since Mallinātha cites a work of this same name as written by himself in his *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī*, p. 59 (TRIVEDI's edn.).

IDENTITY IN DIFFERENCE IN SOME VEDANTIC SYSTEMS

By

P. T. RAJU, Waltair.

There are a number of Vedantic systems which employ the concept of *bhedābheda* (identity-difference) in order to explain the relation between the Brahman or the Absolute and the world. This concept is formulated by them not simply through logical considerations but in order to reconcile the Upanishadic texts which preach identity in some places and difference in the other. It is the result of an attempt to construct a logic that would agree with the different teachings of the *śruti* rather than of an attempt to interpret the *śruti* according to the independent canons of logic. The original works on most of these *bhedābheda* systems are lost to us, and we know of them only through references and criticisms by subsequent writers. M. M. Lakshmipuram SRINIVASACHARYA mentions the names of Bhartṛprapañca, Bhartṛmitra, Brahmadatta,[1] and Yādavaprakāśa,[2] all of whom are known only through the works of others. Of the teachers mentioned in the *Brahmasūtras* it is difficult to say who actually held the *bhedābheda* view and in what form he held it; for each commentator on the *sūtras* interprets him as suits himself. Those whose works are handed down to us are Bhāskara, Nimbārka, and Śrīpati. Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja reject *bhedābheda* outwardly, though accepting it in truth in their own way. This paper deals with the views of these five.

While interpreting them it is usual to employ the concept of identity in difference. Mr. JOAD, while reviewing Professor SRINIVASACHARI'S *Philosophy of Bhedābheda* writes that *bhedābheda* means "roughly the philosophy of 'identity in difference'"[3]. Professor SRINIVASACHARI too uses the concept of identity in difference with reference to all the forms of *bhedābheda*, though certainly pointing out fundamental differences between them. Professor HIRIYANNA in the Foreward to the book writes: "The expression *bhedābheda* does not bear precisely the same significance in all the schools that make use of it, but it may generally be taken to indicate a belief that the *bheda* or 'distinction' and *abheda* or 'unity' can co-exist and be in intimate relation with each other". This seems to be the safest way of speaking about *bhedābheda*. But the concept according to some teachers of *bhedābheda* means identity in difference as understood in Western idealism. It is necessary to decide who among the Vedantic teachers comes nearest to the concept.

1. *Darsanodaya*, p. 92 (The Asst. Suptd. Govt. Branch Press, Mysore.)
2. *Ibid*, p. 192.
3. *The Aryan Path*, p. 40 (January 1935).

In the West the concept is most clearly formulated and consistently applied by Hegel and his followers. It is a concept of speculative reason which holds both the ideas of identity and difference transparent to each other. That is, reason, while holding the idea of difference, sees through it identity, and similarly while holding the idea of identity, sees through it difference. Hegel tells us that only as abstract concepts identity and difference are opposed to each other. Concrete thought, on the other hand, perceives their unity. He writes: "In point of form Logical doctrine has three sides: (α) the Abstract side, or that of understanding; (β) the Dialectical, or that of negative reason; (τ) the Speculative, or that of positive reason."[1] "Thought, as Understanding, sticks to fixity of characters and their distinctions from one another: every such limited abstract it treats as having a subsistence and being of its own".[2] "In the Dialectical stage these finite characterisations or formulae supersede themselves and pass into their opposites"[3]. "But when the dialectical principle is employed by the understanding separately and independently,—especially as seen in its application to philosophical theories, Dialectic becomes Scepticism; in which the result that ensues from its action is presented as a mere negation"[4]. "The Speculative stage or stage of Positive Reason, apprehends the unity of tems (propositions) in their opposition,—the affirmative which is involved in their disintegration and in their transition"[5]. Speculative reason sees indendity imprinted on every element of difference, the whole in every part. An example of such a unity, Bosanquet tells us, is the æsthetic whole, in which the presence of the whole is felt in every part.

Evidently this is a concept of the spectator. Western philosophical tradition in general understands the philosopher as a spectator of all existence and eternity. But the stand-point of Indian philosophy in general is of man's life in its process, and not merely that of the spectator of this process.[6] The chief aim of philosophy is not merely a logical understanding of the universe; such an understanding is subservient to the realisation of something higher, which is beyond logic. All the Vedantic systems admit in one form or other an inexplicable entity which eludes logic.[7] Still some do not give up the attempt to press the Brahman into the moulds of logic. Thus an inherent contradiction presents itself in their systems. Hegel identified philosophy with contemplative life, and placed it higher than even religion. He treated religion not from the stand-point of one who is under-

1. W. WALLACE: *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 143.
2. Op. cit.
3. *Ibid*, p. 147.
4. Op. cit.
5. *Ibid*, p. 152.
6. See RADHAKRISHNAN: *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 258. ("We are not contemplating the world from outside but are in it") and also the author's *Thought and Reality*, pp. 248-9.
7. See commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra, Ātmanicaivam, vicitrāśca hi* (II, I, 28 according to all but Nimbārka according to whom II, 1, 27.)

going an experience, but as a concept or category, that is, from the stand-point of one who looks unaffected at religion. But for Indian philosophy religious life is the highest, and philosophy has to stop before its portals and completely surrender itself to it. Because Hegel's stand-point is that of the unaffected contemplative life, he was able to view the Absolute as an identity in difference, in which the unity of the Absolute and the plurality of the world are held together in transparent unity. Whether the resulting systems is true to facts or not, his method is consistent with his aim. But the Indian philosopher is at a disadvantage concerning this point. His aim is something that transcends logic, and naturally his method is at variance with his aim. Some like Śaṅkara saw this clearly and accordingly constructed their systems. But others held on to thought and logic, and tried to bring down what is beyond. They tried to retain both identity and difference. The aim of this paper is to investigate how far they have succeeded in retaining both.

II

Bhāskara is the earliest of the upholders of *bhedābheda* whose commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* are available. According to him the world is a transformation or *pariṇāma* of the Brahman just as curd is the transformaction of milk.[1] Yet the nature of the Brahman is not thereby affected. He remains the same in spite of *pariṇāma*. It is therefore open for us to question how the world can be a *pariṇāma* of the Brahman. The objection is anticipated by Bhāskara himself. When milk is transformed into curd it is no longer available as milk. But Bhāskara tells us that the analogy between the transformation of milk into curd and of the Brahman into the world should not be carried on all fours. The Brahman possesses infinite power or energy (*śakti*) and makes this power undergo transformation,[2] so that he can remain what he is. Pariṇāma is for Bhāskara the throwing out of energy (*śaktivikṣepa*).[3] Naturally between energy and the agent who possesses it there can be no difference. Bhāskara says that the Īśvara or the Brahman has two-fold energy : one that takes the form of the enjoyer and the other that of the object of enjoyment.[4] Thus as effect there is difference, but as cause all is one ; just as ear-rings, bangles, etc., are as such different from each other, though they are one as gold.[5] Bhāskara tells us that the world is also a peculiar state (*avasthā*) of the Brahman.[6] Yet the finite soul or jīva is not a *vikāra* of the Brahman,[7] for *vikāra* is an actual transfor-

1. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* by Bhāskarācārya, II, 24. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series)
2. *Ibid*, p. 97.
3. *Ibid*, p. 85.
4. *Ibid*, p. 105.
5. *Ibid*, p. 18.
6. *Ibid*, p. 96. *Paramātmano 'vasthāviśeṣah prapañco'yam ata eva vastutvam.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 134. *Na cātrāpi vikārābhāvo vivakṣitaḥ kintūpadhikṛtabhedābhiprāyā hi sā.* M. M. Lakshmipuram SRINIVASACHARYA writes that the world is an

mation, just as the world is a *vikāra* of *Prakṛti* according to the Sāṅkhya. Bhāskara does not accept the supra-rational Brahman but one who is determinate.[1] The difference between the Brahman and the jīva is due to *upādis* or limiting adjuncts, and therefore is not natural (*svābhāvika*) ; so that it lasts only until the jīva is liberated.[2] But the non-difference or *abheda* between the two is natural[3] (*svabhāvika*). As the difference is due to limitations and therefore external, it can be removed by contemplating on non-difference.[4] But the *upādhis* are real unlike the *māyā* of the advaitin. They are not false like the horns of hare.[5] They are forms of the Brahman's *śakti* or energy ; and so both difference and non-difference between the Brahman and the *upādhis* are natural.[6] For if this difference also is not natural it must be due to some *upādhi* as in the case of the *jīva*. Then to explain one *upādhi* we have to postulate another, and to explain the second we have to postulate a third, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus unlike Yādavaprakāśa, Bhāskara draws a distinction between the forms of *bhedābheda* relation to be found between the Brahman and the jīva and that between the Brahman and the inorganic world. If it is asked how can a relation be both difference and non-difference, which are contradictories, he says that they are not contradictories. One thing, of course, cannot be both cold and hot, because the relation between the two is not that of cause and effect. But the relation between the Brahman and the world is that of cause and effect ; so the Brahman can be both different and non-different from the world.[7]

So far as regards the essentials of Bhāskara's system. Now how far are we justified in regarding it as a philosophy of identity in difference?

avasthā or state of the Brahman according to Bhartṛprapañca, *vikāra* or actual transformation according to Bhāskara, and energy or *śakti* of the Brahman according to Yādavaprakāśa ; Rāmānuja accepts the last view in a refined form. But Bhāskara seems to reject the view of *vikāra* as regards the relation between the Brahman and the jīva and uses the words *śakti* and *avasthā*, while explaining the relation between the Brahman and whole phenomenal world. See *Darśanodaya*, p. 192.

1. Bhāskarācārya's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, p. 238.
2. *Ibid*, p. 81. *Āmukterbheda eva syāt jīvasya ca parasya ca, muktasya ca na bhedo'sti bhedahetorabhāvataḥ.*
3. *Ibid*, p. 170. *Yasmādabhedaḥ svā bhāvikaḥ.*
4. *Ibid*, p. 141.
5. This is certainly a misunderstanding of the Advaitin. He does not hold that *māyā* is unreal like the horns of a hare. It is neither real like the Brahman nor unreal like the horns of a hare.
6. Sudarśanasūri, the commentator on Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasangraha*, says: *Bhāskarayādavaprakāśābhyām svābhimatārthasādhakapramāṇasiddhyartham bandhamokṣādipramāṇasiddhyartham Prapañcasya pāramārthyamabhyupetam. Tatra muktau abhedaśruteḥ bhedasyaupādhikatvam abhedasya svābhāvikatvam jīvabrahmanorabhyupetam. Acidbrahmaṇostu sarvasya brahmātmakatvaśruteḥ nirmalatvādiśruteḥ upādhyantarābhyupagame anavasthānāt ca bhedābhedau svābhāvikau abhyupagatau bhāskaramate. Yādavaprakāśamate tu muktāvapi bhedanirdeśaśruteḥ jīvabrahmaṇośca bhedābhedau svābhāvikau abhimatau iti bhidā*, p. 95.
7. Bhāskara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, p. 17.

The religious interest of Bhāskara is quite apparent. It is a process from something to something else. The finite self during its phenomenal existence is different from the Brahman; but in the state of *mukti* or liberation it is identical with it. There is thus a process from difference to non-difference. Naturally this relation cannot be identity *in* difference, for both identity and difference do not exist at one and the same time. If the relation between the Brahman and the jīva were both identity and difference even in *mukti*, we could have said that it is identity in difference. In *mukti* even the *svarūpa* of the jīva, that is, his individual form, is not left.[1] But the relation between the Brahman and the world is identity and difference at one and the same time, and so identity in difference. The physical world is the *śakti* or energy of the Brahman, and this energy cannot be grasped without grasping the Brahman, and hence must be said to be both identical with, and different from him. As a matter of fact, even the jīva is said to be the energy of the Brahman (*bhoktṛśakti*). But he does not seem to be an effect of the Brahman. Bhāskara tells us that the Brahman exists in a threefold form,—as the cause, the effect, and the jīva. The separate mention of the jīva here shows that he is not included in the effect.[2] Bhāskara further tells us that because the *bhogyaśakti* transforms itself into the physical world, the *bhoktṛśakti* stands as the jīva.[3] So the jīva does not seem to be the result of transformation. He is the Brahman stupified by the power of the *upādhis* (world). And it is not really the conception of the relation between energy and its possessor that led Bhāskara to postulate natural identity in difference (*svābhāvikabhedābheda*) between the Brahman and the physical world.[4] It is rather, as said above, the consideration that if the difference between the two were not natural it must be due to some *upādhis*, and thus we shall be led to postulate one *upādhi* to explain another and so forth. Thus in Bhāskara we do not find a system which is through and through a philosophy of identity in difference; for he tried to be faithful to the general tradition of Indian philosophy, namely, that of explaining things from the stand-point of the experiencer himself, and not that of the spectator.

III

Rāmānuja explicitly rejects the theory of *bhedābheda* in many places of his *Srībhāṣyam*. But his *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is really a reinterpretation of *bhedā-*

1. *Ibid*, p. 231. *Brahmaṇi kalānām avibhāgaḥ svarūpavyatirekibhāvo lavaṇasya iva samudraprāptau.*

2. *Ibid*, p. 7. *Brahma kāraṇātmanā kāryātmanā jīvātmanā ca tridhā sthitam.*

3. *Ibid*, p. 105.

4. See P. N. SRINIVASACHARI: *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda*, p. 243. M. M. Lakshmipuram SRINIVASACHARYA tells us that according to Saṅkara identity between the Brahman and the jīva is real and difference unreal; for Bhāskara difference is due to limitation and so ends, and identity is real; and for Yadavaprakasa identity is due to *śakti* or energy and difference due to individuality. Thus for all three identity is primary and difference secondary. But for Rāmānuja difference is primary and identity secondary. See *Darśanodaya*, p. 194.

bheda. All commentators say that both identity and difference are to be found between the Brahman and the jīva; but some hold that one is primary while the other is secondary or unreal. Only where both are equally real and primary do we find identity in difference. Rāmānuja accepts three kinds of reality, the Brahman, the jīva, and the physical world. The latter two form the *śakti* of the former. Rāmānuja's theory therefore is a form of *śaktivāda* like that of Yādavaprakāśa.[1] But the energy and its possessor cannot be separated, though they are not the same merely. Hence the Brahman is not indeterminate but determinate, that is, particularised by *śakti* (*śakti viśiṣṭa*). The relation between the two is that between body and soul.[2] The Brahman's body comprises both the jīvas and the physical world. It is an instrument of his play (*līlā*). It has two states, the *sūkṣma* or the subtle and the *sthūla* or the gross.[3] In the subtle state it is called *tamas* or darkness,[4] in which the world of forms and names is not explicit. The division into forms and names occurs only in the gross state. The Brahman with the subtle body is the cause of the world, and with his gross body is the effect of himself.[5] In the gross state the Brahman becomes a plurality, but in the subtle state he is a unity. The world is due to his *pariṇāma* or transformation. The *pariṇāma* does not affect his nature, because it is his body that undergoes change, while he as the soul of his body remains static. The affections of body cannot be attributed to soul, and the qualities of soul cannot be attributed to body.[6] By regarding the jīva as the body of the Brahman both in the subtle and the gross states we can retain both identity and difference. As the body the jīva is the mark or attribute (*prakāra*) of the Brahman. And as his attribute cannot be obtained apart from the Brahman there is identity between the two; yet one is not the other and so difference also holds between them.[7] Thus the difference between the two is not merely due to *upādhis* or *māyā*, but real, natural and eternal.[8] The body of the Brahman which comprises both the jīvas and the inorganic world is eternal and in its subtle form is unconscious; so that we have to infer that, during the dissolution of the world when the jīva is transformed into the subtle body of the Brahman, he becomes unconscious.[9] He is not a novel creation, but eternal. Rāmānuja denies that the *pāñcarātra* systems advocates the birth and therefore the beginning

1. *Ibid*, p. 192.
2. *Śrībhāṣyam*, Vol. II, p. 162. (R. V. and Co.)
3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 408.
4. *Ibid*, p. 405.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 13. See also p. 407, Vol. I.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 162.
7. Op. cit. *Jīvaparayorviśeṣaṇaviśeṣyayoraṃśāṃśitvam svabhāvabhedaśca upapadyate.*
8. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 402. *Jagatkāraṇasya parasya brahmaṇaḥ prakārabhūtam atisūkṣmam ca acidvastu nityameva.*
9. *Ibid*, II, 2, 42.

of the jīva.[1] In the liberated state the jīva regains his original purity.[2] This pure state of the Jīva is not destroyed even in the mundane world, but is only screened by *avidyā*[3] which is of the form of *karma*. In *mukti* the jīva is identical with the Brahman only in the sense of inseparability.[4] Then he experiences that he is the Brahman, not in the sense that he actually becomes the Brahman, but in the sense that he becomes equal to him in purity.[5] Because of this difference even in *mukti* the jīva cannot possess the power of creation.[6]

Rāmānuja objects to *bhedābheda* because the identity between the jīva and the Brahman, according to Bhāskara, is an identity of their form; but he is prepared to accept their identity if it is like that of body and soul.[7] Rāmānuja's theory may therefore be rightly said to be a form of identity in difference. The reason for his dislike of the word *bhedābheda* seems to lie in his desire to drag down a purely logical concept to the physical level, and understand it in terms that are accessible to imagination. However, his insistence on the inseparability (*apṛthaksiddhatva*) of the jīva and the Brahman reveals his inclination towards *bhedābheda*. But it does not seem that according to his conception both identity and difference can be held together in transparent unity as in Hegel. For identity is secondary for him and is not primary like difference. True, the world along with the jīvas is the result of the transformation or *pariṇāma* of the *śakti* of the Brahman, and so inseparable from him. And so far as difference and inseparability are emphasized even in *mukti* between the jīva and the Brahman Rāmānuja is more an advocate of identity in difference than even Bhāskara, according to whom in *mukti* there is only identity. The process from the state of bondage to the state of liberation is a process from one form of identity in difference to another; but there is no process between identity and difference. In one passage he seems to say that creation is a process from identity to difference.[8] But both in the evolved and the unevolved stages the world and the jīvas constitute the Brahman's body and the problem of the relation between the two remains always and the relation is always identity in difference. We may therefore conclude that there are really only two entities, the Brahman and his body,

1. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 468.
2. Not the Advaitin's *avidyā*. Cp. Ibid, p. 469.
3. *Ibid*, p. 437. *Apṛthakbhāva.*
4. *Ibid*, pp. 472-3. *Atosvibhāgena brahmāsmītyevānubhavati sāṁyasādharmyavyapadeśo brahmaprakārabhūtasya eva pratyagātmanaḥ svarūpam tatsamamiti devādiprākṛtarūpa-prahaṇena brahmasamāna śuddhim pratipādayati.*
5. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17. This sūtra applies to all *muktas* or liberated souls according to Rāmānuja; according to Saṅkara only to those who meditate on the *Saguṇa* or determinate Brahman; and according to Bhāskara only to those liberated souls who yet stand in separation from the Brahman;
6. *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, p. 97. *Iśvarasya svarūpeṇa tādātmyavarṇane syādayam doṣaḥ Ātmaśarīrabhāvena tu tādātmyapratipādam na kaściddoṣaḥ,*
7. *Sribhāṣyam*, Vol. I, p. 402.

between which the relation is identity in difference as each cannot be obtained without the other. One of the terms of this relation (as *Tamas*) undergoes *pariṇāma*; in the evolved state it is a plurality, but in the unevolved an identity. And because the Brahman's body in the unevolved state (*Tamas*) is the material cause of the evolved state, the relation between the two states again is identity in difference. This idea is nearer to our imagination than Bhāskara's. Rāmānuja's, though he is fighting shy of the purely logical concept, is really more a system of identity in difference than the other's. The pure concepts of what Hegel calls ordinary understanding, identity and difference, Rāmānuja opposes to each other, finds that they are incompatible, makes no attempt to synthesise them, goes to the concrete example of body and soul, but actually sees in it identity and difference and therefore their synthesis. Rāmānuja's eagerness to use a concrete example for solving the problem may give rise to a difficulty. According to the general Indian tradition, though the physical body cannot exist without a soul it is not admitted that the soul cannot exist without a body. It may therefore be said that the body cannot exist without a soul though the soul can exist without a body. Hence the relation of inseparability or *apṛthaksiddhatva* is not equal in both directions. With this agrees the general opinion that for Rāmānuja difference is primary and identity secondary. He himself accepts Bādarāyaṇa's view that in *Mukti* the liberated soul may or may not have a body.[1] So far Rāmānuja's system too is not a thorough-going identity in difference.

Besides, the jīva in *mukti* does not really feel his identity with the Brahman, but only that he is as pure as he, that the latter is really his soul, and that his thoughts and actions are controlled by him, though through his grace he can enjoy everything. That is, the jīva actually feels his difference from the Brahman. So from the stand-point of the jīva and his experience Rāmānuja's cannot be identity in difference. Who is to feel the identity between energy and its possessor? It is only the external spectator. Thus far Rāmānuja's turns out to be a philosophy written from the stand-point of the spectator and is a deviation from the general Indian tradition. There is a further difficulty due to Rāmānuja's understanding the relation between the jīva and the Brahman in terms of the relation between body and soul, one an unconscious and the other a conscious entity. It is not merely due to our carrying the analogy on all fours. The unconscious never thinks and therefore cannot speculate about the relation between the conscious and itself. It is only some outsider that can think of this relation. If the relation between the jīva and the Brahman were really identity and difference at the same time, the jīva should not be in the position in which Rāmānuja places him in *mukti*.

IV

Nimbārka's is the most thorough-going and consistent of the Indian

1. *Ibid*, IV, p. 4, 2.

philosophies of identity in difference. His commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* is too short to give us an adequate idea of his difference from the other philosophies of identity in difference. We can get the details of his system only from Śrīnivāsa's commentary upon it. Śrīnivāsa tells us that he is Nimbārka's disciple and wrote his commentary at his teacher's command. The world according to Nimbārka is the *pariṇāma* or transformation of the Brahman. The jīva too is included in the effect, and thus the Brahman is the cause of the jīva and the physical world. As cause he differs from the latter two, and this difference is primary. Yet the material cause cannot be separated from the effect, therefore there is identity between the two, and this identity too is primary. Hence the relation between the Brahman and the world including the jīvas is both identity and difference at once. And both identity and difference are natural and real.[1] Nimbārka's view thus differs from that of Bhāskara. Śrīnivāsa interprets Audulomi as holding the view later advocated by Bhāskara, and tells us that this view is mentioned just to benefit dull intellects. He interprets Kāṣakṛtsna in the next *sūtra* as holding the view of natural difference and identity.

The Brahman has two kinds of *śakti* or energy, the energy that takes the form of the enjoyer and that which takes the form of the objects of enjoyment. Both undergo transformation and evolve the jīvas and the physical world.[3] Bhāskara too speaks of two kinds of *śakti*, but the jīva according to him does not seem to be the result of the transformation of the first form, but is the same as the Brahman conditioned by the second form of *śakti* becoming *upādhi*. This accords with his conception that the identity between the jīva and the Brahman is natural (*svābhāvika*) and in *mukti* is identity of form also (*svārūpya*), whereas the difference between the two is due to limitations. According to both Bhāskara and Nimbārka *pariṇāma* is the throwing out of *śakti* (*śaktivikṣepa*).[4] For Nimbārka the Brahman is both identical with, and different from the jīva and the world *naturally*; yet he is not identical with them *in form*, though he is different from them *in form*.[5]

Though the jīva is the effect of the Brahman, he is eternal, not created.[6] Besides, in *mukti* the jīva is said to attain his original form of purity.[7] He

1. Nimbārka's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, p. 139. (Chowkamba Sanskrit Series). *Yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante ityādau jīvopi bhūteṣu praviṣṭaḥ khalu kāryamadhye gaṇitaḥ brahma kāraṇam. Kāryakāraṇatvābhyām tayorbhedo mukhya eva. Atra dvaitavākyāni arthavanti bhavanti Kāryasya ca tajjñātvādinā tadananyatvādabhedopi mukhyaḥ. Evamatra advaitavākyāni arthavanti bhavanti. Evamubhayavidhavākyānam sārthe prāmaṇyāt jīvabrahmaṇorbhedābhedasambandhaḥ svābhāvikaḥ.*

2. *Ibid*, 146. *Sthūlabuddhi janopakārāya bhagavataḥ Audulomerbhedābhedaprakāra eveamabhihitaḥ.*

3. *Ibid*, p. 169.

4. *Ibid*, p. 170 *Śaktivikṣepalakṣaṇaḥ pariṇāmo gṛhyate.*

5. *Ibid*, pp. 165-6.

6. *Ibid*, II, 3, 17.

7. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 1.

is said to be an *aṁśa* or part of the Brahman, but *aṁśa* means only energy.[1] In *mukti* though the jīva is said to be identical with the Brahman, he is not so in form.[2] There he obtains all the perfections of the Brahman excepting the power of creation.[3]

In Nimbārka's philosophy, we thus see, the conception of identity in difference is rendered more consistent than in any other Indian system. Both identity and difference are given equal primacy and are declared to be natural and real. Of course identity in form (*svarūpaikya*) is not admitted by him; for if that is admitted there will be left no room for difference of any kind, as in *mukti* according to Śaṅkara and Bhāskara. Though Nimbārka has thus gained in consistency, he has deviated from the general philosophical tradition of India. For in *mukti* how can the jīva know at the same time both tradition from, and identity with the Brahman? The difference is not only natural but in form also; and the identity, though declared to be natural, that is, to belong to their nature, is nothing but inseparability.[4] The jīva is a jīva only because of his form. And so long as he knows his difference because of his form, it is difficult to understand how he can know his identity. This identity would be just of the same nature as that between one jīva and another, for these also possess the same nature. So it can only be an outside intelligence that can bring together both identity and difference from two sides, and try to have an idea of their unity. Hence Nimbārka does not interpret the relation between the jīva and the Brahman in terms of the former's life process, but as can be understood by an external spectator. Nor can it be said that the jīva as the *śakti* of the Brahmans feels his identity with him. For if the jīva as the *bhoktṛ-śakti* of the Brahman feels the identity of his consciousness with that of the Brahman, it is then difficult to conceive how he can feel the difference.

V

Śrīkaṇṭha, who is Śaiva commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*, calls his system by the name *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. He says that it can account for both *bheda* or difference and *abheda* or non-difference. The whole world along with the jīvas forms the body of the Brahman; and as the body is not separate from the soul, and yet is not the same as the soul, both identity and difference hold between the two.[5] Yet the relation is not *bhedābheda*, because identity and difference are opposed to each other. The world with the jīvas is the manifestation of the *śakti* or energy of the Brahman, and the

1. *Ibid*, II, 3, 42, *Aṁśo hi śaktirūpo grāhyaḥ.*
2. *Ibid*. p. 425. *Svarūpataḥ svābhāvike vibhāgepi svarūpāvibhāgastu neṣṭah.*
3. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17.
4. *Ibid*, p. 386. *Nirapekśasthitirahitatvam.*
5. Śrīkaṇṭha's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, Vol. II, p. 31. (Nirnaya Sagar Press). *Bhedābhedakalpanam viśiṣṭādvaitam sādhayāmaḥ...śarīraśarīriṇoriva viśiṣṭādvaitavādinaḥ....Prapañcabrahmaṇorananyatvam nāma....viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyatvena ca vinābhāvarahitatvam....Tadā brahma vinā na prapañcaśaktisthitiḥ. Śaktivyatirekeṇa na kadācidapi brahma vijñāyate vahnerivauṣṇyam vinā. Yena vinā yanna vijñāyate tattena viśiṣtameva. Tatvam ca tasya svabhāva eva. Ataḥ sarvathā prapañcāvinābhūtam brahma tasmādanayadityucyate. Bhedaśca svābhāvikaḥ.*

latter is always qualified or particularised by the *śakti.* This qualification or particularisation is natural (*svābhāvika*) like the difference between the two. Just as this *śakti* can never exist without the Brahman (*avinābhūta*), the latter also can never be seen without the *śakti.*

The world and the jīvas are due to the transformation or *pariṇāma* of the Brahman. But really this is a *pariṇāma* of his *śakti*; so that it is the material cause (*upādāna kāraṇa*) of the world and he the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*). In the state of dissolution the world does not disappear altogether but remains in a subtle state. The Brahman with his subtle *śakti* is the cause of the world, and with his gross *śakti* the effect.[1] In either case, he has a body either subtle or gross. This *śakti* is called *chidambaram*.[2] Before creation the world was in the form of *Tamas* or Darkness. But *jñānaśakti* or the energy of consciousness began to act, dispelled darkness, and the world appeared.[3]

The jīva is eternal and had no beginning.[4] Śrīkaṇṭha does not accept the views of Śaṅkara and Bhāskara that the jīva is nothing but the Brahman conditioned by *upādhis* or limitations either false or real.[5] In *mukti* the jīva attains his original state of purity. He does not become completely identical with the Brahman, that is in form, but comes to possess qualities like his.[6] Śrīkaṇṭha does not allow the power of creation to the liberated souls. That power is a prerogative of the Brahman only.[7]

So far we see that the philosophical systems of Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha are identical in almost every respect. Consequently the remarks we made on Rāmānuja's system apply with equal force to Śrīkaṇṭha's. But Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*, a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, as well as in his *Śivādvaitanirṇaya*, tries to prove that Śrīkaṇṭha is an *advaitin*, in spite of the latter's explicit declaration that his system is *viśiṣṭādvaita*. Apart from the question of the interpretation of the *śruti* texts, there are two important arguments of Appayya concerning doctrine. The first is that Śrīkaṇṭha advises the individual to meditate on the Brahman as his own self (*ātman*), whereas Rāmānuja advises that the Brahman has to be meditated upon as the self (*ātman*) of the individual who is the body of the Brahman, of whom therefore the Brahman is the self.[8] The second is that Śrīkaṇṭha draws a distinction between the *niranvaya* or unrelated Brahman and the *viśiṣṭa* or modified (related) Brahman. Taking the first argument we find that it is an inference from what has not been said. Just like Rāmānuja

1. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 135.
2. *Ibid*, p. 123.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 566.
4. *Ibid*, II, 2, 41, and II, 3, 18.
5. *Ibid*, II, 3, 49. *Satyamithyopādhibhyām baddhasya brahmaṇah eva jīvabhāva iti pakṣadvayepi yuktaya abhāsā eva.*
6. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 1, and IV, 2, 14.
7. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17.
8. *Ibid*, See respective commentaries on IV, 1, 3.

Śrīkaṇṭha says that one has to meditate on the Brahman as one's own *ātman*, but he does not add "because just as one is the *ātman* of one's body the Brahman is the *ātman* of the jīva." But from this mere absence of mention in that place we should not conclude that the jīva and the Brahman are absolutely identical for Śrīkaṇṭha. The passages in which he refers to their difference are overwhelming in number. It is true that Śrīkaṇṭha tells us that the Brahman grants his own form (*svarūpa*) to the meditator, though both are different from each other.[1] But this passage is only misleading if taken by itself, and has to be interpreted in the light of views expressed in the commentary on later *sūtras* which describe the state of *mukti*. In IV, 4, 1, and IV, 2, 14, for example, Śrīkaṇṭha says that the jīva in *mukti* does not leave his form (*svarūpa*) but becomes like the Brahman. Appayya's clinching upon the Upaniṣadic sayings *tattvamasi*, That thou art, *tvaṁ vā aham asmi*, Thou art myself, the one identifying the jīva with the Brahman and the other identifying the Brahman with the jīva, as implying complete identity, but not merely the sort of identity that is to be found between the body and the soul,[2] is not really conclusive; for Śrīkaṇṭha holds that just as the *śakti* including both the world and the jīvas cannot exist without the Brahman the latter too can never be found without his *śakti*,[3] so that the relation of inseparability holds in both directions equally. Hence, identity for Śrīkaṇṭha, has to be explained accordingly.

As regards the second argument, Professor Suryanarayana SASTRI says that the *niranvaya* Brahman of Śrīkaṇṭha, need not be same as the *nirguṇa* Brahman of Śaṅkara, nor need it be higher, for Śrīkaṇṭha, than the *saguṇa* or *viśiṣṭa*-Brahman.[4] He tells us that in some Śaiva *Āgamas* meditation on the *niranvaya* Brahman is a preparatory stage for meditation on the *saguṇa* Brahman. Śrīpati, a Vīraśaiva commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*, rejects *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and calls it *Saṁyuktādvaita*, dualism in which the terms are simply conjoined (like body and soul according to the general Indian belief), the two terms here being the Brahman and the *śakti*. We may probably venture upon a guess that the *niranvaya* Brahman is the Brahman without the *śakti*, while the related Brahman is the one with the *śakti*.[5] And because according to Śrīkaṇṭha the true Brahman is the latter, the former is an abstraction from him and so his falsified form, and hence occupies a lower position. The fact that Śrīkaṇṭha does not refer to *śaktiviśiṣṭa* Brahman in his commentary on IV, 1, 3, where he advises the individual to meditate on the Brahman as his own self, is perhaps due to his belief that the jīva can never become such a Brahman, but only a pure one like the *niranvaya* one. For the former possesses the power of creation which is refused by Śrīkaṇṭha to the liberated

1. *Ibid*, p. 427. *Upāsiturarthāntaratvepi tānupāsitṛnanugṛhṇati svasvarūpatayā param brahma.—Ato nirantaram śivohamiti bhāvanāpravāheṇa śithilitapāśatayā apagatapaśubhāva upāsakaḥ śiva eva bhavati.*
2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 427, (see *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*).
3. *Ibid*, p. 31.
4. *Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha*, pp. 37 foll.
5. *Anvaya* = relation.

souls. However, the arguments cannot be conclusive on either side. But if we are to interpret his system as a whole, Śrīkaṇṭha must be declared to be a *viśiṣṭādvaitin*. As Professor Suryanarayana SASTRI says, as an expositor of what Śrīkaṇṭha ought to have said Appayya may be right, but as an interpretor of Śrīkaṇṭha's meaning he may be wrong.[1] As a matter of fact, it is possible by a criticism of every philosopher to point out presuppositions that could never have been knowingly made by him.

VI

Śrīpati is another Śaiva (Vīraśaiva) commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*. He calls his system *bhedābheda, dvaitādvaita,* and *viśeṣādvaita*.[2] He does not accept the *nirviśeṣa* or indeterminate but only the *saviśeṣa* or determinate Brahman.[3] The world along with the jīvas forms the *viśeṣa* or quality of the Brahman. It is really his *śakti* or energy by which he is particularised. The jīva is at the same time a part of the Brahman.[4] Śrīpati's language here is misleading in that it makes the reader think that he is a *viśiṣṭādvaitin* like Rāmānuja. But as Rao Saheb HAYAVADANA RAO points out, it is wrong to interpret Śrīpati as a *śaktiviśiṣṭādvaitin*.[5] Śrīpati openly criticises *Viśiṣṭādvaita* as *saṁyuktadvaita* or joined-dualism; for if the jīva were really an organ of the Brahman's body, the latter would be affected by the pains and pleasures of the former.[6] He mentions the name of Śrīkaṇṭha who also held the view of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and disagrees with him.[7] This shows that Śrīpati is opposed to this physical conception of the relation between the jīva and the Brahman. The relation between the *daṇḍa*, the stick, and the *daṇḍin*, the person who holds the stick, is certainly physical, though the stick so long as it exists in the latter's hands remains a mark or *prakāra* which distinguishes him from those who do not hold sticks. But the relation between the two is not internal. This seems to be the reason why Śrīpati is dissatisfied with *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. Like Nimbārka he tells us that both *dvaita* or duality and *advaita* or non-duality are natural[8] (*svābhāvika*). He disagrees with those who say that one is primary and the other is secondary; and thus both Rāmānuja and Bhāskara are not acceptable to him, because for the former identity and for the latter difference are secondary. Śrīpati mentions another view of *bhedābheda* which is like Bhāskara's concerning the relation

1. *Śivādvaita of Śrikaṇṭha*, p. 39.
2. *Śrikarabhāshyam*, Vol. II, p. 2. (Edited by Rao Saheb C. HAYAVADANA RAO. Bangalore Press, Bangalore).
3. *Ibid*, p. 15.
4. *Ibid*, II, 3, 48. *Viśiṣṭaikavastuno viśeṣaṇamaṁśa eva. Evam jivaparayoraṁśāṁśitvam.*
5. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 860.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 20. *Sadāśeshiśeshitvavyavasthāpakasamyuktadvaitapañcarātrādivat nacāṅgāṅgitvena sāvayavatvavādinaḥ. Jīvavat sukhaduhkhabhoktṛtvaprasaṅgāt. Tasmādvayam svābhāvikasarvaśrutisamanvayabhedābhedavādina iti rāddhāntaḥ.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 200.
8. *Ibid*, p. 6. *Dvaitādvaitasya eva svābhāvikasya sarvaśrutisamanvayāt.*

between the jīva and the Brahman, but unlike his as regards the relation between the Brahman and physical world, between which both identity and difference are declared to be not natural (*svābhāvika*).[1] Of course he does not accept the view. For him the world is a *pariṇāma* or transformation of the Brahman. But it is really Brahman's *māyāśakti* or energy called *māyā* that is transformed into the world and so is its material cause, while he himself remains only its efficient cause.[2]

The jīva is not born but eternal.[3] The so-called creation of the jīva is nothing but the narrowing down of his consciousness; so that the creation of the physical world is of a different form from that of the jīva.[4] In *mukti* the jīva becomes identical with the Brahman, and attains his own original purity.[5] This identity is not only natural but also of form.[6] Herein lies the difference between Nimbārka and Śrīpati. For both, identity and difference are natural. But according to Nimbārka identity is not of form unlike difference, whereas for Śrīpati it is of form also like difference. If it is asked how can both identity and difference hold if identity is of form also, Śrīpati's possible answer is that difference holds only in bondage and identity in *mukti*;[7] so that identity and difference are not to be found simultaneously but at different times.[8] Curiously enough, in spite of this identity of form also, Śrīpati tells us that the jīva in *mukti* cannot possess the power of creation and remains secondary to the Brahman.[9] Thus difference seems to be carried into *mukti* also. On the basis of this statement we have probably to interpret the identity of form between the Brahman and the jīva as similarity of form. Śrīpati does not seem to be sufficiently clear on this point. If identity comes to mean inseparability for Śrīpati, then there is no need for taking recourse to the idea of different times[10] in order to reconcile the conflicting texts of the *śruti*. Or probably for Śrīpati though Brahman is identical in form also with the jīva, he can be different from the latter as an individual. But it is difficult to understand how things which are identical both in form and nature can be different as individuals.

1. *Ibid*, p. 186.
2. *Ibid*, p. 180. *Nimittabhūtasya upādānatvepi na vikārādisparśaḥ. Parameśvarmāyāśakterjagadrūpeṇa pariṇāmitvam tatparameśvarasya nimittakāraṇatvam ca pratipādanāt.*
3. *Ibid*, p. 29.
4. *Ibid*, p. 261. *Viyadāderacetanasya yādṛśo anyathābhavo na tādṛśo jīvasya. Jñānasaṅkocavikāsalakṣaṇo jīvasya anyathābhavaḥ. Viyadādestu svarūpānyathābhavalakṣaṇaḥ...Seyam svarūpānyathābhāvalakṣaṇanotpattiḥ jīve niṣidhyate.*
5. *Ibid*, p. 478.
6. *Ibid*, p. 461. *Svarūpaikyāvibhago nirdiśyate, baddhāvasthāvat.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 174. *Saṃsāradaśāyām jīvabrahmaṇorbhedaḥ mokṣadaśāyāmabhedaśca pratipādyate.*
8. *Ibid*, p. 338. *Kālabhedena samanvayāt.*
9. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17. This *sūtra* according to Śrīpati applies to both *mūrtabrahmopāsakas* and *niravayavabrahmopāsakas*, that is, to the worshippers of both the undifferentiated Brahman and the one with form.
10. *Ibid*, p. 338.

So far as Śrīpati thinks that difference holds in bondage and identity in *mukti,* his stand-point is that of the jīva undergoing his life's experience, and is therefore in accord with the general Indian philosophical tradition. And as identity and difference hold at different times, this philosophy is not really identity in difference though the author wants it to be called so. He is anxious to give equal importance to the *śruti* texts declaring identity as well as those declaring difference,[1] even if that procedure clashes with the demands of reason. Still there is an attempt to accommodate reason, as in the other commentators. Naturally inconsistencies appear in one form or another. Śrīpati does not see that by bringing in the idea of different times he is practically giving up *bhedābheda* as a logical unity. And he tries to go beyond Nimbārka by saying that *bhedābheda* is not only of nature but also of form, though it is inconceivable how such a relation is possible. And above all, it cannot be the jīva in *mukti* that is to know the *bhedābheda* between himself and the Brahman. For he loses his own form in *mukti.* Consequently this relation is for an external spectator.

VII

This paper is concerned with only the philosophical import of the various systems discussed. The sectarian bias of each has not been referred to. Only Śaṅkara and Bhāskara are not sectarian ; the others are either Vaiṣṇavites or Śaivites and identified their Brahman either with Viṣṇu or Śiva. Bhāskara's leanings too seem to be towards Vaiṣṇavism, though he does not enter into elaborate discussions on the point. Each of the commentators discussed tried to retain both identity and difference in one form or another. But it is only Nimbārka who comes very close to the speculative conception of identity in difference ; but so far he has deviated from the general Indian philosophical stand-point, namely, of life's process. Nimbārka is consistent also in his application of *svābhāvikabhedābheda.* Śrīpati tried to outdo him by accepting identity of form also ; but thereby he ended in contradictions, which weaken his idea of identity in difference or even of *bhedābheda.* He practically marks a return to Bhāskara by saying that difference is found in bondage and identity in *mukti.*

1. *Ibid,* p. 273. *Vayam śrutipramāṇavādinaḥ. Na yuktim bahumanmahe.*

AN UNPUBLISHED INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA MAHĀRĀJA DEVASENA

By

H. N. RANDLE, London.

It is not known how or when this copper-plate came into the possession of the India Office. It is the first plate of a set of which the other plates are not forthcoming.[1] It now measures 9¾ × 2½ inches, and weighs 5 ounces; but since a part has been broken away at the ringhole (which is fortunately in an unusual position, clear of the inscription, on the proper right edge), the plate in its original condition must have been rather longer and heavier. The sides are straight, but the intact end has the corners rounded off. There is no raised edge or rim. The inscription consists of three lines, engraved fairly deeply (so that some characters show slightly on the reverse), and on one side only, as is usual in the case of the first (and last) plates of Vākāṭaka grants. The first and last *akṣaras* in the third line project beyond the limit of the first two lines. The inscription ends in the middle of a word. The *language* should have been correct Sanskrit (discounting the engraver's errors). There are two cases of the doubling of consonants after *r*. The *script* is a typical example of the fully developed box-headed alphabet found in most Vākāṭaka plates, as well as in inscriptions of other rulers,— for example the Ṛddhapura (Rithpur) plates of the Mahārāja Bhavattavarman (11th regnal year).[2] The box-head ornament is very decorative, but quite unessential; and what is in essence the same script, with or without this decoration, was widely diffused. The inscriptions of the Gaṅga (or Gāṅga) king (or kings) named Indravarman[3] of Kaliṅga, could be turned

1. There are three recorded Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions of which the first plate is missing: the Patna Museum plate of Pravarasena II (BHANDARKAR'S *List of North Indian Inscriptions* No. 2095), described in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XIV p. 472, and the Indore plates of the same ruler, edited by Sushil K. BOSE in *E. I.* xxiv, part ii,—neither of which of course is connected with the plate here described; and the Rāmṭek plate registered in HIRA LAL'S *Inscriptions of the C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., (1932), p. 4, No. 5, which is unfortunately not described.

2. *Epigraphia Indica* XIX, p. 100. Bhavattavarman's plates are dated from Nandivardhana. The Poona Museum plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen-Mother Prabhāvatiguptā, dated in the 13th year (BHANDARKAR'S list, 1703), were issued from Nandivardhana. If the same place is referred to in both grants (and curiously enough Bhavattavarman's plates were found together with Prabhāvatiguptā's *other* plates, of the 19th year), the Vākāṭakas may have taken it from Bhavattavarman,— or *vice versa*. The difference in orthography, Nandi- and Nandivardhana, is clear on the facsimiles and has to be noted. On the "Central Indian" script and its wide affinities see FLEET, *G. I.* Pp. 3-4 and 18-19.

3. *I. A.* XIII pp. 119-124; *E. I.* III, pp. 127-130.

into typical 'Vākāṭaka' character by developing the rudimentary box-heads. Samudragupta's Eran inscription[1] and Candragupta II's Udayagiri inscription[2] have the box-head more or less developed.

As regards its *form*, the inscription is without the initial (or rather marginal) words *siddham dṛṣṭam* which are usual in completed Vākāṭaka grants, and which (on what seems the most reasonable interpretation) represent the official "seen and approved." It begins simply with the word *Svasti.* And there is no genealogy. A *date* would presumably have been given on the later plates. Vākāṭaka inscriptions however give only regnal years; and there were varying estimates of their chronology, until K. B. PATHAK's preliminary notice in the *Indian Antiquary* 1912 (p. 214) of Prabhāvatiguptā's grant of the 13th year (later edited by him and K. N. Dikshit, *E.I.* XV, 1919, pp. 39-42), settled the matter beyond doubt. She is described in previously known Vākāṭaka grants simply as the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta; and Devagupta was at first identified with the later Gupta of Magadha so named. But in her own grants she adds the imperial Gupta genealogy in full; so that the identity of her father Devagupta with Chandragupta II is placed beyond doubt, and the central point of Vākāṭaka chronology is thus fixed at c. 400 A.D. Devasena, who issues the grant here described, must therefore be dated towards the end of the 5th century A.D., in view of the established[3] Vākāṭaka genealogy and succession :—

1. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
3. The geneology down to Pravarasena II is given in his own plates (Chammak, 18th year, and Siwani 18th year, *Gupta Inscriptions* Nos. 54-56; Dudia, 23rd year *E.I.* III, p. 260; Patna Museum, incomplete, *JBORS.* XIV, p. 472; Tirodi, 23rd year, *E.I.* xxii, p. 167; Indore 23rd year, (first plate missing), *ibid.* xxiv, part ii; Paṭṭan, 27th year *ibid.* xxiii, p. 81). The grants of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā give the Gupta but not the Vākāṭaka genealogy. (Poona Museum, 13th year, *E.I.* XV p. 41; Poona Museum (Ṛddhapur), 19th year, *JRASB.* XX p. 53 with reversed facsimiles). She was regent for her son Divākarasena in the "13th year"; and Queen-Mother of the reigning monarch Damodarasena-Pravarasena [II] in the "19th year." I take it that the latter's regnal years are counted from the death of his father Rudrasena II, although he did not succeed until at least 13 years afterwards. In other words six years intervene between these two grants.—The evidence for Narendrasena and Pṛthvīṣeṇa II is provided by the Bālāghāṭ plates of the latter, undated (*E.I.* IX. p. 267). Vincent SMITH overlooked this important grant in his article (*JRAS.* 1914 p. 317) *Vākāṭaka dynasty of Berar in the fourth and fifth centuries* A.D., and he therefore (p. 322) enters Narendrasena as "unnamed son" of Pravarasena II, and omits Pṛthvīṣeṇa II.—The evidence for Devasena and Hariṣeṇa is an Ajantā inscription (Cave XVI. BURGESS, *Buddhist Cave Temples* —*A. S. W. I.* IV, p. 124) which gives the whole genealogy and many valuable historical details, but curiously omits Rudrasena II, and (apparently) either Narendrasena or Pṛthvīṣeṇa II. The Ghaṭotkacha Cave inscription of Hastibhoja (*ibid.* p. 138) mentions Devasena.—The Deotek slab has a "box-headed" inscription, partly defaced, which speaks of a *dharmasthāna* of a king Rudrasena at Chikkambari (edited with facsimile by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI in *Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* 1935, published in 1937,

Vindhyasakti
(1) Pravarasena I, son of the above
Gautamiputra, son of (1). *m.* the daughter of Bhavanāga Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas
(2) Rudrasena I, grandson of (1)
(3) Pṛthvīṣeṇa I, son of (2)
(4) Rudrasena II, son of (3). *m.* Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Caṇdragupta II
(5) Pravarasena II, son of (4) (was reigning at least 27 years after his father's death)
(6) Narendrasena, son of (5)
(7) Pṛthvīṣeṇa II, son of (6)
(8) Devasena, son of either (6) or (7)
(9) Hariṣeṇa, son of (8)

Fragmentary though it is, this inscription, besides being the latest of the known Vākāṭaka land-grants and the only one issued in Devasena's name, contributes at least one interesting and epigraphically new place-name, *Vātsyagulma.*

Earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas[1] were issued from *Nandivardhana* (the queen-mother Prabhāvatiguptā, as regent); *Pravarapura* (Pravara II); and *Padmapura* (the incomplete Drug plate).[2] *Vātsyagulma* may have been yet another Vākāṭaka capital. *Vātsyagulmaka*[3] occurs twice in lists of peoples in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* (V. 5, Āndhrāṇām ... Vātsyagulmakānām ... Vaidarbhāṇām ... Aparāntakānām ... Saurāṣṭrakāṇām. V. 6, Āparāntikānām ... Ābhīrakāṇām ... Vātsyagulmakānām ... Vaidarbhakāṇām etc.). If it could be inferred from the present inscription that Vātsyagulma became the Vākāṭaka capital at about the period of Devasena, and that the people *then* began to be called by the name of the new capital, a valuable indication of the upper limit of date (c. 500 A.D.) for the composition of the Kāma-sūtra would be given by this plate. The geographical inference from the order in which the *Kāma-sūtra* lists these peoples seems merely to confirm what was already clear from the normal find-places of

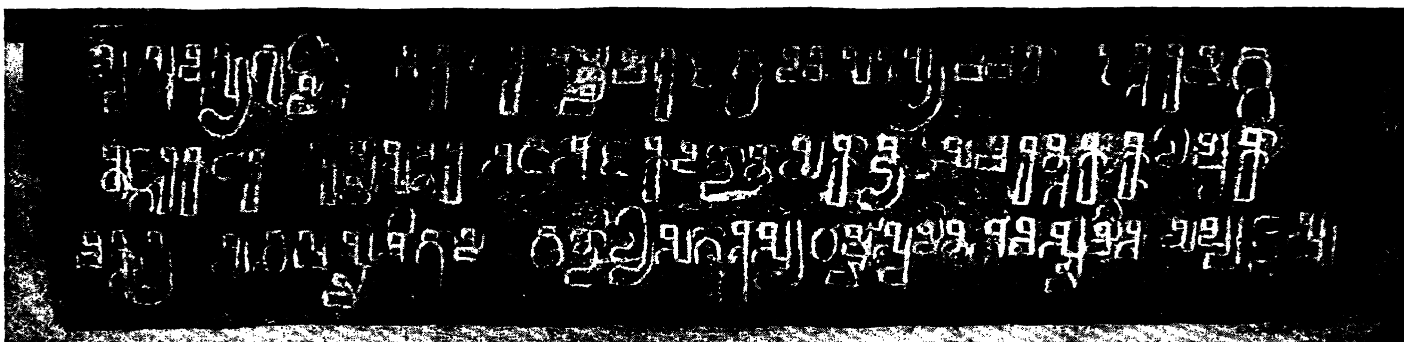
pp. 613-622). The editor agrees with CUNNINGHAM (*C. I. I.* Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 28) in identifying this king with Rudrasena I. If so, it is the earliest known Vākāṭaka inscription. The name of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pṛthvīṣeṇa [I] occurs in stone inscriptions at Nāchnā (*Gupta Inscriptions* p. 233) and Ganj (*E. I.* xvii p. 13),—both in Bundelkhand.

1. I exclude grants plainly issued from *tīrthas,* such as Prabhāvatiguptā's grant from Rāmagiri, or *vāsakas* (*see* following note). As regards Nandivardhana see footnote 2. It is perhaps a little unsafe to assume that any of these places were capitals.

2. Edited by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI, *E.I.* xxii, p. 207. The genealogy breaks off just before the mention of Rudrasena I. The editor is inclined to assign it to Pṛthvīṣeṇa II, whose Bālāghāṭ plates were intended to be issued—they were never completed—from his camp (*Vāsaka*) at Vembāra.

3. BÖHTLINGK and ROTH, *s. v.*, refer only to the *Kāma-sūtra.*

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DEVASENA



Photograph by R. B. FLEMING.] [Scale about 2/3

Vākāṭaka grants,—that they occupied the districts of the Central Provinces surrounding Berar on the north and east.

The present inscription was intended to be issued from *Vātsyagulma*, and is addressed to Devasena's lieges (*sannara*),[1] soldiers (*bhaṭa*), officials (*bhojaka*), officers of justice and others (*daṇḍanāyakādi*), his *sacarantaka*[2] and nobles (*kula-putra*), in the Nāṅgara[3] division (*kaṭaka*) in the northern region (*uttara-mārga*). They are to be informed that he [has granted] to the *dharmasvāmin* Bhavasvāmin, of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, the village Yappajja,[4] together with [?] ...

Transliteration[5]

Line 1. Svasti Vātsyagulmāt Vākāṭakānām = mahārāja-śrī-Devasenasya vacanā[t][6] Uttara-mārgga-

Line 2. Nāṅgara-kaṭake asmat-sannara-bhaṭa-bhojaka-daṇḍanāyakādya[s] sacarantaka-kula-prakā (-putrā)

Line 3. vaktavya(ā) yathaiṣo'sma(ā)bhi[r] grāmaḥ Śa(ā)ṇḍilya-sagotrasya dharmmasva(ā)mina(o) Bhavasmamita(svāmino) Yappajjas = sa- ...

[ENDS.]

1. *Sannara* here, though intelligible, may be the engraver's misreading of *santaka*; since *asmat-santaka* is a normal commencement to the list of officials addressed in Vākāṭaka inscriptions.

2. I am unable to explain *sacarantaka*. In formation it seems similar to the *santaka* of Vākāṭaka inscriptions (for which see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 241, footnote 10).

3. The nasal—unless there be other evidence for such nasalization—must preclude identification with places commencing Nāgara-. FLEET (*Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 281, footnote 3) made the suggestion that in such names as Nāgarakhaṇḍa (a division of the Banavāsi province—*I. A.* XIX p. 144), "the first component of the name Nāgara, being the Kanarese genitive plural masculine, points distinctly to its denoting the territory of the Nāga people." The late Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL, in his *History of India* 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. (*Lahore* 1935) built a considerable superstructure on this foundation.

4. The conjecture that this strange word (which may be no more than another aberration of the engraver) is a village name is however made improbable by the position of the word in the sentence. If it be a village name, *sa-* may have been completed on a following plate into (e.g.) *sanidhis sopanidhis ca*. But I doubt if there ever was a following plate. The absence of the initial or marginal *dṛṣam* may (as Professor Otto STEIN suggests to me) indicate that the engraver's incompetence proved too much for the Vākāṭaka official, and that the plate was rejected before completion.

5. Emendations are inserted in round brackets, omitted letters in square brackets. The engraver has misread his 'copy' through likeness of letters in two (and perhaps three) cases: *prakā* for *putrā*; *Bhavasmamita* for *svāmino*; and (possibly) *sannara-* for *santaka* (see note 1). I suspect that the plate (which does not bear the usual *dṛṣṭam*, marking official approval) was for these reasons rejected.

6. I supply *-t* because *saṃdhi* would not have been applied here.

CAREER OF JALALUDDIN FIRUZ KHALJI

By

N. B. RAY, Mymensingh

In attempting to re-construct the career of Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji the historian is first confronted with the knotty question of the origin of the Khaljis[1]. The Muslim historians of India, e.g., Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni found themselves utterly confounded in attempting to ascertain the origin of this tribe. In the opinion of the former they were either descended from Qalij Khan, son-in-law of Jengiz Khan or sprang from Yafis, son of Noah.[2] Badauni, on the other hand while rejecting the theory of their origin from Qalij Khan, doubted as well the account of their descent from Yafis.[3]

One of the earliest of our authorities *Minhaj-i-Siraj* is entirely silent on this question, the only fact mentioned by him is that they were a people settled in Ghur and Garmsir.[4] The poet and historian, Amir Khusrau does not say anything about the origin of this tribe but he mentions that bloody wars were waged by Jalaluddin against the Mongols and the Afghans.[5] "His spears" says Amir Khusrau the great poet "had wounded the Afghans until the hills resounded with lamentations." As the poet was a particular favourite of the sultan and as his works were read in his presence, Amir Khusrau would not have made this hard remark against the Afghans, if the sultan and his courtiers belonged to any of the Afghan tribes ; nor can they be said to be Mongols for the Sultan not only fought against them but detested them as unbelievers. Thus the account of Amir Khusrau precludes the possibility of the Khaljis being either Afghans or Mongols ; on the other hand, the fact of their Turkish origin is supported by Seljuqnama and Tarikh-i-Guzida.

According to the author of Seljuqnama (quoted by Nizamuddin and Badauni) Turk, the son of Yafis had eleven sons, one of whom was Khalji. This statement combined with others made in Tarikh-i-Gazida may be taken as fairly reasonable evidence of the Turkish origin of the Khalji tribe,

1. The origin of the Khaljis demands more than a passing notice for this tribe produced great military commanders. Ikhliyaruddin Mahmud Bakhtiyar, Jalaluddin Firuz, Alauddin Mahmud and Mahmud Khalji of Mandu were all great and capable leaders of men who either laid the foundation of new dynasties or carried the arms of Islam to distant and hitherto untraversed regions.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Persian Text, Bib. Indica, pp. 116-7).

3. *Muntakhub-ut-tawarikh* (Persian Text, Bib. Indica, p. 167).

4. Eng. Trans. T. N. p. 548.

5. Amir Khusrau says ELLIOT (III., p. 537) "From the heads of the Mughals [Jalaluddin] I have filled up my cups with blood & stuck their inverted skulls upon the top of my standard." Zia Barani also says in (T.F. pp. 194-195) that for years he had fought against Mongols."

though the fierce hostility of the Turkish chiefs and people of Delhi led Zia Barani to remark that the Khaljis belonged to a tribe different from that of the Turks. The fact appears to be that the Khaljis had been long settled in Ghur and Gharjistan and had imbibed the manners and sentiments of the Afghans, during their long residence in that country. So when Jalaluddin usurped the throne by exterminating the Balbani line of kings, the Khaljis were hated as barbarians. On the whole, the present facts would support the Turkish origin of the tribe.[6]

Not only is the origin of the Khaljis shrouded in obscurity but our knowledge of the early career of Jalaluddin is equally scanty. He had served Sultan Balban and his talents earned for him the iqta of Kaithal,[7] and the naibship (deputy gov.) of Samana.[8] It was in this situation that his capacity as a warrior displayed itself in fighting against the Mongols who swarmed into the plains of the Punjab.[9] His sternness against these rude invaders was paralleled by his severity in internal administration. He pillaged the Mundahirs of Kaithal and the desperate stroke of a furious mundahir's sword stained his face with a permanent mark.[10] Once the high hand of his officers was felt by Maulana Sirajuddin Sawi, a distinguished poet of Samana ; he complained against the officials to Jalaluddin and sought to win his favour by composing a poem in his eulogy, but neither complaint nor the good words of praise did move the stern naib whereupon the poet, stung to quick, lampooned the Khalji chief in his book, *Khalji-nama.*[11]

The star of Jalaluddin's fortune arose when Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad dismissed his wazir Nizamuddin, son-in-law of Fakhruddin Malik-ul-umara, kotwal of Delhi and sought to impart vigour into the administration (by redistributing) of the chief offices. Aitimar Kajhan and Aitimar Surkha, formerly slaves of Balban were appointed barbak (usher) and wakildar (vice-regent) respectively[12] whereas another (bandah) servant of sultan Balban, Firuz Khan, son of Yagrish Khalji,[13] was promoted to the office of aariz-i-mamālik,[14] in recognition of his services and rewarded with the iqta of Baran (Bulandshr)[15] and the title of Shayesta Khan. The triumvirate

6. To connect the Khalji's with the Ghilzais, is, unreasonable, for the word in use is Khalj خلج and its plural in use is Akhlaj اخلاج The *Cambridge Hist. of India's* contention on this point, p. 91. is unconvincing.
7. Kaithal—a town in Sarhind, 143 miles N. W. of Delhi by N. W. Ry.
8. Samana—16 miles southwest from Patiala.
9. Jalaluddin coveted the title of "Warrior of God," for his resolute fighting against the infidel Mongols.
10. *T. F.* p. 195. 11. *T.F.* p. 194. 12. *T.F.* p. 170.
13. *T.M.* says Firuz Eghrish (p. 57), *M.T.* p. 163, Firuz Khan ibn Yagrish Khan.
14. The translation of Aāriz-i-Mamalik into Muster-Master general is not very appropriated for Alauddin as the iqtadar of Kara and Oudh, held this title also.
15. *T.F.* p. 170—Baran is about 40 miles s. e. of Delhi.

that was set up was however destined by its very nature to have a stormy career; for ere long distrust and suspicion undid the unity of the council. The Turkish chiefs became alarmed at the ascendancy of Shayesta Khan and his influence over the army. Apprehensive of his designs,[16] the Turkish chiefs laid out a plan for arresting Shayesta Khan by summoning the latter to the sultan's presence, but the secret was divulged by Ahmed Chap,[17] amir-i-hajib of Aitimar Kajhan to the Khalji chief who immediately made a call to arms;[18] he summoned his brother Khamush and nephew Malik Ijuddin to his side; his uncle Hājā Hāsin was sent to Baran to bring over the army; Malik Darpi the iqtādar of Kanouj joined his standard. To cloak his sinister design the rumour of the approach of the Mongols as far as Samana was widely circulated and under this convenient pretext, a review of the army was held at Bhukalpahari, otherwise known as Firuz-koh. Intrigue was matched by counter-intrigue; deception by counter-deception.[19] A serious crisis hung over the realm menacing the throne of Kaiqubad and the dynasty of Balban, but Sultan Muizzuddin was powerless to act. Excessive indulgence in the pleasures of youth had impaired all his physical powers and the fatal malady of paralysis had struck him completely down.

Matters drifted and soon precipitated into armed hostility. In accordance with the preconcerted plan Aitimar Kajhan summoned Shayesta Khan twice to the sultan's presence but the messengers were as often sent back,

16. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin* (Buhar Library M. S. p. 380 says) that the Turkish armies wanted to murder him on account of his opposition to the Sultan.

F. S. p. 197—Fatuh-us-Salatin gives a very interesting story of the rise of Jalaluddin Khalji to eminence. A few courtiers, envious of his fame and success, complained against him to the sultan who thereupon ordered him to be sent with gyves in his wrists. Out of respect for the sultan's authority, Jālaluddin put voluntarily hand-cuffs and rode to the Sultan from Babal, who, pleased with his remarkable fidelity rewarded him with the iqta of Baran and the post of Ariz-i-mamalik.

17. *T.M.*, p. 56 says that Ahmad Chap was formerly a personal attendant of the son of Shayesta Khan. K. K. BASU's translation of the sentence (nabayed keh aj u khatāye barāyed) into (*T.M.P.T.*, p. 56) (incapable of performing any wrong) is not fair; it should be "it is not likely that he would commit mistake."

18. Zia Barani says that the Turkish amirs drew up a list proscribing a few Khalji amirs (*T.F.* p. 172), *F. S.* also says the same thing. *T.M.* says that the Turkish amirs wanted to arrest Jalaluddin. As Zia Barani shows extreme partisanship for the Khaljis, on account of his father being the deputy of Arkhali Khan, second son of Jalaluddin and as Isami manifests a tendency to make his account sensational, we have preferred Yahiya's version who appears to have borrowed in many places his account from earlier and contemporary authorities, e.g. Amir Khusrau's description of the sultan's expedition against Chaju is more in accord with Yahiya's than with Zia Barani's account. Yahiya's account of Jalaluddin Firuz, though very brief, is sober and candid while Zia Barani carries the eulogy of his father's patron to such an extravagant and absurd length that the fulsome encomium often turns into opprobrium, e.g., the sultan's leniency towards the thieves who were set free has besmirched his reputation as a king.

19. *F. S.* p. 197, *T. F.* p. 172, *M. T.* p. 157.

F. S. p. 198, says that Jalaluddin secretly set about military preparation and formed a counter-plot.

whereupon Aitimar Kajhan rode personally to the tent of Shayesta Khan at Firuz-koh,[20] (opposite Kilughari). The latter greeted the Turkish chief, made ample apology and indicated his desire to accompany his stirrup.[21] Befooled by these words Kajhan dismounted when suddenly the scimitar of Shayesta Khan flashed out and in a twinkle Kajhan's head rolled on the ground.[22] The murder of the Turkish amir and the call to sword constituted a serious challenge to the sultan's authority[23] and brought about a clash of arms between the contending parties. The Khalji army was arrayed on the bank of the Jamuna opposite Kilughari, while the Turkish amirs confronted them on the other side of the river with a train of elephants. The crisis brought out the paralytic sultan for the last time to the public view. Qāzi Ālam and Āmir Ali carried the decrepit sultan on their arms to the top of the palace; the royal canopy was unfurled over his head; Rajini paik, one of the confidants of the sultan posted himself in the midst of the elephants; the war drums pealed forth but before the din of battle arose, the proclamation was sounded by Malik Chaju that Kaiqubad had been deposed and his young son would be made king.[24] This unexpected declaration produced an immediate sensation and broke the unity of the Turkish army. Malik Nasiruddin, the keeper of the elephants, and other amirs withdrew the tuskers and forces and the battle ended before it was begun. The dissension within the Turkish camp and the collapse of all opposition now led to a most dramatic episode. Hisamuddin, second son of Shayesta Khan, rushed upon Kilughuri with a body of 500 picked horsemen, forced his way to the palace, and carried away the young son of Kaiqubad to his father's tent. The daring theft of the Prince, the last prop of the Turkish amirs, roused Aitimar Surkha to a frenzy and spurred him on to the gallant rescue of the Prince[25]

20. Barani says Baharpur, p. 172.

21. He offered a very lame excuse saying that certain soldiers of Kanouj were worn out and requested Aitimar Kajhan to dismount, as after laying all the facts before him, he would accompany him to the Sultan's presence. K. K. BASU's translation of the sentence is incorrect. (ملك ساعتی فرود آیند تا بحضور عرض کرده برابر رکاب بحضرت رفته شود -) He translates it, "Malik Saati intends presenting himself to the sultan and accompanying his stirrups to Delhi". The correct translation should be "Your highness should dismount and wait for sometime so that I may make a representation and accompany your stirrups to the capital."

22. *T. M.* p. 57, *T. F.* p. 172, *F. S.* p. 198. According to the latter, however, Kajhan's head was cut-off by Ali, son-in-law of Shayesta Khan's son, at a hint from Shayesta Khan. For the melo-dramatic nature of this account, the joint testimony of Barani and Yahiya has been preferred.

23. Ibn Batuta in his brief review of Jalaluddin's career remarks that Jalaluddin revolted against the sultan and going out of the city encamped upon a hill in the neighbourhood. (ELLIOT. III. p. 597.)

24. *T. M.* p. 58, *M. T.* p. 164.

25. *F. S.* p. 202, Zia Barani, p. 172. *T. M.* p. 58.

According to *T. M.* the attempt at rescuing the boy Prince was made much later on but as both Zia Barani and Isami are unanimous in stating that the event fol-

mounting his horse he galloped fast to the Khalji camp, but he had not gone far when an arrow shot by Hisamuddin struck him so violently that he fell down from his horse and died.[26]

The startling news of Hisamuddin's coup had spread like wild fire in Delhi. The city was seized with furious indignation ; crowds surged out of the gates but the fall of Surkha disspirited them and the uproar of the mob was extinguished by Malik Fakhruddin, the kotwal of the city.

The capture of the young prince and the disappearance of the two prominent Turkish armies made Shayesta Khan master of the situation. The Khalji's struck up their camp at Firuz-Koh and transferred their head-quarters to Kilughari. A strict guard under Malik Hasin, Shayesta Khan's uncle was kept over the palace and the invalid protector and lord of Hindustan, sank into the precarious condition of a captive at the hands of his trusted servant. The notable amirs, e.g. malik Fakhruddin kotwal and malik Chhaju came and offered congratulation. Then followed a scene which brought into lurid light the craft and hypocrisy of the principal actors. After mutual greetings and felicitation, Shayesta Khan turned to Malik Chhaju, offered him the regency of the minor Prince and then indicated his desire to retire to the post at Multan. Chhaju in his turn returned the compliments and begged the fief of Kara. This comic scene was cut short on the intervention of malik Fakhruddin who requested Shayesta Khan to assume the regency and send Chhaju to Kara.[27]

Shayesta Khan's regency.

Thus with the acquiescence of the principal amirs, began the regency of Shayesta Khan ; the boy Prince was placed on the throne at Chabutara Nasiri and entitled sultan Shamsuddin Kaimurs.[28] Meanwhile his father languished in the palace for want of food and water ; two days after the coronation an assassin who nursed a private grudge against Kaiqubad entered the royal chamber at the instigation of Shayesta Khan, administered a few kicks, and then threw his corpse headlong into the waters of the Jamuna.[29]

lowed the theft of the boy, we accept their version. This also seems more reasonable on a careful consideration of the circumstances as they developed.

26. *F. S.* gives a sensational account of the death of Surkha. According to him, the news of Hisamuddin's coup reached him when he was washing his hair. He immediately seized the horse and rode at speed to Shayesta Khan's tent. But his horse struck against a strong cord near the portico of Shayesta Khan's tent ; both the animal and the rider rolled on the ground whereupon, a Hindu who was near by attracted by the noise, sprang upon Surkha and cut his head by a sabre-stroke. *F. S.* (p. 202).

27 *T. M.* p. 59.

28. The name of the Sultan is given in the Persian texts as Shamsuddin Kaikus, but numismatic evidence clearly establishes that his name was Kaimurs (not Kaikus). *Catalogue of coins in the Delhi Museum*—WRIGHT, p. 66.

29. *F. S.* p. 200 says that Muizuddin killed a man named Turk who had several dare-devil sons, one of them entered the palace and kicked the Sultan to death. Zia Barani says, p. 173 ملکي را ...... در دفع کردن سلطان معزالدین اشارت کردند

On Wednesday, February 1, 1290 A.D. Sultan Muizzuddin disappeared from history.[30]

Sultan Shamsuddin Kaimurs.

For only a few months Shayesta Khan veiled his ambition by maintaining the phantom of a boy-sultan. His Khalji descent combined with the murder of Kajhan, the tragic end of Kaiqubad and the virtual imprisonment of Shamsuddin Kaimurs, earned for him universal abhorrence of the capital. He had, therefore to bide some time and strengthen his precarious position. He reorganised the administration and gradually the people accustomed themselves to the new regime. Four months after the accession of Kaimurs, he found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and put the crown on his head. The young sultan was thrown into prison and soon followed his father to the grave.[31] It may be doubtful whether Shayesta Khan stained his hand with the blood of this innocent Prince. It is certain, however, that his violence was the cause of the Prince's death.

Accession of Jalaluddin Firuz.

Preparations were now made for the coronation of the usurper. A golden throne was placed and Shaysta Khan mounted it with graceful steps, and proclaimed himself as sultan Jalaluddin Firuz, on Tuesday, June 13, 1290.[32] His accession was signalized by distribution of titles and offices ; his eldest son received the title of Khan Khanan, second son Hisamuddin the title of Arkali Khan and the youngest that of Qadr Khan, his brother Shahabuddin was entitled Yagrish Khan, Khwaja Khatir was appointed Wazir, Ahmad Chap Naib Barbak (deputy Usher), his nephew Alauddin and Ulugh Khan were rewarded with the offices of amir-i-Tuzuk and akhur Beg ; a body of new peers was created consisting of Tajuddin Kuji, his brother Fakhruddin, Malik Harnumar Sarjander, and others. The new Sultan's coronation was celebrated by a state entry into Delhi where he held a darbar in the Ruby Palace but the sullen discontent of the people compelled him to return to Kilughari which became the temporary seat of government. At Kilughari, the palace begun by Kaiqubad was completed and beautified with paintings. A lovely garden was laid out in front of it on the bank of the Jamuna. A new fortress was built and the cluster of mansions that soon grew up in all directions turned Kilghari into Shahr-i-nau (the new city).[33]

at the instigation of Shayestā Khān the malik made an end of Kaiqubad. This is also supported by Ibn Batutā and Badauni.

30. *T. M.* gives this date which is indirectly supported by Amir Khusrau, for the latter places the accession of Jalaluddin on 3rd Jumad-ul-Akhir, 689, (13th June 1290). Badauni places his death in the middle of Muharam 689 A.H. That Zia Barani who places the accession of Jalaluddin in 688 A.H. is faulty, is attested also by epigraphic evidence. *E. Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 34.

31. Zia Barani hides all facts about his death. Only T. M. says that he died in prison ; obviously he was murdered.

32. *F. S.* p. 203. This date is given by Amir Khusrau, ELLIOT, p. 536.

33. *T. F.* p. 176.

The quick and unexpected succession of events culminated in a revolution by transfering the sceptre of India from the Turks to the Khaljis. For three generations Hindustan had obeyed the commands of the Turkish sultans ; the awe and majesty of Balban's rule had secured a powerful hold on the popular imaginations ; the sharp sword of the Ghiyasi chiefs was guarantying law and order in distant parts of Hindustan. These chiefs were now called upon to transfer their allegiance to Khaljis and naturally refused to yield without a struggle. They rallied round Malik Chhaju, the surviving heir of the Balbani line and Jalaluddin, within a short time after his accession, found himself confronted by their rising.

Campaign against Malik Chhaju.

With the assumption of the regency by Shayesta Khan, Malik Chhaju had retreated to Kara. The wealth and security of this eastern province having inflamed his ambition[34] he crowned himself and struck coins under the title of Sultan Mughisuddin ;[35] his boundless liberality and gifts drew a multitude of followers to his side. Malik Ali Sarjandar, the iqtadar of Oudh. Alap Ghazi of Kark and a host of Hindu rais, ranas, rawats and chowdhuries joined his standard and the mighty army "as numerous as ants and locusts" rolled towards the capital to recover the throne from the upstart usurper.

The whole of northern India from Delhi to Kara was in a forment. Consternation seized the Khalji chieftains, Malik Tajuddin Kuji, Muhammad Qutlugh Khan, Nasrat Ali Beg, posted in the Doab and Rohilkhand. They left their district (iqtas), rallied at Kark and then proceeded to Badaun.[36] The extremity of the danger called forth the courage and resourcefulness of Firuz. He brought out the accumulated wealth of the treasury and distributed them amongst the troops. Their arrears of salary were paid off and an advance of the two months' pay was offered which roused their enthusiasm. Placing the capital in charge of his eldest son Khan Khanan, he sent a considerable portion of his army in advance under Arkali Khan while he himself marched with the rest towards Badaun, in April, 1290.[37] Crossing

34. Kara was a very rich province. Ibn Batuta speaking about Kara remarks, "rice, sugarcane &c. grew up in abundance and excellent fabrics were manufactured there and exported to Delhi". DEFREMIE & SANGUINETT'S Ibn Batuta III, p. 181.

35. *I. M. C.* & *Delhi M. C.* refer to coins of Sultan Mughisuddin but the reading is very doubtful.

36. K. K. BASU again makes a mistake in translating a few lines which have changed the meaning of the whole passage. It would take too much space in pointing out the errors, birefly stated, the translation on p. 59, line 9 would be "when the aforesaid Amirs marched [towards] Delhi and not [against]." Line 14th the word "recalcitrant" shall have to be struck off, line 15th would be being Ghiasi slaves we intend marching on Chhaju. (Eng. Trans. *Tarikh-i-mubarak-shahi* Gækwad Oriental series.)

37. *T. M.* says that Jalaluddin sent his son towards Amroha and himself went to Badaun but Yahiyā's version cannot be accepted in preference to the contemporary account of Amir Khusrau.

the Jamuna and Ganges Arkali Khan encamped on the Rahab,[39] and was confronted by the enemy on the other side. Malik Chhaju seized all available boats to bar the transportation of the Khalji army across the river, but with the help of a kind of boats called zauraks, they effected their passage across the stream and flung themselves upon the enemy.

The centre of the Khalji army was commanded by Arkali Khan : Mir Mubarak Barbak and Malik Mahmud commanded the right and left wings respectively, whereas the right and left centres were held by Muazzam Ahmad and Fakhruddowla. At the vanguard stood two heroes, Alauddin and Malik Qutlugh Tagin, "who could split a spear with an arrow," supported by other valiants, e.g. Kiki Malik, the governor of Koi and Malik Nasrat Muazzam. The battle raged all day long and was fought obstinately; when night came the war-weary army went to repose but Bhimdeo, the chief of Kola,[39] brought news to Chhaju that the Delhi Sultan was in full march to join his son. This adverse news threw Chhaju into utter despondency ; his hope of victory over an enemy to be strengthened by a fresh reinforcement faded away and the stricken heir to the throne of Delhi fled away during the night leaving his army on the field.[40]

The leaderless army, utterly distracted, broke away in confusion. The Hindu rawats and ranas who had taken betel leaves from their master and had grimly resolved to strike on the "parasol of Sultan Jalaluddin,"[41] were obliged to give way without fufilling their heart's desire. The camps of Chhaju's army were pillaged for two days and Arkali Khan made a terrible carnage of the retreating enemy. Many chiefs including Bhimdeo were slain while many others, such as, Malik Masaud Akhurbeg, Malik Mahammad Balbani, Malik Tajdar, Malik Ujhan, Amir Ali Sarjandar, Malik Ulguchi were taken captives.

Malik Chhaju who had betaken shelter with a loyal vassal was betrayed and surrendered to Arkali Khan through the hand of a muqaddam. The defeat and dispersion of Chhaju's army released the sultan's energies for the effective subjugation of the eastern provinces. Striking up his camp at Badaun, he pushed on to Bhojpur ;[42] (Farrukhabad dt.) he exacted taxes

38. This is probably Soti or Yarwafa-dar. Zia Barani P. T. p. 182 Kulaib Nagar which might be Kulaib nahar.

39. Kola is a stone fort in the Kumaun dt., 25 miles n. e. of Kashipur. *T. M.* p. 63 writes Kotla, this is very likely Kola, as Badauni writes, *M. T.* Per text p. 169.

40. Zia Barani—181-2, *T. M.* p. 64., Amir Khusrau, Elliot III, p. 538.

41. *T. F.* P. 182 Zia Barani shows here his extreme partisanship for the Khalji cause by abusing the chiefs of Turkish army. His words are very interesting and may be quoted (هندوستانیان اب گرفته سست مزاج و برنج و ماهی و شراب کچهه خوار ...... منهزم گشتند) which translated into English would be "The plump, spiritless rice & fish eating & wine drinking Hindustanis were defeated".

42. This is a village in the Farrukbad Dt., "as when he reached Bhojpur, his light illuminated the banks of the Ganges." Elliot III, 539.

from the Hindu rais of the neighbourhood and then crossing the river swooped upon the land of Kabar.[43] The ruler of this place was Malik Alap Ghazi, entitled Malik-us-Sharq, an adherent of Chhaju ; he had turned down the proposal of adhesion to the Khalji cause and murdered the envoy Silik sent by the Khalji amirs on the eve of war with Chhaju.

Alap Ghazi's zeal for Chhaju's cause and the foul murder of the envoy singled him out for particular punishment. But the Ghazi took a valiant stand ; the Hindustanis "plumpbodied, rice and fish eating" as Barani calls them, offered an obstinate battle, but the Delhi army "made their sword rusty with the blood of the Hindus" and totally routed them. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon the beaten enemy. The captive Hindus "were pounded into bits under the feet of elephants while the Musalmans who were Hindis" were distributed as slaves amongst the chiefs, many of them being ordered to be paraded through the cities of Hindustan. Alap Ghazi, the arch-rebel was exempted from the general clemency shown towards the Muhammadans and was executed. [Cf. ELLIOT III, 539].

Here at Kabar, the long delayed interview between the father and son took place. The courage and resolution of Arkali and Alauddin in the last war won the approbation of the sultan who assigned the province of Kara to Alauddin and Multan to Arkali Khan. The defence of the western frontier and the government of a wide tract of territory from the Indus to Salt range devolved upon his son, while the defence of the eastern frontier against the Balbani sultan of Lakhnauti[44] was committed to the care of his nephew and son-in-law. Here a public durbar was held and the captives headed by Chhaju, the victims of a cruel fate were presented before the sultan in a most shameful and wretched appearance. They were placed upon camels with halters round their necks, gyves in their wrists ; their garments were soiled and their body tainted with marks of dirt and filth. As this grim procession of camel riders passed before the sultan's eyes, he was moved to deep compassion and ordered them to be unloosed. Tents, clothing, perfume and a good repast were presented to them and the sultan drank wine in their company. But the outward marks of affection and kindness only obscured from public gaze the punishment inflicted upon the rebels. The disgraced and vanquished Chhaju was transported to Multan in a litter and was exposed to the vengeance of furious Arkali Khan,[45] with a fate that can be better anticipated. The other accomplices of Chhaju, the proud amirs of Hindustan

43. This appears to be Shamsābad, Amir Khusrau says that the Sultan met Arkali Khan for the first time after the victory over Chhaju at Kabar. On the other hand, Badauni says that Arkali went towards Bahari and Kasam Kur which is called Shamsabad and from the next line it appears that he met his father here and presented the captives, before him. Shamsabad is in Farrukhabad dt.

44. Ruknuddin Kaikus, grandson of Balban was the ruler of Lakhnauti, in 691 A. H. *M. C.* Page 147.

45. That Arkali was rash and hot tempered is attested both by Zia Barani and Isami—*T. F.* P. 193 and *F. S.*

followed their master into a mysterious obscurity.[46]

The reduction of the chief rebels now set the sultan free to chastise the petty chiefs and brigands who infested that region. He destroyed the dense forests which were the natural haunts of the banditti, the tall trees were first cut down and then the secluded fastnessess of the robbers were assailed and broken down. Terrible punishment was inflicted upon the robbers of Tirwa,[47] "when the Shah" says Amir Khusrau, "cut down this jungle, he created an earthquake in the walls of life, that is slaughtered many of the inhabitants." His progress towards the east was marked by the extirpation of the robbers whom he suspended from boughs so "that they looked like the trees of wakwak."[48]

The effective subjugation of the rebels and the suppression of the banditti restored security and peace into this region and the sultan returned to Delhi on Friday, Feb. 2, 1291.[49] The triumphant and safe return of the sultan was made an occasion for public rejoicing and for nearly a month Siri abandoned itself to merriment and festivity.

Campaign Against Ranthambhor

Rest was not long decreed to the Sultan, for a serious danger now menaced not merely his throne but the Muslim power in Hindustan. A

46. What fate befell the other captives cannot be ascertained. Zia Barani praises at length Jalauddin's leniency towards the rebels, mentioning only incidentally that Chhaju was sent to Multan with orders to be kept in surveillance, but to be provided with all possible comfort. The Sultan's outward kindness took his courtiers by surprise and Ahmad Chap indulged in a long homilly on the royal duty of punishing rebels, but the Sultan was not a fool. He could not set the rebels at large, but instead of immediately handing them over to the hangman, on their presentation before him, he sent at least the arch-rebel to Multan under the care of Arkali who was noted for violence and haughtiness. What befell his accomplices is very difficult to say. Zia Barani's panegyric lack candour, moreover, as his father was naib of Adkali Khan and an eminent Jalali Amir, his account of setting the captives at liberty cannot be credited with. Moreover, he was then very young, for on page 205, Zia Barani says that he was very young during the reign of Jalaluddin, he had completed the reading of the Quran and learnt to write the alphabets only. Zia Barani's statement about the Khalji's should be accepted with great caution.

47. There is a place of this name in the Farrukhabad dt. 25 miles s. s. e. of Fathegarh.

48. ELLIOT III, 539, *F. S.* P. 215, 218, gives a picture of dense forests.

۴۲۰۵ - یکی جنگلی انبوه آنجا بدید که بس مفسد اندر پناهش خزید

۴۲۰۶ - درختان رسانیده بر چرخ سر همه شاخ پیچیده بایکدگر

۴۲۰۹ - ز تاریکی آن دشت ظلمات گشت که حیوان در و کم تواند گذشت

which translated into English would be "He saw there a dense forest where many strife-mongers had sought shelter. The trees raised their heads to the sky, the branches had become intertwined with one another. The forest was filled with such darkness (by the density of the trees), that even the animals found it difficult to move."

49. Cf. ELLIOT III, 450.

formidable enemy had raised his head in Rajastan, the land of the Rajputs, the home of chivalry and valour. This was the Châhamāna chief Hammīra of Ranastambhapur, who ascending the throne in 1283 A.D.,[50] entered upon an aggressive military career and carried his victorious armies far and wide.[51] Malwa was subdued, the whole of Rajastan (Rajputana) was overrun, his victorious standard being carried as far as Sakambhar-i[52] (Sambhar). The growth of this Rajput Power, within striking distance of Delhi which had twice hurled back the arms of Islam, naturally roused Jalaluddin to a lively sense of apprehension and without resting long on his laurels he marched forth with his army against the Châhamāna king on Thursday, 21st March, 1291. Passing through Sohrait and Chandawal and cutting Rewari on the way he reached Narnol. After resting and refreshing the army for sometime he struck in a south-easterly direction towards Bhiwana, suffering indescribable hardship on the way for want of water and fodder for the animals. The whole country, parched up and dry, presented an appearance of a mass of blazing fire. The burning April sun had scorched up the whole country; wells had dried up and vegetation had withered. As Amir Khusrau says, "The earth was dry and in it not a blade of grass had sprung up anywhere;" suffocating with thirst and heat the army reached Bhiwana[53] and enlivened itself by the abundant water of the wells of the place. Here they loaded one hundred camels with water and recommenced their journey; their way lay through hills and valleys but the fatigues of the journey were relieved by the sight of the peacocks on both sides of the hills. After threading their way for two weeks they reached the outskirts of Jhain, which was the key to the redoubtable fortress of Ranastambhapur. Efforts were, therefore, directed to the occupation of Jhain. The reconnaisance of the hills and of the fortress was entrusted to Kara Bahadur whose approach near the fortress with a body of archers was greeted by a sortie of the garrison;[53] next day, led by notable chiefs, such as, Malik Khurram aariz-i-mamalik, Malik Qutlugh Tigin, Azam Mubarak, the Amir of Narnol, Ahmad and Mahmud Sarjandars and a few others, a large body of men dashed forward for an assault. They were obstinately opposed but the Rajput army was defeated and dispersed. Many were taken captives while others put to the sword as they broke away from the field of action.[54] The Rai with his men, took shelter in the fortress of

50. *Ind. Ant.* VIII, 64. Ranthambhor is 75 miles s. e. from Jaipur.

51. Balvan stone inscription, *E. I.* XIX, P. 45-52.

52. (1) Sambhar is distant about 100 miles and Ranthambhor 195 miles from Delhi. (2) That Sambhar acknowledged the sway of Hammir is also attested by a Sanskrit work, '*Sārañgadhara-paddhati*, Sārañgadhara's grandfather Rāghavadeva was a courtier of Hammir. *F. N. P.* 1099, (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, II. By H. C. RAY.).

53. A town in Bharatpur State.

54. *Amir Khursau mentions that seventy Hindus were killed and forty wounded* in the first encounter. This number seems to be exaggerated from the manner of the description.

Ranthambhor.[55] A large amount of spoils fell into the hands of the Muslim army and the victory was solemnly celebrated by the distribution of gold and robes of honour. Three days after, the sultan made a trimphant entry into Jhain and fixed up his residence in the private apartments of the palace.

The rich ornamented carvings on the pillars and the exquisite painting on the walls struck the sultan with utter astonishment while the excellent wood carvings and the smooth glossy plaster on the walls, refracting the image of the person beholding it, aroused his warm appreciation.

Jalaluddin visited the temples of the place " which were ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver," but their beauty and grandeur only whetted the fury of the iconoclasts, who had acquired " from the law of the Koran an immortal hatred to all graven images and all relative worship." They set fire to the holy sanctuaries and destroyed them to their very foundations. Their unconquerable repugnance to idols subjected two images of Brahma " each weighing more than a thousand *mans* "[56] to the worst vengeance. They were broken to pieces and their fragments distributed amongst the men to be thrown before the Jama Masjid at the capital in order to be trodded by the " Faithful".[57].

The reduction of Jhain opened the way to the far-famed fortress of Hammir, situated on the eminence of a rock, and isolated by deep and impassable ravines on all sides. The Aravalli ranges extend their spurs and encompass the rocky fortress rendering it almost impregnable. This natural fortification strengthened by works of human art easily bade defiance to the sultan of Delhi.

After the capture of Jhain, active preparations were set on foot for the siege of this fortress. Orders were issued for the construction of redoubts and sinking of tunnels, but a careful reconnaisance of the fort personally by the sultan and a vivid realisation of the dangers and difficulties of a prolonged siege damped his spirits and persuaded him to abandon the fortress to itself.[58]

Repelled from this place the muslim army was let loose in the neighbourhood to spread terror and devastation. One column under Ahmad Sarjandar crossed the Chambal, another under Mubarak Barbak was detached towards the Banas, while the third party under malik Jandarbak Ahmad carried their ravages " from the hills of Lara to the borders of Mara". The column under Ahmad Sarjandar proceeded in the course of their raid as far as the Kuwari,[59]

55. A. K. states that the Rai frightened summoned his general Gurdon Saini at the head of 10,000 Rawats to fight.

56. Persian maund may correspond to Indian seer in this case.

57. *T. F.* P. *F. S.* P. Amir Khusrau, ELLOIT III, P. 540.

58. Barani conceals the retreat of the Sultan, his father's patron by fulsome panegyrics (*T. F.* P. 214). It may be pointed out that his contemporary Afif similarly hides Sultan Firuz Tughlaq's retreat from Lakhnauti under the convenient plea of his aversion to shed the blood of the Mussalmans. Afif P. 119 (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*).

59. An affluent of the Ganges passing through the Gwalior territory. By

scattered a Rajput force and then rejoined the sultan on the bank of the Chambal. Laden with an enormous booty the army turned towards the capital and passing by Bayana, reached Delhi in time to celebrate the second anniversary of the Sultan on Monday, June 3, 1291.[60] The preoccupation of the Delhi sultan in the east and the south now offered an excellent opportunity to the Mongol hordes to repeat their raids into Hindustan.

Campaign Against the Mongols

In 1292 A.D. Abdullah, grandson of Hulagu, Ilkhan of Persia swept into the Punjab with a countless army and pushed on as far as Sunam,[61] 13 miles east of Samana, (Patiala State) ravaging and plundering all the way. Hindustan lay exposed to the barbarian invaders. To ward off the serious menace the sultan marched forth with a large army headed by Malik Khamush ; and by a succession of uninterrupted marches he overtook the Mongols in the vicinity of Sunam. The Delhi army took its stand by a small stream and viewed the enemy from a distance ; encounters between the vanguards of the contending armies were indecisive. At length, the Mongols anxious to draw matters to a conclusion, crossed the river and reformed themselves in battle array. Both sides brawled and shouted and then came to clash. Attired with coats of mail and steel helmet, armed with mace, spears and arrows the Delhi army 30,000 strong flung itself upon the " accursed enemy" but could not break their centre (Qalabgha) where the Mongols coiled themselves up.[62] The indecisive issue of the contest[63] and the consequent suspense and perplexity made both the combatants eager for peace. Negotiations were opened and a treaty was concluded by which the Mongols under Abdulla evacuated India while Ulghu, grandson of Jengiz Khan with many commanders of thousands and centurions were allowed to stay in India.[64] They embraced

crossing the river the Delhi army did not penetrate into Malwa but only into Gwalior. (*Medieval India*, P. 184).

60. That Ranthambhor expedition took place in this year is attested by the unimpeachable testimony of Amir Khusrau, ELLIOT III, P. 543, who completed his Ghurrat-ul-Kamal in the very year only seventeen days after the return of the Sultan to the capital June 20, 1291. The date given in Zia Barani 689 A..H and followed by Nizamuddin.

61. *T.F. P.T.* P. 218, *F.S.* P. 205, give the name of the place Barram. As Zia Barani says that a river separated the two armies and as a small rivulet flows by the side of Sunam, (RENELL'S *Memoir of Map of Hindustan*, p. 74) we may not be mistaken in writing Sunam, F. S. also says that the Mongols crossed the Indus, V. 4005. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin* P. 381. Buhra Buhar Library Ms says that they raided Lahore and the Punjab.

62. *F. S.* P. 203.

63. This is testified to by *T.F.*. P. 218, F.S. P. 204. But Zia Barani's statement that the army of Islam became victorious in these encounters (repeated also, in C.H. 1. P. 95) is very difficult to accept, for the Mongol vanguard would not have ventured to cross the river and assail their enemies, in case of their defeat.

64. Isami says (P. 208-10) that unable to pierce the enemy's centre, the Delhi army returned to their camp but after a quarter of the next night had passed, strangely the Mongols retreated. If the Mongols retreated, why should the Sultan

Islam and the alliance concluded with them was cemented by the marriage of sultan's daughter to Ulghu. The Mongols came to Delhi, were settled in the neighbouring villages and their profession of Islam gained them the name of nau-mussalmans (new Muslims).[65] This treaty with Abdullah and the establishment of a close relationship between Ulghu and the Delhi monarch stands as a striking instance of the coolness and prudence of the sultan. It is of a piece with his policy of clemency towards the accomplices of Chhaju. His true interest and necessity alike forbade a hazardous war with the Mongols. Victory would secure no lasting benefit ; defeat, on the other hand would be the signal for the uprising of the quiescent Ghiyasi amirs and the insubordination of the turbulent elements. The sultan's prudence and the foresight alike were soon proved to the hilt. His retreat last year from the fortress of Ranthambhor and his pre-occupation with the Mongols encouraged the restless elements, and he was once more compelled to take up arms.

Expedition against Mandawar, 1292 A.D.

Leaving Arkali Khan in charge of the capital the sultan proceeded to Mandawar[66] at the head of his army and reached the place in the evening. At night the fatigued army chiefs refreshed themselves by drinking wine. The chiefs Mughlati, Harnumar Sarjandar, Malik Mubarak shikar Beg-Ghiyasi, met together in Tajuddin's camp, in a drinking bout, and in the wine drinker's paradise they indulged in a vainglorious seditious talk. They charged the sultan with lack of stern vindictiveness, mistook his policy of peace and clemency for temerity and imbecility and talked of substituting the aged monarch by either rash Tajuddin or headstrong Ahmad Chap. This news was conveyed by Tajuddin's brother Fakhruddin Kuji, to the sultan who kept up strict vigilance during the night.

conclude peace with them and allow them to settle in the neighbourhood of the capital, constituting a perpetual menace to the city. The fact is, the Sultan finding it beyond his strength to beat them completely concluded peace with them.

65. Zia Barani states p. 172 that the vanguard of the Delhi army became victorious, many Mughals were put to the sword and one or two commanders of thousands and several courtiers were taken captive and presented before the Sultan. Ultimately the messengers on both sides began negotiations. This combined with Isami's version p. 205-7 leave little room for doubt that the Delhi army did not obtain any decisive victory, but merely held its own. In case of Sultan's decisive victory, Zia Barani would not have adopted so mild a tone in the narration of his patron's triumph. (Cf. the abusive epithets hurled against Chhaju's men.) Moreover, the Sultan would not have condescended to offer his daughter in marriage in case of his victory. Accordingly the statement made in *C. H. I.* p. 95 that the advanced guard of the invaders suffered a severe defeat and they readily agreed to the King's terms would require revision.

66. Mandawar has been mistaken for Mandu, but it was beyond Jalaluddin's strength to go as far as Mandu. Hammir remained unsubdued, whereas, Samar-Singh of Mewar, 1287-99 A.D. and Samantsingh of Jalor held sway about this time blocking the approaches to Mandu. (*Rajputna Museum Report,* 1923, p. 3.) This Mandawar appears to be in Bijnaur dt.

When the morning broke the nobles were summoned to a public darbar. As the aforesaid nobles took to their seats, the sultan stared at them and when they were presented before him, his angry countenance and blood-shot eyes smote the culprits. He stung them by harsh words of reproach and then visited his displeasure upon them by dismissal from their present posts and immediate transfer to distant iqtas. Mughlati was sent to Badaun, Malik Mubarak to Bhatinda and Malik Harnumar was punished with the deprivation of his office of Sarjandar.[67] An additional decree forbidding them to visit the capital for one year completed their cup of humiliation.[68]

Freed from anxiety, the sultan set himself to the task of subduing Mandawar. The Delhi army attacked the place and a single assault brought the rebels down to their knees. After the reduction of this place the Delhi army returned to the capital.

Sayyidi Maula.

Soon after (1293 A.D.?) Delhi became the scene of grim tragedy which tarred the Sultan's fair name with a lasting infamy. During the reign of Sultan Balban, an ascetic named Sayyidi Maula, had wandered to Ajudhan[69] from Persia and enlisted himself as disciple of Sheikh Farid Ganj Shakar. Later on, he transfered himself to Delhi and took up his abode on the bank of the Jamuna. Here he lived in proverty and simplicity practising austerities; a very abstemious diet of bread made of flour appeased his hunger; no servant or handmaid was needed for his services. A garment and a wrapper satisfied his requirements of clothing. In the seclusion of his cloister he repeated five daily prayers but abstained from joining the Friday assembly prayer. His simplicity and poverty, piety and austerity drew many followers to his side. During the reign of Jalaluddin his eldest son Khan Khanan and a number of disgraced Ghiyasi amirs became his discples. The wealth and offering which his followers lavished upon their master enabled him to build a magnificent rest house which provided shelter and food to travellers both by land and water. Attracted by the fame of his charity, high and low flocked at his gate, and huge quantities of flour, meat, sugar and sugar-candy[70] were required daily to feed the multitude of hungry and

67. *T. M. P. T.* p. 64-5, *M. T. P.* 169, says, on reaching the news of treachery of a few Ghiyasi amirs, he sent them off to various iqtas.

68. *T. F. T.* p. 192, Zia Barani turns the whole episode into a story of Arabian night's entertainment. He only says that the sultan reprimanded them and witty Nasarat Sabah intervened and indulged in a humourous speech on which the Sultan's eyes became filled with tears and he pardoned them all forbidding them to visit Delhi for one year. The Persian extract is indeed entertaining. *T. F.'s* statement p. 220, that there were two expeditions against Jhain admits of no doubt; but from the description it appears that the 2nd expedition was merely a plundering raid, intended to overawe the Rajputs. *M. T.* also supports it, 173.

69. The word is wrongly written "Sidi." سیدی مولا

70. At present known as Pak Pattan in the Montogomery Dt. Punjab, (30°-21,' 73°-26') Zia Barani, p. 208 says that 2000 Mds. of flour, 500 goats (skinned off), 300 Mds. of sugar, 300 Mds. of sugar-candy were required daily.

poor and to offer morsels to the curious spectators.[71]

His boundless liberality and indiscriminate charity dazed all people who ascribed to him miraculous powers but these lavish gifts and association with amirs became the cause of his ruination; a cruel destiny had dragged him to a course against which his master Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar had forewarned him. The voice of rumour brought to the sultan's ears his extraordinary power of working miracles; designing courtiers circulated the news of his fabulous wealth and nocturnal meetings with the amirs. The priests of other religious orders, envious of his fame and popularity, indulged in machinations. So, when the sultan came back from Mandawar, the news of an alleged conspiracy formed by Sayyid-i-Maula with a few amirs, e.g. Qazi Jalal Kashani, Qazi Urdu, Baranjtan Kotwal, Hatia Paik kindled his wrath. The Maula and his principal associates were apprehended but when they were brought before the sultan, they made vehement protestations of their innocence. At length, the Sultan pronounced the judgment of ordeal by fire to test their guilt. A big crowd assembled at Baharpur to see the awful scene; the Sultan himself pitched his tents there; the priests and theologians also crowded at the spot. A fire was kindled and the darwesh Sayyidi Maula was brought near the flames. The Sultan then invoked the judgment of the Ulemas (theologians) on the matter but with one voice they declared the ordeal inconsistent with the injunctions of religion and banned it; the fire was extinguished but the accomplices of Maula were sentenced to varying degrees of punishment. Jalal Kashani was transfered to Badaun with the office of Qazi; many of the nobles were banished to distant parts; on the other hand, Hatia Paik was smitten to death with the repeated blows of a mace, while the son of Targhi was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant. After the sentence was passed upon the principal associates, the pious Maula bound with fetters was brought before the Sultan. A parley ensued between him and the saint but the latter's guilt could not be proved. At this, the Sultan turned towards Abubakr Tusi, the chief of the Qalandari sect and burst out in rage crying, "Are there none of the darweshes here who can avenge me on this tyrant." Immediately a qalandar named Bhari sprang up and slashed the Darwesh several times with a razor; another tore off[72] his beard up to the chin and thrust the big sack-sewing needles into the sides of abdomen. The saint smarting under the tormenting pain remained seated. Pieces of stone lying about were then flung on his head. The heart-rending scene terminated when, at a signal from Arkali Khan, a furious elephant rode over the sacred person of the Darwesh and smashed him to pieces.[73] The brutal murder of the holy man was followed by a dust storm

71. Our historian Zia Barani says that he went one day to the Khanqah and obtained grace by eating a morsel.

71a. Zia Barani, p. 209, Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar, p. 73.

72. The word used in *T. M.* p. 66 is (محاسن تازنج فرو دآردند) which should not be translated as "shaving off" as K. K. Basu does, Eng. Trans. p. 63.

73. The account is given in *T. F.* p. 208-12, *T. M.* p. 170, *F. S.* p. 235, *T. M.* p. 65-67. Dr. Iswari Prasad says (*Medieval India* p. 183) that the superstition of

which darkened the horizon and popular prejudice and superstition saw in it the manifestation of God's wrath.[74]

A greater calmity befell Hindustan this year. Utter want of rainfall dried up the lands and rendered cultivation impossible. The result was the outbreak of a terrible famine ; corn became very dear, one ser of wheat sold at a jital. Scarcity extended as far as the Siwalik hills and people unable to endure the pangs of hunger, died in hundreds or drowned themselves in the waters of the Jumna. The famine raged for two successive years, rainfall being extremely scanty even in the second year ; efforts were made by the sultan to alleviate the distress by the distribution of accumulated grains, but this was utterly inadequate to cope with the magnitude of the terrible distress.

Second Expedition Against Ranthambhor. 1293 A.D.

It was not long after the execution of Sayyidi Maula that the Sultan undertook another expedition against Ranthambhor.[75] Rana Hammir's audacity had not been curbed. His insolence drew the Delhi army again to Rajastan. But this expedition, too, was a failure. The Rana remained secure in his fastness ; and after considerable loot and idol breaking, the army came back to Delhi.

Alauddin's Expedition against Bhilsa. 1293 A.D. ? and against Devagiri 1295 A.D.

Just at this time the whole of central India was stirred by a bold march of Alauddin Khalji across mid-India to Bhilsa. Alauddin, whose original name was Garshasp, had been appointed to Kara after the victory over Malik Chhaju. His situation at the eastern frontier of the Khalji kingdom had enabled him to carry his raids to Bihar and to distant Lakhnauti. In 1293 A.D.? he made a bolder raid across the petty Hindu kingdoms of Central India into Bhilsa, where he seized enormous booty including two bronze idols. Placed on wheeled carriages they were sent to Delhi where they were accorded the approved seat in front of the Badaun gate. All these daring raids of Alauddin were soon eclipsed by a more maginficent exploit. Secluded by the chains of the Vindhyas and the Satpura ranges, the Maratha kingdom of Devagiri was carrying on its self-contained existence, heedless of the great changes that were at work in the north. This self-complacency was now

age ranged itself on the king's side. This is not correct, for the Ulemas banned the ordeal and declared that the evidence of one man was not sufficient to establish the guilt.—Zia Barani. P.*T*. P. 211.

74. *T. M.* p. 67 says that at the order of the Sultan, a pit, 10 yds long and 3 yds broad was dug ; a fire was kindled and the remaining adherents of the Maula were ordered to be thrown into the pit, but at the intercession of Arkali Khan their lives were spared. This is also indirectly supported by Badauni p. 172.

The Sultan was not after all the milk of human kindness as he is portrayed to be by Zia Barani.

75. Zia Barani says that the expedition was sent for the second time against Jhain which was laid waste. It is needless to point out that Ranthambhor was his real objective. This is correctly pointed out by much maligned Badauni who did not copy Zia Barani like Nizamuddin Ahmad, *M. T.* p. 172.

broken for the first time by the lances of Muslim soldiery under Alauddin. His last success against Bhilsa earned for him the title of ariz-i-mamalik, and the augmentation of his fief by the incorporation of Oudh. Reward and success alike stimulated his ambition to seize the throne of his uncle and launched him on a most brilliant exploit and a spectacular adventure.

The prospect of booty secured the sultan's permission for an expedition to Chanderi and the suspension of the payment of the arrears of revenue for Kara and Oudh. Fresh levies were recruited with the surplus money and Alauddin started on the expedition with a picked body of several thousand horsemen[76] in 1295 A.D. leaving Ala-ul-Mulk, his deputy in Kara. Threading his way through the deep forests of Central India, he first dashed on Ellichpur. Either from powerlessenss or supine indifference the Hindu chiefs did not impede his march.[77] Refreshing his army at Ellichpur in Berar, he continued his march and with a startling suddenness flung his troops on Lasura. Fortune favoured Alauddin for king Ramdev's son Sankaradeva had gone out at this time on an expedition with the bulk of his troops. The king was taken completely by surprise but he was determined not to yield ground without a struggle. The appearance of a strange enemy, the intrepidity and suddenness of their attack and the absence of an effective army threw Rai Kanhan, (probably) the king's minister into despair. But the reproachful words of the Raja lashed Kanhan to fury; with a hastily improvised army and stimulated to vigorous action by two Amazons[78] who put on cuiras and armour Kanhan rode forth and took his

76. Ferishta (N. K. Press p. 97) does not give the exact number. He says that it consisted of 7000 to 8000 men.

77. Following Ferishta all the historians including *C. H. I.* p. 96 of India have repeated that Alauddin was allowed to pass through the intervening territory between Kara and Devagiri, as he gave out that he was a discontented nobleman going to seek service at Rajamahendri. In the words of Ferishta himself Alauddin carried with him an army of 7 to 8 thousand men. Does any discontented nobleman ever seek service with a well-equipped force of eight thousand men? Taking for granted that he be-fooled all the decadent kings of the once powerful kingdoms, e.g., the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Chahamānas of Javalipur it seems in-explicable why should he seek service with the king of Rajamahendri? Ferishta, of course, says that he drew his information from a contemporary work *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, but that work is no longer extant and his reference to a contemporary work merely cannot allow us to accept cock and bull stories, e.g., the story of sacks of salt which were taken to be sacks of corn and brought inside the fortress; As the siege continued, foodstuffs became scarce, when, to utter surprise, it was discovered that the sacks contained salt and not corn. Were not the soldiers supplied with food by a department or at least by a body appointed for the purpose? Taking it for granted that all was in confusion, had the men lost their head to such an extent that they would not perceive them to be sacks of corn, even at the time when they were stored up? But strangely enough, even this gossip has found place in a work like the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 96.

78. *F. S.* P. 224-25, 228 is eloquent in praising the valour of the two heroines who led vigorous charges on the Muslim army, verses 4374-93, (a few lines are

stand at Lasura twelve miles off from the capital Devagiri, to resist the progress of the Muslim army. The battle was fought obstinately; under the terrible charge of the Marathas, Alauddin's army reeled and fell back but they held their ground, and when the wave of Maratha onset subsided, Alauddin's men resumed the offensive and scattered the Marathas.

The defeat of the army compelled Ramdeva to shut himself up in the citadel and the Muslim army ranged at large. The land of the Marathas abounded with all good things; peaceful cultivation and trade had accumulated riches in every house. As the historian Isami says, in his Fatuh-us-salatin, "Houses were filled with gold, silver and perfume, fine clothing was abundant; the women possessed unequalled charm and delicacy; their body from head to feet was wrapped up with ornaments."[79] The hapless people were now exposed to the cruelties of the Muslim soldiery while their king remained besieged in the fort and the heir-apparent engaged in a distant theatre of war. In this extremity Ramdeva opened negotiations for peace and offered to purchase cessation of hostilities on promise of a huge quantity of

quoted here as they are very interesting.)

٤٣٧٤ - شنیدم دو عورت دران روزگار قوی چست بودند در کارزار
٤٣٧٥ - شنیدند چون ترك بگذشت حد بکانها رسیدند هر دو مدد
٤٣٨١ - همان هر دو هندو زنان دلیر که بودند در کینه چون ماده شیر
٤٣٨٢ - یکایك بر افواج ترکان زدند بسی دنبل و بوق پیکان زدند
٤٣٨٣ - عجب کرد لشکر ازین چیرگی که ناید ز هندو چنین چیرگی

Translated into English, it means I heard at this time there were two women very capable in warfare; when the Turks crossed the frontier, both of them offered help to Rai Kanhan; these brave women were like tigresses in ferocity. Simultaneously they made an assault on the Turks; discharged many arrows; the soldiers (of Alauddin) became surprised at their valour."

79. We give here only the substance, divested of rhetoric *F. S.* p. 227-28.

بسی نازکان ملائك فریب همه انس گیرنده و خوش رکیب
نموده بیك چشمه هر نازنین وجود و عدم از میان سرین
بسی سیم ساقان تعظیم دوست شده مردم از ساق شان سیم دوست
همه غرق زیور ز سرتا بپا نهفته بهر چشم مردم ربا
ابران آهوان کشته شیران اسیر ندیدم کهی آهوئی شیر گیر
بپوشید پیرایه هر نازنین سراسر مرصع ز دُرّ ثمین
بهر خانهٔ تودهائی گهر بر آورده هر خانه از سیم و زر
بهر سوز تر مینه خروارها بهر جانب از عطر انبارها
بهر کوچهایش زر بی شمار بسی گنج فارغ ز تشویش مار
بسی جامهائی طبیعت پذیر چه کم آید آن جامه در دیوگیر

Sir Jadunath SARKAR points out in his *Life of Sivaji* p. 4 (3rd edition) the causes of Maharastra's wonderful prosperity, though of a later age. "Across this rugged tract lay all the routes from the ocean port of our western coast to the rich capitals and marts of central Deccan etc."

wealth and the hand of his daughter ;[80] meanwhile the war in which prince Shankar had been engaged was over and the proud prince of Maharastra turned towards his country, determined to avenge the disgrace. He flung aside the treaty and challenged Alauddin to a fresh trial of strength. The brave Muslim chieftain who had led his army from the northern plains to the rugged Deccan plateau was not the man to shrink from war and buy a hasty retreat. A long, almost interminable distance separated him from his base at Kara ; echoes of his perilous march to the Deccan had reached his uncle, the sultan of Delhi and excited his anger. But the extremity of the situation, particularly their experience of first encounter with the Maratha army called forth all the energies of the muslims ; they determined to conquer or die[81] in a foreign land. Directing Nasrat Khan to the siege of the fortress where Ramdev lay confined, Alauddin hastened to fight at the head of a tiny force against the countless army under Shankardev. With an overwhelming superiority in numbers,[82] the Marathas fought with the confidence of victory and assailed the Muslim army from all sides. The repeated assaults distracted the small body of men who were compelled to fall back and the battle was about to end in a stampede when the Muslim army was unexpectedly reinforced by the reserve of one thousand men left under Nasrat Khan. This small relieving band was mistaken by the Marathas for a large reinforcement and victory which was in their grasp was soon turned into a rout ; Alauddin shrank from the pursuit of the enemy and strengthened the siege. The renewed defeat and the scarcity of provision in the fort of Devagiri made the Marathas again eager for peace ; and they

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80. *F. S.* P. 228 says that Raja Ramdeva also consented to offer his daughter but though Amir Khusrau does not make any reference to this episode in the narration of his patron's campaign in Deogir in his Khazain-ul-fatuh. F. S's account is confirmed by Wassaf per text, p. 312.

81. The valour of the two unnamed Amazons of Maharastra particularly struck the enemy. *F. S.* says " when the women overpower the men, it is not known how powerful the men would be ; let us swear anew that when we strike the enemy.

We shall not turn our head, though we might die,
We turn the shield to our face this time ;
The skin we shall take off from every Hindu
The country of Maratha we shall lay waste
And when the force of the Hindus will be overpowered
The entire country of Maratha we shall hold

The Persian, text is given here which is very interesting.

٤٤٠٢ - چو عورت این ملك مرد افکنند ندانم که مردان چه اهر منند
٤٤٠٣ - بتاکید تجدید بیعت کنیم که چون تیغ بر روئی دشمن زنیم
٤٤٠٤ - اگر جان بر آید نتابیم سر کشیم اندران حال بر او سپر
٤٤٠٥ - بر آریم پوست از سر هندوان بتازیم . اقلیم مرهته روان

82. *F. S.* P. 228 says that Shankar had a vast army of 5 lacs cavalry and 10 thousand infantry and eight elephants. This figure is not credible but is a testimony to the immense superiority of the Marathas in numbers.

bought it by the surrender of immense wealth to the Muslim general. Making allowance for the exaggeration of Muslim historians, it may be said that tens of maunds of gold, silver, emeralds, diamonds and saphires, a considerable quantity of silken fabric and a crowned umbrella inset with jewels came into the possession of Alauddin, and the peace was further cemented by the marriage of Raja Ramdev's daughter to Alauddin.[83a]

The news of this brilliant triumph and the capture of abundant wealth floated across the bazars to Delhi and caused a flutter in the court. The sultan was now on the wrong side of seventy and thoughts of succession to his throne naturally crossed his mind; his eldest son Khan Khanan was dead, his second son Arkali Khan was rash and impetuous. He had quarrelled with him and gone back to Multan without his permission; his youngest son Qadr Khan, married to a daughter of Kaiqubad was the favourite of his mother Queen Malikā Jehan who exercised great influence over the sultan's mind. The prospect of a disputed succession, of a rupture between Arkali and Qadr Khan supported by his mother, agitated his mind.[84]

The uneasiness of the Sultan was aggravated to a climax by his nephew's ambitious movements and designs. He was a valiant warrior and a great commander of men. His generalship, campaigns against Bihar and Lakhnauti had carried his name far and wide. But his success and exploits had set his aunt and mother-in-law, queen Malika Jehan against him. She tormented Alauddin with many insults and injuries.[85] But the latter was absolutely helpless against her machinations; for his uncle sultan Jalaluddin was completely under the influence of his queen. The hostility of his aunt and the sultan's subservience to her wishes naturally alienated his feelings from them and drove him to counteract his aunt's schemes by military preparations. Alauddin raised and trained a large body of troops at Kara and his distant campaigns at their head bade fair to make him a formidable rival for the throne of Delhi.

The prospect of the succession of Jalaluddin's sons to the throne was thus clouded by Alauddin's exploits. At the news of his nephew's bold march

83. Ferishta says p. 96 (N. K. Press, lith. copy) that 600 mds. of gold (not pearls as Briggs translates p. 320), seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of jewels gems, saphires, diamond, emerald, 1000 maunds of silver and 4000 pieces of silken cloth, and other kinds of valuables which are beyond description, Isami also says p. 228 that countless gold, diamonds etc. came into Alauddin's possession.

The wealth of Devagiri is also attested by Zia Barani for he says " Alauddin brought with him such enormous quantities of gold, silver, jewels and pearls that though more than two generations have passed since then and much has been spent after the changes of the crown a large part of these elephants, jewels, pearls and other articles still remains in the treasury of Delhi.

83a F. S. 228, 365, Wassaf, 312.

84. *T. F.* p. 193 f. 20.

The Sultan's unfavourable opinion against his son is expressed in the words of Zia Barani, on page 193. Addressing the Amirs Jalaluddin said " If he (Arkali) hears all that you say and think, he will not leave you alive and will do you mischief in a hundred ways." If I forbid him a hundred times he will not pay heed to it.

85. *T. F.* P. 185, P. 221-23, Zubdat-ut-tawarikh (I. O.) folio 20., M. T. P. 174.

to Devagiri, the sultan became seriously concerned and about May 1326 he moved to Gwalior with his court to watch his nephew's movements who had carried his army to the Deccan. There a meeting of the council of his advisers was summoned and the course of action to be adopted against the bold, adventurous nephew was hotly discussed, but opinions were sharply divided. His nephew (sister's son) Ahmad Chap advocated stern measures and the capture of the entire spoils of the Deccan campaign on the latter's way to Kara. "Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance" said Ahmad Chap "are the causes of much strife ; whoever acquires them becomes intoxicated and inflated so that he can not distinguish his hands from feet."[86]

Malik Fakhruddin, on the other hand, recommended moderation. Armed opposition to Alauddin at this stage would, in his opinion, drive him either into the arms of the sultan's enemies or into unknown quarters. Matters could be more effectively settled with him on his safe return to Kara ; " If any symptom of rebellion becomes visible," said the boastful malik, "a single assault of His Majesty's forces would turn him completely upside down."[87] The counsel of moderation commended itself to the sultan and after staying for some time at Gwalior, he returned to the capital.[88]

Soon after Alauddin came back to Kara laden with a vast quantity of spoils, elephants and horses. He realised that his bold expedition and resounding victory had caused great sensation in Delhi court and excited suspicion in the mind of his uncle, the sultan of Delhi. He, therefore, did not present himself at the court of the latter but addressed letters couched in mild and apologetic terms.

Meanwhile other events occurred which deepened mutual suspicion. One of Alauddin's amirs Malik Khitab had rebelled and sought protection with the sultan's youngest son Qadr Khan. Alauddin was already conscious of his own guilt. His expedition to the Deccan in transgression of the sultan's order coupled with the delay in the presentation of spoils verged on rebellion. Moreover, when he found that the Delhi court, particularly Qadr Khan, the protégé of his dire enemy Malika Jehan, was harbouring his enemy, he became

86. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*—(Buhar Library) says also that Ahmad Chap suggested that all his elephants and paraphernalia should be taken away from him so that he may not have the power to resist. (*Rauzat ut Tahirin,* Ms p. 381). Zia Barani says that Ahmad Chap administered a long lecture. T. F. 224. The substance is only given here "Riches and sedition go together ; It would be wise in my opinion that your majesty should march with all speed and proceed to Chanderi to intercept and block his way." This unmistakeably shows that the Sultan and his courtiers were apprehending the rebellion of Alauddin.

87. Zia Barain says *T. F.* p. 227 that the Sultan discussed with his courtiers the steps to be adopted against Alauddin. But from p. 229 onwards, the chief theme of his narrative is the uncle's blind infatuation for his nephew. This is a glaring consistency and brings out the want of candour in his narrative, particularly of Jalaluddin's reign.

88. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin* (Buhar Library Ms) tells us that Alauddin sent his brother to the sultan entreating the latter to go back to Delhi whereupon he would offer the elephants and valuables to him.

apprehensive of his own safety. He therefore fastened two strings to his bow. On the one hand he sought to placate the sultan by frequent dispatch of messages. On the other hand, he offered endless solicitations to the sultan to come and bless him by a personal interview, otherwise he would march out into some remote corner of Lakhnauti where he would be safe from the attacks of the Delhi army. Jalaluddin in his turn too, sought to entice his nephew to Delhi by soft and smooth words. He wrote a letter with his own hand as a mark of deep affection and forwarded it to Kara through the hands of two courtiers Malik Imad-ul-mulk and Ziauddin Mushrif. The return of the ambassadors was delayed[89] and as time bided and no sign appeared of Alauddin's movement, it became increasingly clear to the sultan that Alauddin would not be deluded by kind words and would neither wait on him nor present the spoils of the Devagiri campaign.[90] The sultan was thrown on the horns of a dilemma ; he would either extend the hand of good-will and friendship and convince his nephew of the sincerity of his intentions by a personal talk or he would take up the sword and smash the rebel of Kara. Both the courses were open to grave risks, the first alternative would impair the royal majesty and throw him into a grave personal risk. The second one, on the other hand, would plunge the Khalji into a civil war, imperilling the succession not merely of his sons but the very existence of their rule. Statesmanlike considerations, therefore, dictated that he should take the risk of a visit to his nephew, win his heart by a personal talk and then bring him back to Delhi.

Jalaluddin accordingly sent his nephew and son-in-law, Almas Beg, Alauddin's brother with the happy tidings of his immediate state visit to Kara. Ahmed Chap, nephew and confidant of the Sultan was ordered to proceed on

89. The Eng. trans. of *T. M.* mistranslates a passage. The Persian extract is

ملك علاءالدین ایشان را موقوف کرد ......

ملك ریحان عرضه داشتی بحضرت ارسال کرد که ملك علاءالدین هراس گرفته است

اور استظهر گردانند ـ و محمد خطاب را که از ملك علاءالدین تافته بود و در حمایت قدر خان

افتاد بند کرده بدو سپارند تا مکر ملك علاءالدین مستظهر کرد : ـ

It should be translated thus "Alauddin delayed them." Again Malik Rihan sent a memorial to the sultan saying that Malik Alauddin has been seized with panic, he should be comforted and Muhammad Khitab who had rebelled against Alauddin and had found protection with Qadr Khan, should be sent in chains to him so that Malik Alauddin's deceitfulness might be revealed.

90. *T. F.* p. 229 indirectly supports it, *T. M.* p. 68, *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*, p. 38. F. S. p. 232.

A contemporary work *Tazjiyat-ul-amsār* (Buhar Library Ms.) by Abdullah of Shiraz though written at a great distance from the scene of these events makes very significant remarks "when Malik Firuz heard of this victory he sent an envoy to communicate the expression of his pleasure and congratulation of the victory and invited him. These invitations were frequently repeated and as often declined till a suspicion of his rebellion arose and induced Malik Firuz to advance against him with an army."

land at the head of an army while he himself embarked on a barge attended by personal following and one thousand brave horsemen (T. F. 231).

The royal barge attended by a well-accountred military escort fast glided down the river and reached Kara. The long-deferred interview between the uncle and the nephew was now to take place. As the barge slowly approached, the royal standard became visible from a distance whereupon Alauddin sent his brother Almas Beg with a large amount of jewels captured during the last war but he did not personally appear before the sultan. The latter was surrounded by a large body of mounted escort and accompanied by a large army. A visit to the sultan's camp, even well-attended, was fraught with grave risk to his life; it was not, a cordial meeting between the old uncle and the young nephew after a long period of separation but an interview to heal up a deep misunderstanding between the lordly ruler of Hindustan and the offending amir of Kara. Almas Beg presented the jewels before the sultan who became pleased with them but he became disappointed at the absence of Alauddin and enquired of Almas Beg saying "how is it that Malik Alauddin is not coming?" Almas Beg replied "Alauddin has become panicy at the sight of the royal army." He therefore entreated that His Majesty should proceed personally leaving the army behind and comfort him. Jalaluddin's courtiers vehemently urged against this proposal but their protests were of no avail. The sultan had already reckoned the pros and cons and made up his mind; surrounded by a number of trusted men e.g. Khurram Wakildar, Malik Fakhruddin Kuji, Malik Jamaluddin Abul-Maali, Nasiruddin Kuhrami, Ikhtiyaruddin, naib-i-wakildar, the sultan ventured on the hazardous journey.[91] It was the auspicious month of Ramzan. As the July sun reclined to the west, the royal barge weighed anchor and slowly moved towards the opposite bank of the river. A place had been selected for the interview where Alauddin was to appear and present the courtiers an offering. Ploughing the swelling waters of the Ganges which was in full flood, on account of the rains, the state boat soon reached the other bank and cast anchor. Attended by a well-armed retinue, the sultan got down on the bank and Alauddin advanced with his courtiers to greet his master and uncle. The sultan proceeded to the seat at the appointed place, when Alauddin came and threw himself at his feet.[92] The uncle melted away in kindness and affection at the sight of his nephew. He "embraced

91. Wassaf makes very pertinent remarks "Malik Firuz abandoning the course which prudence dictated and relying upon the terror which his frontier and power inspired as well as the natural affection which he supposed his nephew to entertain towards him crossed the river with only five attendants" ELLIOT III, 40.

92. *Taziat-ul-Amsār* by Wassaf writes "Alauddin went barefooted and kissed the earth in the presence of his uncle assuming a deportment of humility instead of his previous opposition and behaving towards him as a son does towards his father. They then sat down and held a conversation together and after a time Malik Firuz took Sultan Alauddin's hand and invited him to come to his camp. When they reached the bank of the river Malik Firuz wished to enter the boat first, Alauddin following him.

him, stroked his beard, kissed his eyes and then engaged in a hearty, loving talk." "My son" said the sultan "I have reared you up. The smell of the water you made in childhood has not yet left my lap; why are you afraid of me? Why do you entertain the fear that I would do you wrong?" The endearing talk went on. Finally the conversation concluded with the words, "the world may perish but I shall not lose my love and affection for you". Jalaluddin then rose, grasped the hand of Alauddin and turned towards the boat lying at anchor. The friendly meeting was over; clutching the hand of Alauddin the sultan proceeded towards the royal barge. The most critical moment had now arrived. Alauddin's fate was hanging by a slender thread; the sultan had, no doubt, showered affection upon him but would he extend equal kindness and protection in future against the machinations of his dominating wife and courtiers?

To save himself Alauddin had already concerted a plan with his attendants. As the sultan proceeded towards the barge with the arm of his nephew in his hand, Alauddin gave the signal and in a twinkling Muhammad Salim of Samana struck him with the sword, the stroke failed and Jalaluddin sped towards the boat. Muhammad Salim dealt another blow and wounded the sultan who screamed out saying "Oh villain Ala! what hast thou done?" but in an instant Ikhtiyaruddin Hud knocked him down on the ground and cut off his head. The ghastly deed was over; on Wednesday, 16th day of Ramzan,[93] 18th July 1326, the old sultan was murdered by the sabre of a couple of assassins.[94] It was a foul and atrocious deed but the inevitable nemesis of Jalaluddin's misdeeds and violence. By shedding innocent blood did he mount the throne and by blood was he swept off the throne.

The old sultan's death in the holy month of Ramzan in a hostile camp earned for him great merit. It served to blot out from the memory of men the black deeds of cruelty by which he raised himself to the throne and popular imagination turned a stern, crafty warrior into a pious, high-souled ruler of men who became the pathetic victim of a blind love for his nephew.

Jalaluddin's Court.

Jalaluddin surrounded himself with a number of courtiers. The chief amongst them were Ahmad Chap, Fakhruddin Kuji, Nasrat Sabah dawatdar, Qutbuddin Uluwi, Amir Khusrau, Saaduddin Muntaqi, Muhammad Sanah Chang, Taj Khatib. They possessed various accomplishments

93. Both Zia Barani and following him Badauni say p. 177 that Jalaluddin was murdered on the 17th Ramzan but Amir Khursau in Khazin-ul-Fatuh, Eng. trans. by M. Habib, p. 6 states that he was murdered on the 16th Ramzan.

94. *Taziyat-ul-Amsar* writes. "Two of Alauddin's servants, Ikhtiyaruddin and Mahmud Salim went behind him and waited their opportunity. As Malik Firuz had placed one foot on the boat and was about to lift the other upon it, Ikhtiyaruddin struck at him with a sword and wounded his hand. Malik Firuz in alarm, tried to throw himself into the boat, but Muhammad Salim came up and dealt him such a blow that his head fell into the water and his trunk into the boat. This happened on the 18th Ramzan 695." Elliot, III, p. 41.

and were held in the highest esteem by the Sultan. Ahamad Chap was unequalled in archery and combined a wide knowledge of the past monarchs with that of statecraft. He was expert in playing dice and his expenditure on the occasion of fetes and entertainments rivalled that of a prince. On a particular night the musicians and cup-bearers of the Sultan were invited to his house and he made a present to them of a sum of one lac tanks, five hundred head-gears and the same number of saddled horses.

Malik Nasrat Sabah dawatdar was the iqtadar of Kanouj and Jubala. He maintained a retinue of 700 horsemen and was without a peer amongst his contemporaries in respect of charity. High and low crowded at his house and none turned away from his door in disappointment. Qutbuddin Uluwi a distinguished amir who endeared himself to all by his suavity of speech and open manners expended money on a magnificent scale. The marriage of his eldest son was celebrated by an expenditure of two lac tankas and on the day of marriage alone, 1000 garments, caps and the same number of horses were given away in presents. Malik Fakhruddin Kuji, the iqtadar of Oudh and chief justice of the realm (dad beg) was the boon companion of the sultan.

Amir Khusrau, the parrot of Hindustan (طوطی هند) the great poet of medieval India adorned his court. At the time when Jalaluddin Firuz was aariz-i-mamalik, he fell under the spell of Amir Khusrau, granted him an allowance of twelve hundred rupees which was enjoyed by Amir Khusrau's father. He was also presented with special robes, horses and other rewards. On Jalaluddin's accession, he appointed him as the Quran keeper, enrolled him as a courtier and presented him with a robe of honour with a white belt which was reserved for the highest grandees.[95] Saaduddin Muntaqi who earned the favour of the king by his knowledge of logic was admitted into the circle of his courtiers and honoured with the office of naib-i-qaribeg and a kettledrum.

Attended by these courtiers and a few other boon companions e.g. Nasir-uddin Kuhrami, Malik Ijuddin Ghuri, Muyyid Jajremi, Malik Saaduddin Amir-i-Bahar (superintendent of navy), Maulana Jalaluddin Bhakari Maustafi-i-mamalik (auditor general of the finances), the Sultan indulged in merry-making and festivities. Convivial parties were held in which drinking was accompanied by singing and dancing ; Amirkhāsā and Hamid Raja recited odes and poems composed by Amir Khusrau. Muhammad Sanah Chang was the flute-player while the famous singers of the time were Fatuah, daughter of Faqaai and Nasrat Khatun, the dancers being the daughter of Nasrat bibi and Meherāfruj. Amongst the cup-bearing lads who were much prized at the

95. Nurul Haque says that Jalaluddin's beneficence to Amir Khusrau was not befitting his position. This is hardly correct, as an allowance of 1200 rupees was settled on Amir Khusrau before Jalaluddin became king. We are not told, however, the amount of allowance granted him after he became king ; We can however, infer from the stipend reward and iqta fixed on Saaduddin Muntaqi that the rewards to Amir Khusrau were on a lavish scale.

court were the sons of Haibat Khan, Nizam Kharitadar and Yardaj. These musicians, singers and dancers regaled the king and his companions with sweet music and song. The king and his courtiers were thrown into an ecstasy of delight when the melodious voice of the songstresses became blended with the tune of lyre and the dancing girls circled round the assembly moving their hands and feet rhythmically and casting amorous glances at the onlooking seated courtiers. Lavish gifts and presents made to the singers, musicians and others brought these carnivals to a close.[96]

Character and estimate of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz.

The good qualities of heart possessed by sultan Jalaluddin have received unbounded praise from the Muslim historian, Zia Barani who wrote his work Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, six decades after the demise of the sultan. The historian Zia Barani was the son of Muyyid-ul-mulk, who was the deputy of Arkali Khan and an eminent grandee of the court. The early years of his life were spent under the roof of his father's magnificent house at Kilughari amidst semi-regal splendour. Later on, however, fortune frowned upon him and the evening of his life was made poignant by the encircling gloom of poverty and the increasing infirmities of old age.[97] The happy recollection of the prosperity of his boyhood so rudely contrasted with the adversity of his declining years, made him necessarily aglow with enthusiasm in recounting the virtues of the patron and benefactor of his early years but his excess of applause for the sultan has bedimmed his reputation as a king, instead of magnifying it. Thus one eminent historian remarks "Jalaluddin Alauddin, although he did not deserve his cruel fate was unfit to rule." A similar sentiment is expressed by another historian; "such culpable weakness" says Sir W. Haig "would have thrown the kingdom into complete disorder had his reign been prolonged."

That Jalaluddin was a strong and masterful personality is amply attested by the facts of his reign sketched above. He made his way to the throne by

96. *T. F.* p. 200 Zia Barani heaves forth deep sighs, recollecting in his old age the memory of these carnivals and says "when I write an account of this court, I wish I blacken my face, paint my accursed forehead with the 'tika' mark of Brahmans, in calling to mind the images of those lovely persons having moon-like appearance, their blandishments and amorous glances, their songs and dancing which I witnessed; I wish also that I move among the lanes and bazars in lamenting for them." Wild and frenzied grief, no doubt in old age.

97. Barani's words are very pathetic and may be quoted.

On p. 205 he says "I have been afflicted by infirmity and poverty at this time and the suitors turn away disappointed; So, I being the son of a noble man, prefer death a thousand times to this (miserable) day. I possess nothing nor can I borrow from others."

من درین ایام سخت در مانده و عاجز شده ام و خواهندگان از درِ من محروم
باز میگردند از آنکه زادهٔ کریم و خلف کرامم مردن را ازین روز هزار بار بهتر میدانم -
ونه چیزی دارم و نه از کسی دام می یابم -

sweeping aside Kaiqubad and Kaimurs. He extirpated Chhaju, reduced many of the Ghiyasi amirs to such destitution as compelled them to live on the doles of Sayyid-i-Maula's Khanqa. Even the sultan's confidants like Mughlati and Harnumar did not escape punishment. Still Zia Barani, in his desire to paint his father's patron in glowing colours would say that Jalaluddin's soft and tender disposition did not allow him to punish thieves and criminals. But Zia's assertion is contradicted by the acts and words attributed to sultan Jalaluddin. According to his own words,[98] Jalaluddin had no aversion to shedding the blood of the apostate, murderer and adulterer. Moreover in course of his campaign in the east, he destroyed the dens of the robbers, and hanged them by batches. The transplantation of the thousand thugs to Lakhnauti stated by Zia Barani, though dubious was not an entirely impolitic step, for Ruknuddin Kaikuas, grandson of Ghiyasuddin Balban was still holding sway in Lakhnauti and Bihar[99] and this enemy of the Khaljis could be kept better occupied at home by letting loose in his territory a band of dangerous criminals. Jalauddin's policy towards the vanquished rebels was dictated by political and certainly not by humanitarian considerations. He kept the mailed fist concealed within the velvet glove. Jalaluddin's claim to the throne rested not on right but on might. An upstart Usurper he came to the throne by shedding blood ; he had to win over hostile elements and broad-base the rule of the Khaljis on popular support and goodwill which had been strongly wedded to the Balbani cause. A policy of terror and violence ill-suited this task ; it was necessity that drove the Sultan to a mild policy but mildness should not be confounded with weakness. Jalaluddin Firuz ruled for a very short period during which he gave ample proof of his capacity as a ruler. He led two campaigns against Rana Hāmmīra, subdued the rebels of Kara and Oudh, and fought against the Mughals. In this aspect of his policy and in the extermination of marauders he pursued the footsteps of Sultans Altamash and Balban. He supplanted the Balbani ruling dynasty and laid on their ruins the rule of the Khaljis. He infused a new vigour into the Muslim administration by introducing the hardy element of the Khaljis into the Muslim army and it was under their auspices that the banner of Islam was carried to the remotest corners of India. His rule was mild, when contrasted with the sternness and severity of the preceding and succeeding epochs. The rigours of punishment were relaxed. The

98. Zia Barani, p. 193 says :

How shall I kill those who repeat the kalima من گویندہ لا اله الاالله محمد رسول الله را چگونه کشم که در شریعت پیغمبر ماجز کشنیده را و مرتد را و انکه با وجود زن با زن دیگری زناکنند دیگری را کشتن نیامده است because in the religion of the prophet the murder of none else except the murderer, apostate and adulterer is ordained.

The Sultan had therefore, no scruple to shedding the blood of the murderers, apostates and those who commit adultery.

99. *JASB*. LXI 1872, pt. I, p. 103.

security of highways was maintained; the repressive measures against the brigands turned dangerous wilds into peaceful pasture land; heretic and irreligious practices were discountenanced and the subjects were protected from the highhandedness of officials.

Thus Jalaluddin bequeathed to his relentless nephew a peaceful kingdom which extended from the Saltrange and Multan to at least Allahabad in the east, from Almora and the Siwalik hills in the north to Narnol and Gwalior in the southwest and south.

Of his temper and character we do not know much. He appears to have been a man of calm disposition but was liable to sudden fits of passion, as his treatment of Sayyidi Maula shows. He possessed extraordinary physical strength and courage. He was unequalled among his contemporaries in weilding the sword. Singly he could scatter knots of men.[100] It is a singular fact about him that the hand that could wield the sword could also use the pen[101] for he was gifted with the rare power of composing songs and poems.

He appreciated learning and merit. He excused the guilt of Maulana Sirajuddin Sawai who had cast satire upon him in his Khalji-nama, honoured and rewarded him. He appreciated the bravery of the Mundahir who had struck him a fatal blow during the period of iqtadaraship of Kaithal. He not only forgave him but appointed him to office and fixed a high salary.[102] In religious belief he was an orthodox sunni mussalman. He observed fast, offered five daily prayers and perused daily one Chapter of the holy Quran.

Endowed with many good qualities, a skilled warrior, a keen appreciator of talents and himself a poet Jalaluddin was a strong and powerful king who deserves an honourable place among the crowned heads of medieval India.*

100. Zia Barani p. 192 says that the sultan addressing his courtiers remarked "let me take my stand on an open yard and you assail me four and forty times and then you would know what I can do."

101. Zia Barani, p. 195, *T. M.*, p. 68.

102. Barani's statement of paying one lac Chital seems to be an exaggeration, p. 195.

* I acknowledge gratefully the deep debt I owe to Sir Jadunath SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D. Litt. for the kind loan of his own copies of ***Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Fatuh-us salatin, Khazain-ul-Fatuh*** and other works.

(*ii*) to Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR M.A., Ph. D. Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University for borrowing for my use the copy of ***Zubadat-ut-Tawarikh*** from the India Office, London and Wassaf's ***Tazjifyat-ul-Amsar*** from the Buhar Library, Calcutta.

(*iii*) to Shams-ul-ulema Dr. Hidayet HOSSAIN for affording me all facilities in consulting the work of Amir Khusrau.

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HINDU PURANAS, THEIR AGE & VALUE

By

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Every religious-minded Hindu is supposed to know something about Purāṇas. Leaving aside Upa-Purāṇas (minor Purāṇas) there are eighteen Mahāpurāṇas (main Purāṇas) out of which according to *Skanda Purāṇa*[1] :—

तत्र शैवानि शैवं च भविष्यं च द्विजोत्तमाः ।
मार्कण्डेयं तथा लैङ्गं वाराहं स्कान्दमेव च ॥
मत्स्यमन्यत्तथा कौर्मं वामनं च मुनीश्वराः ।
ब्रह्माण्डं च दशेमानि त्रीणि लक्षाणि संख्यया ॥

विष्णोर्हि वैष्णवं तच्च तथा भागवतं तथा ।
नारदीयं पुराणं च गारुडं वैष्णवं विदुः।
ब्राह्मं पाद्मं ब्रह्मणो द्वे अग्नेराग्नेयमेककम् ॥
सवितुर्ब्रह्मवैवर्तमेवमष्टादश स्मृतम् ॥

(i.e.), 1. Śiva, 2. Bhaviṣya, 3. Mārkaṇḍeya, 4. Liṅga, 5. Varāha, 6. Skanda, 7. Matsya, 8. Kūrma 9. Vāmana, and 10. Brahmāṇḍa, are related to Śiva (and contain 300000 couplets) ; 11. Viṣṇu, 12. Bhāgvata, 13. Nārada and 14. Garuḍa to Viṣṇu ; 15. Brahma and Padma to Brahmā ; 17. Agni to fire god and 18. Brahma-Vaivarta to sun.

But in the 'Kedāra Khaṇḍa' chapter of the same Purāṇa the division of Purāṇas is given as under :—

अष्टादशपुराणेषु दशभिर्गीयते शिवः ।
चतुर्भिर्भगवान् ब्रह्मा द्वाभ्यां देवी तथा हरिः ॥

(i.e.) out of eighteen Purāṇas ten are connected with Śiva, four with Brahmā, two with the goddess and two with Viṣṇu.

Further some scholars are of opinion that Padma and Varāha are related to Viṣṇu ; Agni to Śiva and Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma-Vaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya and Vāmana to Brahmā.

Moreover some persons take 'Vāyu' and 'Śiva' while others 'Vāyu' and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa[2] as one book. Many of them substitute 'Devī Bhāgavata' in place of 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' in 18 Mahāpurāṇas.

1. Śiva Rahasya Khaṇḍa, Śāmbhava Kāṇḍa.
2. Mr. PARGITER holds this opinion.

According to Hindu Śāstras the description of a Purāṇa is :—

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

(i.e.) that which contains the stories of primary and secondary creations, genealogies of the Gods etc., tale of the periods of 14 Manus and the history of the solar and the lunar dynasties is called a Purāṇa.

But there are some Purāṇas like 'Nāradīya' and 'Vāmana' etc., to which this description does not apply properly.

Let us quote here some references to find out the age of Purāṇas.

Alberuni, who flourished about 1030 A.D. has mentioned 18 Purāṇas in his travels.

Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the famous Sanskrit prose-writer of the first half of the 7th century A.D. refers 'Pavanokta Purāṇa' and by it he might have meant 'Vāyu', 'Śiva' or 'Brahmāṇḍa' Purāṇa.

'Milinda Pañha' a Buddhist work of 3rd century A.D. shows that Purāṇas were in existence at that time. The 'Artha Śāstra' of Kauṭilya, which was written in the 4th century B.C., includes Purāṇas in history :—

पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः ।
(अधि. १, अध्याय ५, प्रकरण २)

This shows that Purāṇas were known to the people of that time.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states :—

तदुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित् पुराणमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः ।
(१३।१४।३।१३)

(i.e.) The 'Adhvaryu' informs them that the Purāṇa is also a part of Veda and then recites a portion of it.

The Atharva Veda contains :—

इतिहासस्य च वै पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद ।
(का. १५, अनु. १, प्र. ६, मं. १२)

(i.e.) that he who knows this becomes beloved of Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gāthā and Nārāśaṁsi.

From the above quotations one may conclude that purāṇas were in existence even in the pre-historic period.

Matsya Purāṇa says :—

पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।
त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
(अध्या. ५३ श्लोक ४)

(i.e.) previously there was only one sacred Purāṇa.

Though nothing definitely can be said in this connection yet the singular form of the word Purāṇa used in pre-historic works and the existence of some

couplets of one Purāṇa or their ideas in another Purāṇa shows the possibility of this conclusion.

Mr. PARGITER thinks that 'Matsya', 'Vāyu' and 'Brahmāṇḍa' Purāṇas have taken their dynastic lists from original 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa' as is evident from the following quotations of those Purāṇas :—

तान् सर्वान् कीर्तयिष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान् नृपान् ।

(i.e.) I shall describe all those kings who have been mentioned in 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.'

अथवा (or)

भविष्ये ते प्रसंख्याताः पुराणज्ञैः श्रुतर्षिभिः ।

(i.e.) they have been described by the old sages in 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.'

But the present form of 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa' has been much interpolated by people and has lost its authenticity.

Anyhow it is a source of great pleasure that now the scholars and specially those of the west have recognised the value of the historical data found in some of them. It is a fact that from time to time interpolations were made in these Purāṇas and to preserve their antiquity the later historical events have been added as prophecies.

There are many stories in them the clue of which can be found in one or other form in the Vedas. But the sectarianism has also muddled them to a great extent. A critic can separate such corrupt portions or later additions if he studies them critically.

For instance 'Vāyu Purāṇa' states :—

अनुगङ्गाप्रयागं च साकेतान् मगधांस्तथा ।
एताञ्जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

(i.e.) the Guptas will rule over the places near the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāket and Magadha.

The 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa'[1] contains :—

सूरदास इति ज्ञेयः कृष्णलीलाकरः कविः ।
शम्भुर्वै चन्द्रभट्टस्य कुले जातो हरिप्रियः ॥

(प्रतिसर्ग पर्व, चतुर्थखण्ड, अध्याय २२, श्लोक. ३०)

(i.e.) Sūradās, the famous devotee of Kṛṣṇa, was an incarnation of Śiva and was born in the family of Chanda Baradai.

One can easily detect such spurious couplets from the originals as later additions.

In the same manner the doctrines of Rāmānuja and Tāntrikas and the glory of Jagannātha found in 'Varāha' 'Kūrma' and 'Skanda Purāṇas' respectively are also later additions.

1. Even mention of Calcutta is also found in Bhaviṣya Purāṇa—

नगर्यां कलिकातायां स्थापयामासुरुद्यताः । ७५ ।

Though 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' does not mention the name of Rādhā, yet a prominent place is given to her in 'Devī Bhāgavata.'

The well known 'Satyanārāyaṇa-Kathā' is declared as a part of 'Revā-Khaṇḍa' of 'Skanda Purāṇa', but no trace of it is found there.

We quote here a story from the Ṛgveda of the fight which took place between Indra and Kṛṣṇa :—

अवद्रप्सो अंशुमतीमतिष्ठदियानः कृष्णो दशभिः सहस्रैः ।
आवत्तमिन्द्रः शच्या धमन्तमपस्नेहितीर्नृमणा अधत्त ॥ १३ ॥
द्रप्समपश्यं विषुणे चरन्तमुपह्वरे नद्यो अंशुमत्याः ।
नभो न कृष्णमवतस्थिवांसमिष्यामि वो वृषणो युध्यताजौ ॥ १४ ॥
अवद्रप्सो अंशुमत्या उपस्थे धारयत्तन्वं तित्विषाणः ।
विशो अदेवीरभ्याचरन्तीर्बृहस्पतिना युजेन्द्रः ससाहे ॥ १५ ॥
(ऋग्वेद मण्डल, ८, अध्याय १०, सू. ८५)

Sāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of Vedas, describes these hymns as under :—

The demon Kṛṣṇa was a swift runner and lived with his ten thousand followers on the bank of the river Aṁśumatī.[1] Indra went to him and killed him, as well as his followers, who lived under water (or who threatened the world with roars).

Indra said O Deities ! I saw Kṛṣṇa, the demon, who is a swift runner and walks in the impregnable places and who like the sun in the sky lives in the hidden place (water) of the river Aṁśumatī—Therefore O Deities ! I wish that you should fight him.

Afterwards Indra, with the help of Bṛhaspati reached near the demon Kṛṣṇa, who lived pompously on the bank of the river Aṁśumatī, and who guarded his body against enemies (or who had a strongly built body due to rich food), and killed latter's advancing army.

In conclusion Sāyaṇa[2] writes :—

तमवधीदित्यर्थः प्रसङ्गादवगम्यते :

(i.e. it is concluded that Indra also killed the demon Kṛṣṇa).

Now let us quote a story from the 24th and 25th Adhyāyas of the 10th Skandha of 'Śrīmad-Bhāgavata' to compare it with the above.

'According to the instructions of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nanda etc. worshipped the Govardhana mountain in place of Indra and the food offered at that time was partaken of by Śrīkṛṣṇa by creating a second bigger form of himself. This enraged Indra who ordered the Saṁvartaka clouds to wash away Gokula by pouring torrential rain : when under this circumstance the Gopas got frightened, Kṛṣṇa lifted the Govardhana mountain on his hand and sheltered them under it. After seven days' continuous futile efforts Indra's pride was humbled.

1. In Sanskrit language Aṁśuman is a synonym of sun.
2. Ṛgveda Saṁhitā (published at Ganpat Kṛṣṇaji's Press, Bombay,) p. 515,

Though the results given in both the stories are quite contrary to each other, yet the scholars will see a surprising resemblance in them.

Mr. PARGITER is of opinion that Purāṇas were first written in the 'Prākṛta' language and 'Kharoṣṭhi' characters. But the proofs given in support of this theory are not so convincing. No one can deny that some additions were made in the Purāṇas in later periods and under such circumstances if there are some mistakes of metres or euphonic combinations and existence of 'Prākṛta-Words' they deserve no special attention. If in a manuscript of a Purāṇa the word 'Ayoda' is found in place of 'Aśoka' it cannot convince us that the Purāṇas were originally written in 'Kharoṣṭhi' characters. Because it is also possible in other characters that an indistinct (śa) may be read as (ya य). Similar arguments may be applied to other objects.

But concluding this paper we must thank Mr. PARGITER who has taken great pains to examine 63 manuscripts of Purāṇas and bring their hidden value to light.

THINGS HE WILL NOT HAVE TAUGHT

By

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In a little book recently published : *What was the original gospel in 'Buddhism'* ? I have made positive statements as to what are, for me, the things that Gotama called the Buddha may, by critically weighed evidence, be held to have taught as his essential Message. I have there, incidentally or otherwise, rejected certain teachings, now held as orthodox, as neither essentially nor in any way his Message. Here, not incidentally but in a definite catalogue, I would touch briefly on the chief of the teachings I reject as not his.

There is nothing exceptional in world-religions like Buddhism in such critical eclectical decisions. With the advance of higher criticism, that is, of historical criticism, such decisions will be more definitely come to, more freely stated than is now the case. To compare such criticism as has so far been made in Christianity with its like in Buddhism were to compare an adolescent with a babe. But we can, forestalling the future, see that advance in deciding about 'things that will', and 'things that will not have been taught' by the respective Founders are complicated by the difference in the time-interval before the compilation of authentic written scripture, supplanting that which had been orally taught only. Believers in the superior reliability of a carefully conducted oral transmission may, with a recent writer, point to "the 10,000 variant readings in the New Testament".[1] I would set over against this the book of the 10,000 Vedic Variants[2], as, *pace* the respective length of documents, no mean case of pot versus kettle.

I maintain, that an oral thesaurus (with possibly only lists or heads or at most an 'argument' written on metal leaves), which is recorded as having been set down in writing (no mention made of the language) some 400 years, at the shortest reckoning, after the death of the Founder of the religious institution adhering to that teaching, is bound to have come thus to a second birth in a very different world of religious values from that of the Founder. And therein and thereby to have undergone important editorial changes, necessarily exceeding those in scriptures where compilation of a Canon has taken place in less than half that interval.

Here is one important result of this difference in interval. In Christianity the relatively shorter interval prevented the Hebraic environment from affecting the teaching in the New Testament to the extent to which that 'affecting' came to change the institutional teaching of later Christia-

1. Ray KNIGHT ; 'Silence as to the ministry of Jesus in early Christian belief', *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1938.

2. *Vedic Variants* by BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON.

nity :—the doctrine namely of sacrificial expiation. We are able to catch the reminiscences of the life and ministry of the Founder before they had, under the hand of time and changing values, become relatively much altered. That which, in Christianity is reminiscence handed down unwritten during a few generations, has in Buddhism become almost purely legendary cult. Time and changing values have been much longer at work. The Man, loyal friend and helper of man, has become a superman, object of awe and worship. The monastic cult grown great has superposed its own outlook, on life as 'ill', on the original message which sought to expand and safeguard the teaching of Immanence current in its day. The analytic cult of the new psychology has seen, in the Man who "is That", just body and mind. The protest against Brahmin ritual has come to include protest against all, *even the central* Brahmin teaching. It was in this environment that the Pali Canon was built up, was finally closed, was finally written down. It is hardly strange that in it we find much, very much more of which we can plead : this and that he will not have taught, than we can find in the Christian Gospels.

For all that I am not complacently expecting agreement with my 'Nots', any more than with my positive statements as to what Gotama Śākyamuni did teach. I would only, while yet for brief space the light (such as it is of earth is with me, have both Ayes and Noes clearly set down, so that I be judged by what I have said and not (as has happened before) by what I have not said.

I sum my 'Nots' up under ten things he will not have taught to man about man, and one thing he will not have taught about himself. (I could add others.)

He will not have taught that

1 the man, the very man : self, spirit, soul, *puruṣa* is not real.
2 the very man is but a compound of bodily and mental parts or states.
3 man was to trust in, depend upon his present, actual self as lamp and refuge.
4 *dhamma* had value and reality as code or body of teaching only.
5 his teaching was mainly about 'ill', namely, old age, illness, death.
6 craving as such was to be stopped.
7 'leaving the world' was a higher life than living 'in' the world.
8 causation had religious value as stopping, not as bringing about.
9 man's religious concern was mainly with life here and now.
10 man's ultimate goal was waning out as man. Finally—
11 he will not have taught about himself that he was omniscient or outstandingly 'Buddha' (awakened, wise).

These ten, with the 11th are ranked by Hīnayānists (or, if they prefer it Theravādins) as either central tenets, or as important. And it is expressly claimed, by record, or tradition, or both, that "the Buddha taught them".

I will briefly dismiss the last first. We have, in the Second Collection, a categorical repudiation of being omniscient ascribed to Gotama. A man asks: "I have heard it said that you are all-knowing, all-seeing" and en-

larges on this. The answer is: "This witness is not true; it imputes to me what is false, untrue."[1] His reply could be supported by such admissions in the Canon, that he *hesitates* whether he can profitably teach men or not; that he, seeking former teachers, is *informed* from the unseen that they are deceased; that, being asked whence he had knowledge of this or that matter, he is made to say: "A deva told me". It is added (significant addendum): "And I knew it of myself". Again, where he is once recorded as saying: "Think of me as 'buddha', brahmin" and in the following verse: "hence am I buddha," the context demands, as I have pointed out, that the needed word is, not *buddha*, but *suddha*: purified.[2] I have also elsewhere shown, that, in the records of the first two councils after his death, at the interval of a century between the two, he is not referred to as Buddha.

I come to the ten 'Nots' concerning his teaching.

Let us take Nots 1, 2 and 3 :—denial of an entity in human personality; acceptance of him as a body-mind complex only; and that this complex was to be its own saviour. These three may be seen and heard as the orthodox Hīnayānism of today times without number. But the third is more taught now than by the exegesists, it being largely due to European mistranslation which has affected Buddhists of the present day. That which is lacking in all three assertions is *the atmosphere of the religious culture* which was present about the birth of Gotama's message.

When Jesus taught the sonship of every man to a Divine Father, he was bringing to the front of his teaching a background concept of the Old Testament, of some Apocalyptic literature, of Stoic philosophy. The "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us?" of the prophet Malachi has many echoes in these teachings, as Paul reminded the Athenians. In the same way, when Gotama began his mission by advising men to seek thoroughly for the Ātmā (spirit, self), and ended it by bidding men live as having the Ātmā for their lamp and refuge, he spoke within the atmosphere of current religious Immanence, using its phraseology. "We worship Brahman as the Ātmā" was the accepted teaching, which Gotama sought; "not to destroy but to fulfil". To the extent that man was to choose the better, the "middle way" in his life, not once, but at every turn is the one item in the teaching that may, at first sight, support the notion of self-saving. But to see in this, not, as it is, the exercise of man's will in his quest, but the winning of the quest itself, is as bad as to confound 'conversion' with final attainment.

Nor is Buddhism in this misconstrued slogan of self-saving logical. It had clearly no such tenet in mind when it set up for the believer the trinity of 'Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha' as every man's 'refuge', forgetting that the Founder had limited such refuges to two: *Ātmā*, and *Dharma*—"and no other", among the last words ascribed to him. It has not only changed

1. *Majjhima*, No. LXXI.
2. *Aṅguttara*, ii, 30. P. T. S. ed.

the first of his two refuges, putting 'Buddha' in the place of his 'Ātmā', it has added a third to the two, namely, Sangha.[1]

Further, Buddhism has committed another logical absurdity about the man or self. Because the Second Utterance enjoins that he be not identified with either body or mind, it has concluded that therefore 'he' does not exist. As if, as I have said, we were to pass over boatswain and purser, in seeking the captain, and say: Then there's no captain. The Founder himself is shown recognizing the absurdity. In an overlooked saying,[2] he is shown reminding a debator, that you cannot recognize as king-judge one who disposes of his subjects' life and fortunes, and at the same time see in him a mere subject. He is a *more* than they.

Buddhists cannot have it both ways. Either they are wrong, or their scriptures make the Master contradict himself. Nor must we forget, that in their numerical lists of titles of doctrines, the apparently oldest of these lists[3] does not mention the title, under its Fives, of the five groups (*khandhas*) into which body and mind came to be divided. Nay, it is fairly clear, from another canonical saying, that at one time the 'five' included the very man, thus: body, three mental functions and the experiencer through these (*viññāṇa*), invisible but very real.

I have tried to show elsewhere, how we see here the way in which—much as with Europe in our own age,—the new psychology or proto-Sāṅkhya was causing the growing Buddhism to lose touch with the Brahmanic teaching of Immanence, and to concentrate, not on the Man, but on his instruments.

In the fourth Not :—the original place in the teaching of 'dhamma,'—the new foreground detaches itself somewhat from the older background of Immanence. But only to this extent. Gotama, in speaking of man as longing for the Great 'Ātmā', declares himself a worshipper of 'dhamma'. This word was no new term in his day, but it corresponded rather to the concept of propriety in conduct: the 'what is done, is not done'. He saw in it the higher force, the more dynamic ethic, of what *ought* to be, or not to be done. He virtually equated it with the *antaryāmin* of the Upaniṣads, the 'conscience'—"ay, that Deitie within my bosome"—of our own time and place.[4] It was this that he is shown naming as his sole successor, not the externalized code of teaching which it became. Nor do I find anything in Hīnayāna justifying a modern tendency to look on *dhamma* as cosmic law, a tendency possibly due(?) to the newer attention that is being given to Mahāyāna. *Dhamma* is only rightly rendered as 'law' in the sense of conscience as a 'law unto one's self'. Early Buddhist poetry calls it a man's 'best of wayfarers'.[5] The seeing in the word a Leibnitzian monad

1. The gloss about the Sangha is obvious in the *Aṅguttara.*
2. *Majjhima*, No. 35, version ii, 21. P. T. S. ed.
3. *Aṅguttara* iii, *Pañcakanipāta.*
4. SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest.*
5. *Theragāthā*, ver. 303—6.

is a metaphysical emergence a thousand years later than the day of Gotama. Midway between those two dates we find it, in the Pali books, as applied to religion in general: thus "what is this *dhamma* by which your disciples, being comforted, see in man's inclination the basis of the godly life?"[1] As if the word had come to stand for religion with the growth of men's seeing in religion a mockery were it not 'lived'.

In numbers five to ten we see certain emphasis due to the steady growth of monasticism, beginning in Gotama's day and gaining strength so much that it transformed that earlier background into his own back-and-foreground. If we, to get truth through sympathy, assume the monastic ideal that life as layman is "the low thing" so-called in Buddhist scripture of life as leading even at its best to material welfare here and an otherwise material welfare hereafter, with no term set to recurrence of death—if we then create a teacher of the ideal that a distaste for, and renunciation of life, as we know it, is best, we shall then be able to accept these six Nots as very much *what we should expect such a teacher to say*. We should not, with the former, be seeking, more than most laymen." Not if he were a Christian monastic! Why? Because in the Indian teacher's case, two conditions would bend him in another direction. He would not, with the former, be seeking, more than most laymen, "a better country, that is an heavenly."[2] He would be bent aside by the rupture with Brahmanic Immanence and by the new psychology. *All* living, the 'heavenly' too, would be to him 'ill' (*dukkha*). He was not out to "seek another country". He was out so to live as hereafter no more to experience being born, living, dying 'in' or of any world, but to win to an indescribable state, indescribable save that it was one of "supreme happiness". To do that he would have in a way to be a happy 'man'; but in so far as he identified 'man' with mere body and mind, there must be an outgrowing of such manhood. For this, nirvana, the new, the later *summum bonum*, was truly a waning out, attainable only when the age-long wayfaring in many lives, many worlds was consummated. But the Christian monk would cheerfully look forward to further wayfaring in that "better country".

But *he* would have this notion of 'ill' better conceived than was the case of the Buddhist monk. He would make little of bodily and psychological 'ill': old age, illness, mental worry, dying, birth. For him 'ill' would spell mainly or solely the spiritual Less which he sought to improve in a spiritual More. For the Buddhist monk, it was the former class of ills which are avowedly called *dukkha*. Spiritual dis-ease does find mention, but rarely. He sang:—

> Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh:
> Death and disease, decay, dread trinity.[3]

1. *Dīgha*, iii, 40.
2. *Ep. Hebrews*, xi, 16.
3. *Theragāthā*, ver. 447-50.

And when he did conceive in verse his notion of happier conditions rewarding moral effort here, it is mainly a physical betterment that he describes.[1] There is, it is true, the negative "no fear, no grief" of the Islamic paradise, but added well-being is not worthily made out as spiritual. In the only passage I know, where a happier hereafter is made a replica of a sincerely religious life here, the Master is made to describe it as just a happy "suchness" of the latter.[2]

But that, here and now, the monk-life implied, as such, a higher stage in preparation is emphatically rejected in the Master's saying, that for him a man had worth not in being a monk rather than a layman, but solely in better conduct.[3]

Monasticism, again, went far in obliterating the emphasis in the (much-edited) First Utterance on man as willer, as chooser. Not only in the substitution of a superman for the 'Wayfarer' therein, but also in the condemnation of will or desire as 'thirst', usually translated as 'craving'. Now for the 'man', 'everyman', there is nothing in will, under any name for it, that he can afford to wipe out. Where would man as constructive creature be had he excised all will having a strong coefficient of feeling, namely, yearning, longing, craving? But the monk, walking 'in the world yet not of it', has found it often needful to cool off desire or efferent will; at least the Buddhist monk with his curtailed outlook certainly did so. Note, on the other hand the persistence in the refrain urging to ever further effort: "thus and thus must ye train yourselves"; this and that still remains further to be done":—fine calls upon will as desire to attain. And so illogical is it to see, in the teacher of these, the man who could call any term for "desire to attain, to accomplish" the *necessary precedent of 'ill'*, that I cannot see both calls *and* condemnation as truly his.

Nor can I accept as his the formula known as Arising by Causation.[4] His long mission may have permitted formulas to be drafted in his lifetime. But this one, wherein the natural course of man's life is shown as so many conditions of 'ill' *and that alone*, is but a one-sided application of the current interest in man's inner causal uniformities. It is unworthy to stand alone[5] as illustrating the more general statement of causal law: Given this, that follows; stop this and that is stopped. How did not monasticism weaken Buddhism by this decapitation!

Finally, we have in number 9 perhaps the most tragic result of the darkened monastic outlook:—its dread namely of a protraction of life; its conversion of the great symbol of man's progress, the Wheel of his becoming, into a mere Ixion-rotation of sameness. Forgotten are the canonical sayings calling the Master's goal or aim in religion one that is of the Beyond

1. Cl. e.g. The *Vimāna-vathu.*
2. *Majjhima,* No. LXVIII.
3. *Aṅguttara,* i, 69.
4. *Paṭicca-samuppāda.*
5. The one bright exception does but end sadly, *Saṃyutta,* ii, 30, P. T. S. ed.

(*samparāyika*). Forgotten the description of the Way, not as an inadequate 'eightfold' string of qualities, but as solely "leading to the Beyond."[1] So that we can even hear young Ceylon say: "He taught us about life here, and left the next world to take care of itself." What a monstrous description of his teaching, who is said to have found "sheer happiness" in converse with good men of other worlds, who was sought after to give news of lost ones gone before, who bade disciples look forward to a happiness hereafter within their power to win!

This is but a hasty exposition of certain things which both scripture and our own unprejudiced judgment tell us the founder of a great world-religion did not teach, nay, could not have taught. Historical criticism has not yet duly exerted itself to show, that things put into his mouth are largely, even mainly, the work of compilation from older materials affected by the editors holding, under the long pressure of certain influences, different values from those of his day. If we set that historic figure in its due place and time, we can see that, to be what he was, *not one of those things will he have taught*. They are all of the Less in man's nature, life, destiny. There is no evidence that he judged his age had been rating these as too much in a More. If anywhere he checked the uplift in a More of the current Immanence, it was in his reticence concerning the Most. Man was being taught to call himself the 'Most'. Gotama saw him as, at best, in a More, and taught the More there lay before him to become.

1. *Sutta-nipāta*. ver. 1130.

THE DIRECTION OF THE MOHENJO-DARO SCRIPT*

By

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I adopt the same typographical device as in my *Numeral-Signs*. On the Plate a list of all the signs here referred to is given, each sign being accompanied by a number; in the present article the signs are always indicated by these numbers printed in *italic*. Below each sign-number on the Plate stands another number, enclosed in brackets; this is the number of the inscription from which a drawing of the sign in question has been made. (Dotted lines are added as some indication of the position of the sign in the line). In the Table subjoined the correspondences between the numbers of my signs and the numbers of the signs in the Sign Manual in MARSHALL iii, Plates CXIX-CXXIX are given.

No. on Plate	*No. in* MARSHALL'S *Sign Manu*
1	..........[1]
2	CCXXXVIII
3	CCXLII
4	CCXXVIII
5	....
6	CCCXLVI
7	CCIVI
8,9	CCLXIII
10	CCCIV
11	CXIV
12	CCXCIII, CCXCIV[2]
13	LXV
14	CCCLXXXIII
15	CCCXCV, CCCXCVI[3]
16	XCIX

* Abbreviations :— HUNTER=G. R. HUNTER, *The script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and its connection with other scripts;* MARSHALL = J. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilisation; Numeral-Signs* =A. S. C. ROSS, *The "Numeral-Signs" of the Mohenjo-daro script* (*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 57). The inscriptions are quoted by the numbers given in MARSHALL, Plates CIII-CXV.

1. A separate entry is not made for *1* in MARSHALL'S Sign Manual but combinations containing *1* as their first element are entered as separate signs; thus *13* is entered as LXV, and *1* followed by *13* as LXVI.

2. The detail inside the square is not clear.

3. The middle part of the sign is not clear; Marshall gives no other example showing a sinister projecting "arm," but HUNTER, in Table LXIII, quotes one further example—from his inscription H. 162 (of which the Museum Number, according to his reference on p. 198, is Harappa 1500).

1 (468)	2 (466)	3 (29)	4 (8)
5 (555)	6 (470)	7 (94)	8 (47)
9 (420)	10 (15)	11 (91)	12 (139)
13 (466)	14 (339)	15 (555)	16 (44)
17 (459)	17a (186)	18 (322)	19 (395)
	20 (420)		

No. on Plate	*No. in* MARSHALL'S *Si*
17	CLVII[4]
17a	CLVII, CXXXV
18	CLVIII
19	XCVII
20	CXXXVI

Both the problem afforded by the direction of the Mohenjo-daro Script and its probable solution lend themselves to extremely rigid treatment and such a treatment is attemped here.[5]

I take it as axiomatic that : the direction of all single-line inscriptions is the same as the direction of that line of multilinear inscriptions which is to be read first.[6]

Consider the two-line inscription

$$a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots a_m$$
$$b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots b_n$$

(where *a*, *b* etc. are signs, not necessarily all different, and where the *a*'s stand above the *b*'s). There are, in all, $2^3 = 8$ possible ways of reading the whole inscription, for each line can be read either → or ← and the top line can be read either first or last. Arranging the eight possible readings in one line, we get :—

1. → $b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n\ \ a_1\ \ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m$

i.e. →, bottom line first.

2. → $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m\ \ b_1\ \ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. →, top line first.

3. ← $a_m \ldots\ldots\ a_2\ a_1\ b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. bottom line (←) first, top line → .

4. → $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots\ a_m\ b_n \ldots\ldots b_2\ b_1$

i.e. top line (→) first, bottom line ← .

5. ← $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots\ a_m\ b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. ←, bottom line first.

6. ← $b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n\ a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m$

i.e. ←, top line first.

4 MARSHALL, CLVIII, agrees in making a separate entry for *18* with its projecting spikes—though he gives the sign in No. 555 as without projecting spikes (CLVII) whereas in the photograph these are clear (the entry should thus have been under CLVIII). It seems probable that the signs given by me as *17* and *17a* and by MARSHALL as CLVII and CXXXV are actually one and the same; the position of the sign is sometimes horizontal, as in Nos. 20, 160, 420, 459 (MARSHALL CLVII), sometimes vertical, as in No. 253 (MARSHALL CXXXV), and sometimes inclined, as in Nos. 130, 186 (MARSHALL CXXXV). In No. 139 the sign is almost vertical (MARSHALL CXXXV); in No. 247 the inclination to the horizontal is slight (in the sketch under CLVII, MARSHALL makes the inclination far too great and in fact the same as in his CXXXV).

5. Cf. *Numeral-Signs* p. 10 and note 1.

6. It should be emphasised that the assumption that the *top* line of multilinear inscriptions is to be read first is not justifiable in the case of an unknown script.

7. → b_1 b_2 . . . . . . b_n a_m . . . . . . a_2 a_1
i.e. bottom line (→) first, top line ← .

8. ← b_n . . . . . . b_2 b_1 a_1 a_2 . . . . . . a_m
i.e. top line (←) first, bottom line → .

Consider No. 247 which reads

{ *17(a)—8—3—4—1*
{ *16—2*

The eight possible ways of reading this inscription are :—

1. → *16—2—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. →, bottom line first.
2. → *17(a)—8—3—4—1—16—2* i.e. →, top line first.
3. ← *1—4—3—8—17(a)—16—2* i.e. bottom line (←) first, top line → .
4. → *17(a)—8—3—4—1—2—16* i.e. top line (→) first, bottom line ← .
5. ← *17(a)—8—3—4—1—16—2* i.e. ←, bottom line first.
6. ← *16—2—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. ←, top line first.
7. → *16—2—1—4—3—8—17(a)* i.e. bottom line (→) first, top line ←.
8. ← *2—16—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. top line (←) first, bottom line → .

If we now compare these eight possible readings with other inscriptions, we find only the following similarities :—

(A) Reading 1: → *16—2—17—(a)—8—3—4—1* compared with
No. 420: *2—20—6—16—3—17—9.*

(B) Reading 8: ← *2—16—17(a)—8—3—4—1* compared with
(i) No. 555: *2—16—18——8—6—2—5—15*
(ii) No. 139: { *2—16—17a——8—1—19—10*
{ *11——2—12*
(iii) No. 322: *2—14—7—16—18——8—1—13*

Despite the differences in detail (which may or may not be significant), we can hardly dismiss the similarities between Nos. 555, 139 and 322 (*[2]—16—17a/18—8—[1]*)as due to pure chance; the odds would be too great. The similarity between Reading 1 and No. 420 (*16—2/3—17(a)—8/9*) is much less striking than that between Reading 8 and Nos. 555, 139 and 322. In the case of Reading 1, the first sign (*16*) of the series corresponds exactly, the third sign also corresponds well (*17(a)/17*), but the other two similar signs are sharply divergent (*2/3* and *8/9*); further the combination *16—3—17—9* is recorded with certainty only in No. 420. In the case of Reading 8, there is absolute identity with the four signs of No. 139, if we neglect the difference in the position of *17*, and a strong similarity with Nos. 555 and 322. It can hardly be due to chance that Reading 8 presents us with a combination of four signs occurring, with slight variations, three times elsewhere, though it may well be fortuitous that Reading 1 presents us with some-

thing that might be considered as a divergent variation of a combination occurring once elsewhere.

None of the other Readings of No. 247 present any similarities with other inscriptions and it is therefore probable that Reading 8 is correct. The top line of No. 247 is therefore to be read first and it is to be read from right to left. It therefore follows from the axiom that the direction of all single-line inscriptions is from right to left.[7]

The solution reached—that the direction of reading for all single-line inscriptions is from right to left—is not, of course, certain; it is however highly probable. If p denote the probability that the similarity between Reading 8 of No. 247 and the other inscriptions is fortuitous, then the probability that it is not fortuitous is $(1-p)$; hence the probability of the solution reached is also $(1-p)$. Naturally we cannot evaluate p (since some permutations of signs are presumably not possible),[8] but it may reasonably be regarded as very small and, consequently, the probable truth of the solution reached $(1-p)$ as very large.

Examination of the other multilinear inscriptions has not produced any similar proof for the direction of the script. But, on the probabilities of the case, we should hardly expect this, and we should be grateful for the chance which has preserved one inscription sufficient by itself to indicate the direction of reading.

In conclusion I may mention one other piece of evidence for the direction of the Mohenjo-daro Script. Alone it would not be conclusive but as supporting evidence it is of interest. There is in the British Museum[9] an Indus Valley seal found, without context, at Ur, which is unique in that it bears a cuneiform inscription.[10] This cuneiform inscription reads, of course, from left to right. Below it a bull is depicted and it is significant that this bull faces to the left. For on the Mohenjo-daro seals the bull almost always faces to the right. It seems therefore that this Ur seal, with its bull facing to the left and its left-to-right inscription, is the "reverse" of the typical Mohenjo-daro seal, with its bull facing to the right and its right-to-left inscription.

7. I am not further concerned here with the direction of reading in the second line, nor with the order of the lines.

8. Just as, if we were dealing with an English text, permutations such as *pqrst* would not be possible.

9. Egyptian and Assyrian Department No. 120573.

10. For a full account of this seal see C. J. GADD, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1932 pp. 193-4.

REMINISCENCES OF MAUKHARI RULE IN KARNĀTAKA

By
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The Maukharis have played an important part in the history of ancient India. Scholars who have tackled their history[1] have given us the origin and extent of the Maukhari kingdom in northern and central India, their extinction at the hands of the monarchs of the north, and the occasional references to the Maukharis in Tamil literature and records.[2] But no definite attempt has been made till now to see whether the Maukharis had anything to do with Karnāṭaka. It is the object of this paper to show that a branch of the Maukharis ruled over a part of Karnāṭaka in the twelfth century A.D., and that the Maukharis have left permanent traces of their long stay in Karnāṭaka in the culture of southern India.

The Maukhari family was called according to Bāṇa, Maukhara and Maukhari.[3] This fact is significant in our estimate of the Maukharis in Karnāṭaka.

The earlier opinion of Dr. Hemchandra RAY CHAUDHURI that there were only two distinct groups of the Maukharis, *viz.*, one founded by Harivarmā in the Jaunpur and Bārā districts of the United Provinces, and the other established by Yajñavarmā in the Gayā district of Bihar,[4] has been rectified by Mr. Edward PIRES, who tells us that the Maukhari dynasty consisted of three groups—the two mentioned already, and the third which ruled in Magadha before the time of Harivarmā and Yajñavarmā.[5] One Bāṇā's testimony supported by that of inscriptions, it has been rightly concluded that the Maukharis were a family of the highest importance, and that their rule may have extended from Magadha perhaps as far as the Sutlej.[6] Passing through many vicissitudes, the Maukhari royal came to an end with Yaśovarmā, the king of Kanouj, and the contemporary of the Kashmir king Lalitāditya. The latter killed the Maukhari king and uprooted his family.[7]

1. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, pp. 219-232 ; Hemachandra RAY CHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 363, 371 (2nd ed. Calcutta) ; Edward PIRES, *The Maukharis.* (Madras, 1934).
2. ARVAMUTHAN, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis, and the Sangam Age*, p. 7 ff. (Madras, 1925) ; Kanaksabhai PILLAI, *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 331.
3. Bāṇa Harṣacarita, pp. 141, 146 (PARAB'S ed.). Cf. RAY CHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 371, n (1).
4 RAY CHAUDHURI, *ibid*; p. 371.
5. PIRES, *ibid*, pp. 14-19.
6. PIRES, *ibid*, p. 19.
7. PIRES, *ibid*, pp. 146, 154-155.

One would suppose from the above detailed account of the Maukharis that there was nothing to connect them with Karnāṭaka. A few inscriptions and folk-lore, however, enable us to assert definitely that one branch of the Maukharis ruled over a part of Karnāṭaka in the middle ages. Of the inscriptions the earliest of course is the famous Candravaḷḷi stone of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarmā. In this important record it is mentioned that king Mayūraśarmā defeated, among others, the rulers of the Maukharis called merely Mokari in the inscription. Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, who was the first to bring this record to the notice of the scholars, opined that Mokari or Maukhari was the country near the town of Gayā in south Behar, whose territory may at this time have extended farther south, its western neighbour being probably Pāriyātra and the southern neighbour, the Pallava Empire.[1]

The late Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL altogether denied that the name Mokari existed in the above Candravaḷḷi record.[2] Mr. PIRES commented on this record by asserting that the Kadamba king defeated a Maukhari ruler of Magadha.[3] How Mayūraśarmā could have defeated a Maukhāri king of Magadha cannot be made out. Had he really conquered a Magadha king, then, the names of at least some of the territories through which Mayūraśarmā passed before reaching Magadha would have been enumerated. Since this is not done, and since there is nothing in the record to suggest that Mayūraśarmā ever went to Magadha, we may dispense with the assumption that the name Mokari in the Candravaḷḷi record refers to a Magadha ruler.

As regards Dr. KRISHNA's assumption that the Maukhari territory may have extended farther south than Bihar, bordering on the Pariyātra and Pallava territory, we may note that this is too vague to suggest anything about the location of the Maukhari principality subverted by Mayūraśarmā.

It is more probable that the Maukhari principality mentioned in the Candravaḷḷi record under the simple name Mokari refers to a Maukhari kingdom in Karnāṭaka itself, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Punnāṭa. This is inferred from the coupling of the names Punnāṭa and Mokari together in the inscription. We know that the kingdom of Punnāṭa lay to the extreme south of modern Mysore.[4] The Maukhari principality, therefore, could have been only contiguous to the Punnāṭa kingdom in Karnāṭaka itself.

Nothing about this Maukhari principality of Karnāṭaka is known till we come to the twelfth century A.D. It is only in the Hoysala period that we have definite evidence of the existence of a Maukhari ruler of some standing in Karnāṭaka proper. Our information about this branch of the Maukharis is based on the Saṇṇenahaḷḷi Iśvara temple stone inscription found at Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa, and dated A.D. 1174 ; the damaged Hulikal stone inscription found

1. *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1929, p. 56.
2. JAYASWAL, *op. cit*, pp. 220-221.
3. PIRES, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.
4. SALETORE, "The Ancient Kingdom of Punnāta" in *Indian Culture*, III. No. 2, pp. 303-317.

near the Kauḷeśvara temple at Hulikal, Tipṭūr tāluka, and dated A.D. 1179; the Attihaḷḷi stone inscription found near the Malleśvara temple Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa tāluka, dated A.D. 1184; and the damaged *vīragal* found at Malligāvulu near the Bhaireśvara temple, Hassan tāluka. All these records are in the Mysore State.

The Hulikal stone inscription is made up of two parts—one assigned to A.D. 1173 and the other dated A.D. 1179. The latter is our record. It falls in the reign of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa II, who is referred to in the earlier part of the record. We are informed in this inscription that Bammala Devī was the chief queen (*mahā-devi*) of that Hoysala ruler. Her praise is thus sung in the same record—She was the king's "other half, a mirror to the faces of co-wives, a rutting elephant to co-wives, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī."[1]

The above record proves the high social status of the queen—she was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī. The praise bestowed on her in the Hulikal record is confirmed in the Attihaḷḷi inscription in the following words :—" She was the wife of king Ballāḷa Deva, a second Lakṣmī; well-versed in all arts; as wise as Bṛhaspatī; Vācaspati incarnate; the Philosopher's stone (*cintāmaṇī*) praised by all; a crest-jewel of dancing; a lion to the elephant haughty co-wives; a past mistress in singing, playing music, and dancing; a whip for the backs of co-wives; and a mirror to the faces of co-wives."

The same Attihaḷḷi record tells us that her father was Mokhari Lakkhayya, who was the son of Vallipayya and Akabāyi. And Lakkhayya's wife was Somavve, the daughter of Caṇḍayya and Malli Devī.[2]

No further details about Mokhari Lakkhayya are given in the Attihaḷḷi inscription; but in the Hulikal stone inscription we have the following information about him :—

" Possessed of all wealth and good qualities, having the confidence of his lord (the king Ballāḷa II, a dweller at the lotus feet of Vīra Ballāḷa, Mokhari Lakkhayya was ruling Huli... in Nirgundanāḍ." And Mokhari Lakkhayya's right-hand man was Kalle Nāyaka.[3] The Hulikal record does not mention the relationship between Mokhari Lakhayya and Bammala Devī; but from the Attihaḷḷi inscription we know that she was his daughter. Both these records prove that she was an extremely accomplished lady, and that her father was a trusted feudatory of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa II. Although we are unable to gather more details about this principality over which Mokhari Lakkhayya ruled, yet we know that it was in the Hoḷalkeri tāluka of the Chitaldoorg district. To identify the city which is mentioned Huli...in the above Hulikal record is not possible for the present for want of definite data.

But that Mokhari Lakkhayya's daughter Bammala Devī was, indeed,

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1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XII Tp. 35, p. 48.
2. *E. C. V*. Cn. 254, p. 231.
3. *E. C. XII*. Tp. 35, p. 48.

the crowned queen of king Ballāḷa II is further proved by the Malligāvuḷu *vīragal* which has been assigned by Dr. KRISHNA to the end of twelfth century A.D., and which relates that king Vīra Ballāḷa resided at Mahavaḷeya-durga with the *piriyarasi* (senior crowned queen) Bammala Devī.[1] The Saṇṇenahaḷḷi stone inscription confirms the royal position of Bammala Devī by informing us that the queen Bammala Devī was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, along with her husband the king Vīra Ballāḷa in Dorasamudra.[2]

From the above inscriptions we gather the following dynastic account of the Hoysala-Maukhari alliance :—

Maukhari House.		Hoysala House.
|		|
Vallippayya = Akabāyi.		|
|		|
Mokhari Lakkhayya = Somavve.		Narsimha II.
|		|
Bammala Devī.	=	Vīra Ballāḷa II.

Turning from royal personages to ordinary men, we find that in about A.D. 1250 a boundary stone marking the southern limit of the land of the god Sangeśvara of the Kedareśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ (Dorasamudra), was set up by Mokharinkhayya, which is evidently an error for Mokhari Nokkayya.[3]

Let us now see whether there is any trace of the Maukharis in other parts of Karnāṭaka. The Maukharis have passed into folk-lore and left behind them a permanent mark in Hindu music. The Maukhari name is commemorated in one of the folk-songs of the Tuḷu Holeyas called the Muṇdālas, which I published in full elsewhere. It speaks of Aitu Mukhāri as having had a great house at Urvā, one of the northern suburbs of Mangalore in South Kanara. He was a leader of his caste. He guarded his great house well. Once while at Kankanāḍi, another suburb of Mangalore, he saw his bride. He was a dutiful and industrious tenant, who served his landlord both as a farmer and a messenger. He used to talk standing to his landlord but to his caste people, he spoke sitting. When his time came, he put his back to the earth (*i.e.*, died) and went to the side of God.[4]

The name Aitu in the above song in Tuḷu is clearly the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit Āditya ; but how Aitu Maukāri came to live in the distant

1. *Ibid.* V. Cn. 229, p. 223. This lady Bammala Devi is not to be confounded with her namesake, who was the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhan Deva.

2. *M. A. R. for* 1916, p. 48. It cannot be made out whether we have to refer the territorial division called Mukkara-nāḍ-sīme, mentioned in record dated A.D. 1660 [M. A. R. for 1916, p. 67], to the Maukharis. The name may also stand for Muṣkara. B. A. S.

3. M. A. R. for 1911, p. 48.

4. Cf. SALETORE, *Indian Antiquary, LVI*, pp. 13-17, 74-78.

province of Tuḷuva cannot be made out at present. But Tuḷuva even now claims a Mukhāri family.[1]

We may observe in this connection that the Karnāṭaka music, according to Rāmātyā, contains a *rāga* called Mukhāri which had the characteristic of being a *śuddha svara*[2]. The ancient Maukhāris contributed, therefore, not only to our political history but also to the cultural side of our heritage.

1. Cf. AIGAL *Dakṣiṇa-Kannaḍa jilleya Prācina itihāsa*, p. 345.

2. RAMCHANDRAN, "The Evolution of the Theory of Music in the Vijayanagara Empire" in the *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 401. See also the same scholar N. S. RAMCHANDRAN'S *The Rāgas of Karnatic music* q.v (Madras, 1928). On similar Non-Āryan rāgas, read O. C. GANGULY, Non-Āryan contribution to Indian music, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XIX*, pp. 263-272. I may also add here that in the Prakrit dialect called Konkaṇi we have a word called *mukhāri*, meaning "forward." Has it anything to do with the enterprising Mukharis, who came to the south from distant Gayā and Kanouj?

THE MĪNAS IN TRADITION AND HISTORY

By

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The Mīnas have been celebrated in the tradition and history of our country from the earliest times down to the collapse of the Marātha power in A.D. 1818. The meaning of the word Mīna, by which they were known even in the beginning of the nineteenth century, deserves first to be ascertained. The word Mīna means fish in Tamil (*mīn*) as well as in Kanarese (*mīnu*) while in Sanskrit it is understood to mean the same although it is generally represented by the word Matsya. It is therefore evident that the word Matsya is the Sanskritized form of the Dravidian expression *Mīn* or *Mīnu*, meaning fish and probably represents the totem of a people who must have adopted the emblem of the fish as a symbol of their tribe.[1] The existence of the Mīnas as a militant tribe has been traced to the times of the Mohenjo Dāro.[2] But it is clear from the evidence in the *Ṛg Veda* that the term Matsyas represented definitely a people, whose home was in the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Śūrasena or Mathurā.[3] Owing to this reference Dr. MACDONELL said : " There are possibly in the Rigveda some survivals of totemism, or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants."[4] This remark has met with severe criticism. Dr. A. Berriedale KEITH, for instance in this connection observes that " mere animal names prove little as to totemism, which is not demonstrated for any Aryan stock."[5] He has been supported by Dr. B. C. LAW who adds : " Nor is there anything in the account of the Matsyas to show that the fish was an object of worship among them, nor was ever regarded with any special veneration. The fish incarnation of Viṣṇu has nothing to do specifically with the Matsya people. There is, therefore, no valid reason for thinking that such Indo-Aryan names as Matsya (fish), Aja (goat), Vatsa (calf) have anything to do with totemism."[6] These conclusions arise from the assumptions that first, the Matsyas were either an Āryan or an Indo-Āryan tribe, secondly that the fish, either as an emblem or an incarnation of Viṣṇu, was not honoured among them, and lastly that the name Matsya must have been adopted by them to preserve their belief of their descent from the fish. But there is no definite proof to establish that the Matsyas were of Āryan descent and little

1. It may be noted that *Mīna* is also a word in Sanskrit meaning Matsya. Of its etymology we are uncertain. In general the word *Matsya* is used for fish. R. N. S.
2. Cf. HERAS, Mīnāḍ, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 708-15.
3. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 18, 6.
4. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 153.
5. KEITH, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Anecdota Oxoniensa), p. 200, f. n.
6. LAW, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 65. For a discussion on the Matsyas see pp. 65-79.

indeed is known of their social life, either in early or in later times, to support the other conclusions.

The Antiquity of the Matsyas.

The Matsyas, who were no other than the Mīnas themselves, can be traced to remote antiquity. They are mentioned, for example, in the *Ṛg Veda*, where an account is given of their spoliation. It is recorded how "Turvasa, who was taking precedence (at solemn rites) was desirous of performing a sacrifice; for wealth the Matsyas were attacked (by him)".[1] That they were really a people is borne out by Sāyaṇa[2] as well as other texts. The *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* refers to the Uśīnaras, Vatsas, the Matsyas, Kuru-Pāñcālas, Kāśī-Videhas.[3] The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the Matsyas along with the Śalvas, the Kuru-Pāñcālas, Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśī-Kōsalas, and Vatsa Uśīnaras.[4] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* depicts their wealth. It relates how one of their kings Dhvasan Dvaitavana, "where there is the lake Dvaitavana" performed a horse sacrifice. "Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛtrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana took its name."[5] Manu points to them as a fighting class[6] while in the *Mahābhārata* they are said to be the allies of the Śālvas.[7]

The Matsyas were well-known in Buddhist literature as Macchas. Of the sixteen traditional Mahājanapadas extant during the times of Buddha, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions Maccha as one of them.[8] They are again referred to in connection with the stay of the Buddha at Nadika in the *Janavasabha Suttanta.*[9] They witnessed, according to the *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*, the dice-play of the Kuru king with the Yakkha Puṇṇaka.[10] From these references it is clear that in Buddhist thought they were well known as a people, occupying a specified territory and having a certain measure of civilization.

The Origin of the Matsyas.

These Matsyas according to the epics had a rather strange origin. In the *Mahābhārata*[11] a king named Matsya is said to have been born from the womb of a fish along with Matsyagandhi Satyavatī. Girikā, the wife of Vasu whose seed, when carried by a hawk, fell into the waters of Yamunā (Jamna) in which Adrikā, once an Apsaras, swallowed it and gave birth to these twins,

1. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 18 : 6.
2. MACDONALD and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 121.
3. *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad*, IV, I, Trans. MAX MULLER, Sac. Books of the East, I, p. 300.
4. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 2, 9, p. 30. Bibliotheca Indica.
5. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 9, SBE, XLIV, p. 398.
6. *Mahābhārata* (ROY'S *Edn.*), Virāṭa Parva, Sec. 30; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVIRA), 29. 2. 130.
7. *Manusaṁhitā*, VII, 193, SBE, XXV, p. 247.
8. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 213, Ibid. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
9. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 200.
10. COWELL, *The Jatakas*, VI, pp. 137, 280.
11. *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, Sec. 63, pp. 174-5 (Roy's edn.); *Ādi Parva* (SUKTHANKAR), 57, 33-55, 248-50.

one of whom was the truthful monarch Matsya. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also refers to this king Matsya, born of Uparicara Vasu and a fish.[1] This explanation of the origin of the Matsyas was not intended to point to the origin of the Matsyas as a people : " The birth of Matsya here" says Dr. B. C. LAW " is here entirely a personal myth and has no connection with the people called Matsyas."[2] Such an explanation, it may be said, of course was not at all meant to reveal the origin of the Matsyas but it was evidently implied to give a touch of sanctity to the lineage of the king called Matsya. In fact an exactly similar practice was adopted in the case of the birth of Satyamārtaṇḍa, the founder of the Matsyas of Oḍḍāḍi.[3] It is consequently possible that once the Matsyas believed that the founder of the Matsyas, or at least one of their most prominent kings like Matsya himself, was born of a fish, apart from its religious significance, it must have been evidently used by them either as a totem or at least as a symbol. This presumption, of course is only a possibility for it cannot be proved, but that even a modern dynasty like the Jethavas of Saurāṣṭra employed the fish as a dynastic symbol can be seen from their shrines at Bhumlika, in western Kaṭhiawād.[4]

The Characteristics of the Matsyas.

It is no wonder that the Matsyas, being wealthy, only desired to protect their wealth and consequently became celebrated as a race of fighters. In the *Mahābhārata* king Suśarma of the Trigarttas tells Duryodhana that they were defeated more than once by the Matsyas and the Śāḷvas, who were their allies.[5] Manu advocates that they should be placed in the front line of battle when he says : "(Men born in Kurukṣetra, Matsyas, Pāñcālā and those born in Śūrasena, let them fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light."[6] No wonder such was the advice suggested by Manu for we find its fullest justification in their exploits which are revealed in the *Mahābhārata* as a race of warriors.

The Wealth of the Matsyas.

The Matsyas probably developed the fighting instinct out of sheer necessity which arose from their desire to protect their only wealth—cattle. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, throws some light on the nature of such wealth which was owned by one of their kings named Virāṭa in his kingdom known as Matsya. It is related how Sahadeva, clad in a cowherd's dress, speaking the dialect of cowherds, came to the cow-pen of Virāṭa's city. Beholding him the king was struck with his personality and on discovering his identity, observed : " I have a hundred thousand kine divided into distinct herds. All those together with their keepers I place in thy charge. Henceforth my beasts will

1. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 99.
2. B. C. LAW, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 67.
3. *E. I.* V, p. 106. *J. A. H. R. S.* V, Pt. II, No. 4, p. 249.
4. *I. A.*, VII, p. 151. The Kādambas of Kalinga, the Pāṇḍays of Madura and the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchangi had also the matsya *lāñcchana* or Fish Crest. R.N.S.
5. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. 30; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 2. 130.
6. *Manusamhitā*, VII, 193, *SBE*, XXV, p. 247.

be thy keep."[1] From this assurance of king Virāṭa it may be concluded that the Matsyas were essentially a pastoral people, whose greatest asset lay in cattle, which they organised into herds, over which they appointed keepers, who, as will be seen presently, always kept the king informed of any mishap to these animals.

The Trigartta-Matsya Battle.

Owing to their possession of such enviable wealth in the shape of cattle, the Matsyas were always an object of attack. In the age of *Ṛg Veda* they are ranged with the other foes of the great Sudās.[2] In the *Mahābhārata* period their greatest foes appear to have been the Trigarttas with whom they once fought a deadly battle. The real cause of the Trigartta invasion appears to have been the constant depredations of the Matsyas in the kingdom of the former but owing to the existence of their great commander Kīcaka, the incursions were never attempted. On the death of this Matsya Sūta, the Trigartta king Suśarman, saw the best opportunity of wreaking his revenge by allying himself with the Kauravas. So he thus addressed Duryodhana : "My kingdom hath, many a time, been forcibly invaded by the king of the Matsyas. The mighty Kīcaka was that king's generalissimo. Crooked and wrathful and of wicked soul, that wretch, however, hath been slain by the Gandharvas. Kīcaka dead, king Virāṭa, shorn of pride and his refuge gone, will, I imagine, lose all courage. I think we ought now to invade that kingdom, if that please thee, O sinless one, as also that illustrious Karṇa and all the Kauravas ! The accident that hath happened is, I imagine, a favourable one for us. Let us, therefore, repair to Virāṭa's kingdom abounding in corn. We will appropriate his gems and other wealth of diverse kinds, and let us go to share with each other his villages and kingdom. Or invading his city by force, let us carry off by thousands his excellent kine of various species. Uniting, O king, the forces of the Kauravas and the Trigarttas, let us lift his cattle in droves."[3] On Karṇa's supporting his proposal, king Duryodhana speedily commanded his brother Duḥśāsana that Suśarma should proceed first to the city of Virāṭa with his forces and coming on the cowherds, seize that wealth of his cattle. Then the Kauravas too in two divisions would capture the thousands of those excellent kine.[4]

Accordingly Suśarma seized the "cattle by thousands", on hearing which Virāṭa, his brothers Satānīka and Mahadirāśva, and his eldest son, the heroic Saṅkha, putting on strong coats of armour and corslets, yoked unto their cars with white steeds and rushed to meet the Trigarttas. In the terrible battle which followed king Suśarma "having by energy, oppressed and defeated the whole army of the Matsyas, impetuously rushed towards Virāṭa himself, endowed

1. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. X, p. 24 : *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 9. 1-14. 48-49.

2. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18. 6.

3. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. XXX, p. 74 ; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 1-13. 130-1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 75 ; *Ibid.* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 14-26. 131-133.

with great energy. And the two brothers, having severally slain Virāṭa's two steeds and his charioteer, as also those soldiers that protected his rear, took him captive alive, when deprived of his car. And afflicting him sorely....Suśarma placed Virāṭa on his own car and speedily rushed out of the field. And when the powerful Virāṭa, deprived of his car was taken captive, the Matsyas, harassed sorely by the Trigarttas, began to fly in fear in all directions." Then at Yudhiṣṭhira's instance Bhima rode forth and seizing Suśarma by the hair and lifting him in wrath, dashed him to the ground. At this his army "stricken with panic broke and fled in all directions," and the writhing Suśarma was set free in great contempt.[1]

Soon after Duryodhana with his counsellors, in his turn fell on the kingdom of Virāṭa, speedily drove away his cowherds and captured his cattle. Virāṭa's son Uttara with Arjuna as charioteer, sped forth to meet these invaders, but on seeing them and their mighty host arranged in battle order, his heart sank. Complaining, that his father had gone away to fight the Trigarttas, leaving no troops for his assistance, he suggested to his charioteer a retreat, but Arjuna would not hear of it. In the mighty battle which followed, the Kurus were routed, the kine were recovered and the Matsyas returned in triumph to Virāṭapura.[2] Virāṭa finally overcame the Trigarttas, regained his kingdom and along with the sons of Pāṇḍu came back to his capital where his daughter Kṛṣṇā was wedded to the saviour of his realm, Arjuna.[3]

This account of the Matsya-Trigartta battle shows that the Matsyas in the epic age had a monarchical constitution, some measure of civilisation and were evidently a pastoral people.

The Home of the Matsyas.

Where then did these Matsyas dwell from the earliest times? In the *Ṛg Veda* their home is laid to the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Śūrasena.[4] As noticed earlier the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* places them between the Vatsas and the Kuru-Pāñcālās but Manu, however, is more explicit and relates that on "the plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pāñcālās and Śūrasenakas, these (form) indeed the country of the Brahmarṣis."[5] Such being the case in the *Padma Purāṇa*[6] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa,* this land of the Matsyas is called one of the *janapadas* of Bhāratavarṣa.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* however, points to the exact place where the Matsyas had their habitation since early times: This text relates how the Matsya king Dvaitavana performed a horse-sacrifice near the lake Dvaitavana, where he bound for Indra Vṛtrahan fourteen horses, after a victorious battle,

1. *Mahābhārata,* Sec. XXXIII, pp. 80-84 ; *Ibid.,* (RAGHUVĪRA), 3032. 134-149.
2. *Mahābhārata,* Virāṭa Parva, Sec. XXXVIII, pp. 93-97, *Ibid.* LXV, pp. 166-67 ; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVIRA), 33 ff.
3. Ibid.
4. *Ṛg Veda,* VII, 18, 6.
5. *Manusaṁhita,* II, vv 19-20. *SBE.* XXV, pp. 32-33.
6. *Padma Purāṇa,* Ch. 3.

whence the lake became known as Dvaitavana[1] evidently after the king himself. *Mahābhārata* reveals that the Dvaitavana lake existed in the Dvaitavana forest, near the river Sarasvatī. Arjuna suggested to his brother Yudhiṣṭhira that there were some delightful and secluded spots for residence during their exile : "Surrounding the kingdom of the Kurus, are many countries, beautiful, and abounding in corn, such as Pāñcāla, Cedi, Matsya, Śūrasena, Paṭaccara, Daśārṇa, Navarāṣṭamalla, Sālva, Yugāndhara, Surāṣṭra, Avanti and the spacious Kuntirāṣṭra".[2] The exact location of this territory becomes now more precise when Yudhiṣṭhira stated that their priests, charioteers, and cooks should all say, when any inquiries were made about them : " We do not know where the Pāṇḍavas have gone leaving us at the lake of Dvaitavana."[3] Subsequently "girding on their swords, etc. they proceeded " in the direction of the river Kālindi. .to the southern bank of that river."[4] Then they " passed through Yakrollama and Śūrasena, leaving behind, on their right, the country of the Pāñcālas and on their left that of the Daśārṇas." Then they " entered Matsya's dominions leaving the forest, giving themselves out as hunters " and Yudhiṣṭhira observed " just on emerging from this forest, we arrive at the city."[5] From this information it is clear that the Matsya country was situated between the country of the Pāñcālas on the left and the Daśārṇa dominion on the right and that it embraced all the expanse beyond the Daitavana forest. The Macchās are generally mentioned with Sūrasenās[6] in Buddhist literature.

RAPSON has already pointed out that the *Brahmarṣi-deśa* of Manu, according to whom the Matsya country formed a portion, included the eastern half of the modern Patiala State and the Delhi division of the Punjab, the Alwar State and the adjacent territory in Rajaputana, the region lying between the Ganges and the Jamna and the Muttra District in the United Provinces.[7] According to CUNNINGHAM " In ancient times the whole of the country lying between the Aravali hills of Alwar and the river Jumna was divided between the Matsya on the west and Śūrasena on the east, with Daśārṇa on the south and south-eastern border. Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory, with portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur. Bairāṭ and Māchári were both in Matsya-deśa ; while Kaman, Mathura and Bayana were all in Sūrasena. To the east were the Pāñcālas, who held Rohilkhand and Antarbeda, or the Gangetic Doab."[8] The Dáśārṇa had its capital called Vidiśā, identified by Cunningham with modern Bhilsā or rather Besnagar, the hoary capital so near Bhilsa, situated on the Vetravatī, the

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*, Ch. 9.
2. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. I, p. 2; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 1. 7-10.5.
3. *Ibid*, Sec. II, p. 7 ; *Ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA) 4, 5. 17-18.
4. *Ibid*, Sec. V, p. 11 ; *Ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA), 5, 1-2. 26.
5. *Ibid*, p. 12; *ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA), 5. 4-6. 27.
6. *Dīgha Nikāya* II, 200.
7. RAPSON, *Ancient India*, pp. 50-51.
8. CUNNINGHAM, *Ar. Sur. of India Rep.* XX, p. 2; *ASI WC* 1909-10, p. 44-5 ; BHANDARKAR, *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

river now called Betwā, which rises close to Bhopal and flows into the Jumnā, east of Ujjain.[1]

This region, once known as the home of the Matsyas, has precisely been the home of the Mīnas, who occupy even at present Mewāṭ, in Rajputana, now comprised in the Alwar and Bharatpur States and the British district of Gurgaon.[2] Their pastoral habits, their martial nature and the identity of their names, leave little room for doubting that the Mīnas or the Mewattis or Māwāssis known to history were no other than the Matsyas of the Sanskrit texts and the Macchas of Pāli literature.

The Matsyas in History—The Hindu Period.

But strangely enough this Sanskritised name of the Mīnas as the Matsyas survived from the times of Manu to the days of the Pālas in the ninth century. But it was strange that Kauṭilya, who speaks of the Mallas, does not refer to the Matsyas and what exactly happened to them during the critical period of the accession of Candragupta Maurya. If, on Hiuen Tsiang's testimony, the identification of Pariyatra with Bairāt, or the Matsya country is accepted, then we may say that the Matsya country was included in the empire of the Śātavāhanas. The Nasik *parśasti* informs us that Gautamiputra conquered Pārivāta (i.e. Pāriyātra) among other countries.[3] The Candravalli record of the Kādamba Mayūrasarman says that he conquered Pariyātrika in circa A.D. 258. When the Guptas came into power, especially in the days of that great conqueror Samudra Gupta, if his conquest of the forest kingdoms[4] meant the absorption of the Daśārṇa country as well,[5] then probably the Matsyas were not spared in the sweep of this amazing conquest. Such a mastery was again the boast of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, who likewise refers to his victory over the forest people.[6] The apparent inference which can be drawn from such an absence of any contemporary reference is that, before the rise of the Mauryas, the Matsyas had evidently sunk into such an utter insignificance that they played no prominent part in the history of the period and were consequently forgotten in the annals of those days.

But this does not mean that the Matsyas ceased to exist as a political force in the history of northern India. Although little is heard of them during the Gupta period, it cannot be said that the Matsyas perished as a political force for Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, found that in the seventh century the Matysa kingdom was ruled by a king, whose dominion he describes at some length. "Going again" says he "from this south-west

1. CUNNINGHAM, *Stūpa of Bārhut*, p. 132. (1879 ed.); SALETORE, *Wild Tribes in Indian History*, p. 108; See also PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 296, and p. 297, note and p. 295.
2. CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.* p. 24.
3. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 60.
4. *M. A. R.* 1929, pp. 40, 58.
5. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 1, p. 13.
6. *Ibid*, No. 25, p. 116.

(She-to-T'u Satadru) we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ye-to-lo (Pāriyātra-Virāṭa). This country is about 3,000 li (500 miles) in circuit and the capital about 14 or 15 li (2½ miles). Grain is abundant and late wheat. There is a strange kind of rice grown here, which ripens after sixty days. There are many oxen and sheep, few flowers and fruits. The climate is warm and fiery, the manners of the people are resolute and fierce. They do esteem learning, and are given to honour the heretics. The king is of the Vaiśya caste; he is of a brave and impetuous nature, and very warlike. There are eight saṅghāramas, mostly ruined, with a very few priests, who study the Little Vehicle. There are the Deva temples with about a thousand followers of different sects. Going from this 500 li or so, we come to the country of Mo-t'u lo (Mathurā)."[1] This description of Hiuen T'siang tells us when he visited these parts of Northern India, that the people of this Matsya country were, as they were before, pastrol, warlike and monarchial. This land was situated between Śatadrū, which has been considered to be the name of kingdom of which Sarhind was probably the chief town[2] and Mathura, well-known as the ancient Śūrasena. Its characteristics described by this famous traveller, have survived to the present day, for as Cunningham said : " This is still the case with Jaypur to the south of Bairat which furnishes most of the sheep required for the great Muhammadan cities of Delhi, and Agra and their English garrisons. Bairat, therefore, may have been included the greater part of the present State of Jaypur." [3] In fact, Cunningham has even fixed the limits of this kingdom as follows : " On the north from Jhunjnu to Kot Kasim, 70 miles ; on the west from Jhunjnu to Ajmer, 120 miles ; on the south from Ajmer to the junction of the Banās and Chambal, 150 miles, and on the east from the junction to Kot Kasim, 150 miles, or in all 490 miles." [4] The main entrance, he adds, to the valley is on the north-west along the bank of a small stream which drains the basin, and forms one of the principal feeders of the Bāna Ganga. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter and from 7½ to 8 miles in circuit.[5] It is interesting to note that in such a tract during the seventh century Buddhism was obviously on the wane, its few adherents were the followers of the Hīna-Yāna, while its rival, the Hindu religion claimed about a thousand followers and some temples.

The Pāla-Matsya Relations

But in the eighth century the Matsyas once more flashed into the political limelight. That they were certainly existing as a people of importance and probably of independence, can be made out from a reference to them in the Khalimpur plate of the Pāla ruler, Dharmapāladeva. It states that " he

1. Hiuen Tsiang, Siyüki—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 178 (BEAL). On *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 300 (WATTERS).
2. CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 393.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid*, p. 391.
5. CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.* p. 391.

installed the king of Kanyakubja, who was readily accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra, Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pāñcālas."[1] This exploit of Dharmapāla has been fortunately clarified by the Bhāgalpur record of Nārayanapāla, which adds : "This mighty one (Dharmapāla) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Cakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing,—just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (of the three worlds) which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods, to the begging Cakrāyudha (Viṣṇu) who had descended to earth as a dwarf."[2] From this account, however, it cannot be maintained Dharmapāla "conquered or overran eastern Punjab and Sindh (Kuru and Yadu), W. Punjab and N. W. Frontier provinces (Yavana and Gāndhāra) Kangra (Kīra), Malwa (Avanti) and North-Eastern Rajputana (Bhoja and Matysa)"[3] Nor is it in any way true that "the empire of suzerainty of Kanouj was acknowledged even in its decline over a very large extent of territory."[4] Such conclusions are not warranted by existing evidence, which apparently shows first, that Dharmapāladeva placed his nominee on the Kanyakubja throne, secondly, that he obtained the formal sanction of the Matsya and the neighbouring states which he intended to use as buffers between his newly created puppet territory of Kanouj and the kingdom of the Gurjara Pratīhāras and thirdly, that the Matsya country was surviving between the land of the Bhojas—the Bhojakta which was the counterpart of modern Berar, as can be seen from the copper-plate of Pravarasena II,[5] and the Madrakas, who occupied the tract between the Ravi and the Chenab in the Punjab with its capital called Sākala, the modern Sailkot.[6]

The date of this Pāla Matsya agreement.

Now when could this installation of Cakrāyudha, and to safeguard it the Pāla agreement with the Matsyas and their kindred tribes, have taken place? The dates assigned to Dharmapāla, Nāgabhaṭa II, and Govinda III are circa A.D. 769-815, 815-833, and 794-814[7] respectively. The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārayaṇapāla,[8] which records the installation of Cakrāyudha by Dharmapāla, does not point to any date when that ceremony took place. But it is evident that at this period the Matsyas must have been independent, more or less, for the simple reason that had they not been so there would not have been any necessity for Dharmapāla to obtain the approval of the

1. *E. I.* IV, No. 34. pp. 248, 252.
2. *IA* XV, p. 307 : "*Jitvendrarāja-prabhriti arātin upārjjita-yena Mahōdaya-Srih, dotta-punaḥ sā valin-ārthaitre Cakrāyudhay-ānati Vāmanāya*" *p.* 305.
3. R. D. BANERJI, *Mem. Ar. Sur. Soc. Bengal,* V, No. 3. p. 51.
4. C. V. VAIDYA, *History of Med. Hindu India,* I, p. 341.
5. FLEET, op. cit. No. 55, p. 236.
6. Cf. *J.A.S.B.* (new Series) XVIII, pp. 257-68.
7. RAY, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* I, p. 287.
8. *I.A.* XV, p. 307.

Matsyas and their kindred tribes at all. According to the *Harivaṁśa* Indrāyudha, the predecessor of Cakrāyudha, was ruling in the *śaka* year 705, viz. A.D. 783-84[1] and in the light of extant evidence Dharmapāla must have installed Cakrāyudha between the years A.D. 783-84 and 813-14. But from the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, however, the date of this installation may provisionally be determined, for the lines 60-61 of this inscription say that this record was engraved "in the increasing reign of victory, the year 32, the 12th day of Mārga."[2] Dr. KIELHORN, on palæographic grounds, has assigned it to the ninth century.[3] As the epigraph itself is dated in regnal years, a practice not unknown to Pāla monarchs, and as Dharmapāla's earliest ascertained date is circa A.D. 769, this installation of Cakrāyudha and its concomitant the agreement of the Pālas with the Matsyas and similar lesser powers, must have taken place in A.D. 801.

Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of the Matsyas and others.

If this provisional date of the triumph of the diplomacy of Dharmapāla in the politics of Kanouj and the tribal areas is tentatively accepted, then the later fate of the Matsyas can be followed with some confidence. It is possible that the Matsyas and others enjoyed a spell of independence, for there is no evidence at present to prove that until their contact with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa II, they were conquered by any other ruler. This king evidently could not bear to see a puppet like Cakrāyudha over Kanouj with a number of buffer states like the Matsyas, the Kirātas and the rest in between. Therefore he started an expansionist policy and forcibly seized "the hill forts of the kings of Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, and Matsya" as recorded in the Gwalior *praśasti* of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja, which is assigned to the ninth century after Christ. Then he must have defeated Cakrāyudha, "whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others", among whom were the Matsyas and his arch-supporter and patron "the lord of Vanga" Dharmapāla.[4]

This conquest of Nāgabhaṭa II must have taken place within the first decade of the ninth century, owing to certain circumstances of this period. The Rādhanpur plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III, dated *Śaka* 730 (A.D. 808), for example, tell us that Dhora (Dhruva Nirupama his predecessor drove into the "trackless forest Vatsarāja (the predecessor of Nāgabhaṭa II) who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa".[5] The Wani-Dindori grant of Govinda III, dated A.D. 806-7 repeats this triumph of Dhruva.[6] His successor Govinda II overran the South by his expedition to Kāñcī, before he attacked the princes of the north and from

1. *Harivaṁśa, I.A.* VI, p. 80, *Ibid,* XV, p. 141 : "*Śakeṣva-abdaśateṣu saptesu diśām pañcottareṣūttarām.*"
2. *E. I.* IV, No. 34, p. 244.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, No. 13, pp. 104, 106.
5. *Ibid.* VI, No. 23, p. 248.
6. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 161.

the British Museum copper-plates issued in A.D. 804 it is clear that at this time he was encamped at Rāmeśvara *Tīrtha*,[1] but according to the Radhanpur plates, he "again drew to himself the fortunes of the Pallavas, his enemies having submitted" only in A.D. 808.[2] Probably as this record suggests *before* this victorious campaign in the South in A.D. 808 was undertaken, Govinda III had already defeated his northern enemies. This can be seen from the record referred to above. For it says that in this year, after the rains had ceased, Govinda III, from his camp "pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya," on hearing from his spies that the "Gurjara" had fled "in fear, nobody knew whither", *moved towards his own country*, and then went with his forces "to the banks of the Tungabhadra" to storm the capital of the Pallavas.[3] If this unnamed Gurjara could be identified with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, who along with the Kosala ruler Candragupta are said to have been defeated by Govinda III in the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarṣa dated *śaka* 793 (871), then it may be inferred that Nāgabhaṭa II must have defeated Cakrāyudha and subjugated the Matsyas and others between A.D. 801 and 808. But as the British Museum copper-plates of Govinda III, dated A.D. 804 reveal [4] that he was encamped at Rameśvaram during his southern expedition in this year[5] whereas his Rādhanpur plates state that he "again drew to himself the fortunes of the Pallavas" after the flight of the unnamed Gurjara only in A.D. 808, it is possible that Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Cakrāyudha with the Matsyas and the rest between the years A.D. 801 and 804, because, as Govinda III did in A.D. 808, before turning his attention to the South, he must have seen that he had no enemies in the Vindhyan region to molest his own territories as he would be cut off during this expedition from his home after the rains. This is only a presumption, but if he actually did so and there is no reason why he should not have adopted such a course, then Nāgabhaṭa II could not have been at peace after A.D. 804 and much less would he have dared to attack Cakrāyudha, the Matsyas with the rest and made these enemies in addition to Govinda III.

Whether or not in this onslaught on Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta, Govinda III, who is said to have carried away in battle their "fair and unshakeable fame" fell on the Matsyas as well, cannot be decided with certainty. Possibly there is an allusion to them in the rather vague assertion that he "intent on the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like śālī corn, *other kings*, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards reinstated them in their own places."[6] This information may be interpreted to mean that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, defeated the allies

1. Ind. Ant. p. 127.
2. *Ep. Ind.* VI, No. 23, p. 250.
3. *Ep. Ind.* VI, No. 24, p. 250.
4. *Ibid*, XIII, No. 26, p. 253, v. 22, also p. 240.
5. *Ibid*, XVIII, No. 26. p. 223. Note : Dr. ALTEKAR, in his *Rāstrakutas and their Times* p. 64 thinks that the expedition of Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II must have taken place "sometime in 806-807 A.D."
6. *Ibid*, v. 22.

Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta and the chiefs of neighbouring tribes like the Matsyas and the others, most of whom must have been reinstated in their own dominions. Little is heard of the Matsyas after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II, but there is little doubt that they continued to survive as a comparatively insignificant people until the advent of the Muslim invasions of Northern India in the early days of the eleventh century.

The Mīnas in History—The Muslim Period.

It has been noticed already that from very early times the Mīnas or as they are styled in the epics, the Matsyas, had adopted the practice of kings as leaders of their tribe down to the days of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and possibly also of the Rāṣṭrakūṭās in the ninth century. There is no evidence to prove that, after their conquest by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa II, probably in the first decade of the ninth century, they resorted to any form of republicanism. If Al'Utbi can be relied upon, it may be stated that not only were the Mīnas monarchical but also independent. In his *Tarikhī Yamini* he relates how Sultan Mahummad of Ghazna fell on them. "The Sultan" he observes "again resolved on an expedition to Hind, and marched towards Nārain, urging his horses and moving over ground hard and soft, until he came to the middle of Hind, where he reduced chiefs, who, up to that time obeyed no master, overturned their idols, and put to the sword the vagabonds of that country, and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design. He fought a battle with the chiefs of the infidels, in which God bestowed upon him much booty in property, horses and elephants, and the friends of God committed slaughter in every hill and valley. The Sultan returned to Ghazna with all the plunder he had obtained."[1] From this account it may be seen that Utbi, the only contemporary authority to refer to this expedition in detail, omits the date on which it took place but places it between the expeditions to Bhīmnagar and Ghūr viz. A.H. 399 and 401, and it may therefore be inferred that this raid on Nārāin must have taken place in A.H. 400—A.D. 1009. Ibnu'l-Athīr, whose account has been claimed to be "very authentic and trustworthy"[2] says that this attack took place in the October of this year[3]. Utbi, however, does not mention either the route followed by the Sultan or the locality of the forts or even the name of the Rāja, but it is obviously the Rāja of Nārāyanpura who is referred to in this connection. Firishtah too refers to this exploit of Mahammud of Ghazna in these words : "At length he continued his march along the course of a stream on whose banks were seven strong fortifications, all of which fell in succession : these were also discovered to be some very ancient temples, which according to the Hindoos, had existed for 4000 years".[4] Although Firishtah says that

1. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, II, p. 36.
2. MUHAMMAD NAZIM, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 9.
3. *Ibnu'l-Athir*, IX, p. 149 ; MUHAMMAD NĀZIM, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
4. Firishtah, *The Rise of the Mohemadan Power in India*, I, p. 59 (BRIGGS).

the Sultan fell on this place after destroying the temples of Mathurā, he is wrong in stating that the expedition was undertaken in A.D. 1017 (A.H. 409) owing to Utbi's more reliable evidence.

This locality that was stormed by Muhammad of Ghazna has been identified by CUNNINGHAM to be Nārāyaṇapura, a town twelve miles to the north-east of Bairāt, the ancient Virāṭapura.[1] In the *Jami-U-T Tawarikh* of Rushdu-D-Din it is said that from Kanouj, travelling south-west to "Nārāṇa the capital of Guzrat", the distance was eighteen parsangs, while from Nārāṇa to Mahura (Mathurā) it was twenty-eight parsangs.[2] Firishtah too says that after destroying the shrines of Mathurā Mahammud fell on the seven forts, evidently of Nārāyaṇapura.

That this expedition was an accomplished fact can be proved with the assistance of other contemporary accounts. Not only does Utbi refer to it but it is also mentioned in the *Jami-U-T Tawarikh* noticed above and by the poet Ghadā'iri in a *quasīda* as preserved in Unṣrī wherein he says :

"I received two purses of gold on the victory of Nārāyan,
I will get one hundred such purses and bags on the conquest of Rūmiya."[3]

The results of this invasion were fatal to the inhabitants of Nārāyaṇpura and the surrounding places. Rushid-ud-din declares that this city was "destroyed" and "the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier".[4] But though Utbi refers to no such disaster, he observes that the ruler of Nārāyaṇapura who was defeated and whose town was plundered "became satisfied that he could not contend with him (the Sultan). So he sent some of his relatives and chiefs to the Sultan supplicating him not to invade India again, and offering him money to abstain from that purpose, and their best wishes for his future prosperity. They were told to offer a tribute of fifty elephants, each equal to two ordinary ones in size and strength, laden with the products and rarities of his country. He promised to send this tribute every year, accompanied by two thousand men, for service at the court of the Sultan. The Sultan accepted his proposal as Islam was promoted by the humility of his submission and the payment of tribute. He sent an envoy to see that these conditions were carried into effect. The ruler of Hind strictly fulfilled them and despatched one of his vassals with the elephants to see that they were duly presented to the Sultan. So peace was established, and tribute was paid, and caravans travelled in full security between Khurassan and Hind."[5] Therefore the results of this defeat of the Rāja of Nārāyaṇapura were that his kingdom became a tributary state, and the peace effected gave an impetus to the trade between Khurassan and India.

1. CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 394. (1924 ed. S. M. Sastry)
2. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, pp. 58-59. Note : Nārāyaṇapura was never the capital of Gujarat.
3. Unsuri, Diwan (ed. TEHERAN), p. 100 ; MUHAMMAD NĀZIM, *op. cit.* p. 102. fn. 2.
4. ELLIOTT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, p. 59.
5. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, p. 36.

Balban and the Mewattis.

This domination of the Muslims over the Mīna territory must have sapped their strength and crushed their spirit as a fighting people, for hereafter the Mīnas do not figure in history as a people fighting under militant kings. From this time onwards they evidently took to a life of provocation, plunder and pillage. The Muslim historians began to style the Mīnas living in Mewat, in Rajaputana, now comprised in the Alwar and Bharatpur states as Mewattis. From their hilly regions they swept on the rich cities. According to Firishtah in A.D. 1259, 10,000 Mewattis with 200 of their chiefs were captured and made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers "because the Rajas and Rajputs of Mewat had begun to create disturbances; and having collected a numerous body of horse and foot plundered and burnt them."[1] But this destructive policy could not subdue them. Therefore in A.D. 1265 Ghiyās-ud-din Balban wanted to make an end of them. He ordered an army specially for destroying "a plundering banditti of Mewattis who had occupied about eighty miles south-east of the capital (Delhi) towards the hills, from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions even on the gates of Dēhly. It is said that in this expedition above 100,000 Mewattis were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for the circumference of 100 miles. The tract thus cleared afterwards proved excellent arable land and became well cultivated."[2]

This version of Firishtah deserves to be verified by an independent account like that of Zia-ud-din Barni, from whose narrative Firishtan obtained his information. He relates how Balban, towards the end of the first year of his reign was busy "in harrying the jungles, and in rooting out the Mewattis whom no one had interfered with since the days of Shams-ud-din. The turbulence of the Mewattis had increased, and their strength had grown in the neighbourhood of Delhi, through the dissolute habits of the elder sons of Shams-ud-din and the incapacity of the youngest, Nasir-ud-din. At night they used to come prowling into the city. In the neighbourhood of Delhi there were large and dense jungles, through which many roads passed. The disaffected in the Doab, and the out-laws of Hindustan grew bold and took to robbery on the highway, and so beset the roads, that the caravans and merchants were unable to pass. The daring of the Mewattis in the neighbourhood of Delhi was carried to such an extent that the western gates of the city were shut at the afternoon prayers, and no one dared to go out of the city in that direction after that hour whether he travelled as a pilgrim or with the display of a sovereign. At afternoon prayer the Mewattis would often come to the Saur-hauz, and assaulting the water-carriers and the girls who were fetching water, they would strip them and carry off their clothes. These dar-

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.* I, p. 244 (BRIGGS)

2. Firishtah, *op. cit.* I, pp. 255-56. The statements of Kafi Khan always deserve the closest scrutiny, for he was wholesale plagiarist. In this connection please see Sri Ram SHARMA, *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, p. 53, (1939).

ing acts of the Mewattis had caused a great ferment in Delhi. In the first year of his accession the Sultan felt the repression of the Mewattis to be the first of his duties and for a whole year he was occupied in overthrowing them and in scouring the jungles, which he effectually accomplished. Great numbers of the Mewattis were put to the sword. The Sultan built a fort at Gopāl-Gīr and established several posts in the vicinity of the city, which he placed in the charge of the Afghans, with the assignments of lands (for their maintenance). In this campaign one hundred thousand of the royal army were slain by the Mewattis, and the Sultan with his sword delivered many servants of God from the assaults of violence of the enemy. From this time the city was delivered from the attacks of the Mewattis. After the Sultan had thus routed the Mewattis and cleared away the jungle in the neighbourhood of the city, he gave the towns and the country within the Doab to some distinguished chiefs, and ordered them to slay these marauders, imprison their women and children, to clear away the jungle and to suppress all lawless proceedings. The noblemen set to work with strong forces and soon put down the risings."[1]

From this version of Barni it may be seen that Firishtah recorded a fairly correct account of the destruction of the Mewattis by Balban. But Firishtah states that 100,000 of the Mewattis were slain whereas Bārni observes that the same number of the royal troops were killed by them. The latter account cannot be dispensed with as unreliable especially because Barni has been considered more authentic than Firishtah. The policy of Balban, of parcelling out the lands of the Mewattis with the establishment of officers over them, was adopted by Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat in the 16th century in an attempt to exterminate the Girassias[2] with almost similar results.

The Mewattis and Firuz Shah.

The fond hopes of Barni and the expectations of Balban that these rebels were "brought into submission" unfortunately never materialised, for soon after their old risings they flared up again. In A.D. 1423 during the reign of Firuz Shah, when he was marching against Alap Khān near Gwalior, "the Mewattis and Nasrat Khan, with their horse and foot, plundered the baggage of Alap Khān and brought many of his men, both horse and foot, back as prisoners."[3] This fact reveals that the Mewattis by this time adopted a change in their tactics of dealing with the Muslim rulers by simply joining hands with one or the other of the disaffected nobles and attacking whomsoever they could lay their hands upon. In the very next year A.D. 1424 news was brought that the Mewattis had broken into rebellion and so the Sultan marched into Mewat, ravaged and laid it waste. The Mewattis sought refuge in the mountains of Jahora, their great stronghold. As this fort was considered impregnable and as fodder and grain were also scarce, the Sultan returned to Delhi. In A.D. 1425 he again marched against Mewat, while Jallu and Kaddu, grand-

1. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 103-5.
2. Sikandar, *Mirati Sikandari*, p. 239. (F. L. LUTFULLAH.)
3. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* IV, p. 60.

sons of Bahadur Nahir and several Mewattis, destroying their own territories, entrenched themselves in the mountains of Andwar. When attacked by the imperial forces for several days, they fled into the mountains of Alwar and their fort of Andwar was destroyed.[1] These measures of Firuz Shāh reveal that, during this period it became a settled policy of the emperors of Delhi to stamp out the ravages of the Mewattis whenever and wherever they occurred. Their strongholds were attacked and destroyed with the hope that the Mewattis, would, despoiled of their homes, and subject to a life of almost starvation, some day take to a peaceful and settled life.

But these stringent measures had not the desired effect. Once more in A.D. 1433 as the Mewattis disturbed the peace again, the Sultan, marching towards the mountains of Mewat, arrived at the town of Taori. On hearing this Jala Khān Mewatti, one of their leaders, shut himself up with a large force in the fort of Andaru, which they had probably captured and fortified anew, and considered still their strongest citadel. But as soon as the Sultan prepared to storm this fort and, in fact before his forces approached it, Jala Khān set fire to the stronghold and escaped towards Kutila. The greater part of the provisions, materials and grains which had been stored for the siege fell to the lot of the royal forces.[2]

From these accounts of the imperial attempts to tame the turbulent Mewattis, it may be seen that probably most of the Mewattis had either become Muslim converts or had Muslim chieftains as their leaders and repeated royal attacks must have had a salutary effect of curbing their ravages and reducing them to surrender.

The Mīnas in Marāṭha times.

The unfortunate defeat of the Marāṭhas in the eventful battle of Pānipat in A.D. 1761 was the signal for mischievous tribes like the Mīnas, not to mention the more important kingdoms conquered by the Marāṭhas, to rise at once in rebellion. The Mewattis of the Moghul historians are styled as the Māwāsis in the records of the Marāṭha rulers. The Māwāsis could not have been the inhabitants of Mārwar, for they are clearly styled as the Mārwaris in connection their relations with the Gāikwād Sayājirao I and the Mārwār Rāja and even in other cases they were known to the Marāṭhas as Mārwāris.[3] These Māwāsis apparently had their *Thākurs* who guided their destinies in matters political and social. How they were tempted to revolt against their rulers is revealed by Dāmaji in a letter dated 7-6-1761 to Raghoba in which he said that, owing to the news of the disaster of Pānipat the Muslims, the Koḷi chiefs and the Māwāsi *Ṭhākurs* had grown insubordinate.[4] This slight show of in-

1. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op cit.* IV, p. 61. 2. *Ibid*, p. 75.

3. *Baroda State Records*, III, (45), pp. 330-31, Ibid, (47), p. 332. Ibid, (162) pp. 423-4.

4. *Ibid*, I, (80) p. 84. : *hindustānāce gardī mule ikadīl avindha va kavivartaka va mevāsi sarva bahakun gele.* It is interesting to note that the Koḷis are, as early as 1761 dubbed as fishermen and they are known as such even to-day.

subordination soon flamed into an undisguised rebellion. The *Kamāvisdār* of Vaḍnagar, Keśav Visaji, informed the Baroda government that the Māwāsis and the Nawab of Pālanpur intended to rise against the State and they actually disturbed the peace at Visanagar. So he was directed on 16-4-1771 not to tolerate such risings, to restore the peace with the assistance of the two *pāgas* at Visāpur as well as his own forces, and to keep four horsemen at Fattepur to maintain order.[1] Therefore it is clear that the ever watchful and rapacious Māwasis not only rose against their masters on hearing of their defeat but they conspired with their neighbours the Muslims and their kindred tribes in order to resort to their old tactics of creating disturbances in and out of season. Even in Gujarat which was not evidently their home, they became a great source of irritation and concern to the administration of the Gāikwāḍs down to the early days of the nineteenth century.

The Māwasis in Gujarat.

The Māwāsis, however, proved to be no quiet people to the Marāṭha administrators, especially in Gujarat, during the reigns of Sayājirao I and Fattesingh between the years A.D. 1778-1789. These Māwāsis, as though in keeping with their tradition, invariably joined one party or another in these troublous times. Kesarkhan Rāthoḍ, on 24-1-1790 informed Fattesingh Rao that the English had posted themselves at Dabhoi, Bhadarpur, and Vasna and were going to post themselves at Tilakwāḍa At this time, though nearly all of the Māwāsis, including the ruler of Rājpipla, were joining them he had remained loyal and therefore Fattesingh should give him his protection and support.[2] Not only did the Māwāsis join parties fighting for power but they also took to brazen-faced robbery. The Baroda government issued an order on 17-5-1792 to the *Kamāvisdār* of Tilakwāḍ that certain Māwāsis had seized cattle and property at Sankheḍa and that had to be restored to the rightful owners. A similar order was issued to the *Thākur* of Vajiria on this for in his ·limits some of the Māwāsis had taken shelter.[3]

These raids of the Māwāsis became dangerous as days went on, for they turned out to be more and more frequent and assumed dangerous proportions. From Songhaḍ, Khandoji Baburao informed Manajirao on 30-5-1792 that raids by Māwāsis were frequent and requested a reinforcement of footsoldiers, at least.[4] Sometimes the actual strength of these Māwāsis can also be

1. *Baroda State Record* II, (22) p. 167.: *māvāsanṁ kāhim phel āraṁbile āhet. Jagan jagan melave kele āhet. vaḍnagar agar kheralus kāhiñ upadrav karṇar..visṇagaraca bandobasta ukhaḍalā mhaṇūn lihile-tyāṅs huzrūn hi bātamī āhe..puḍeṅhi āspās koṇi ched pand karil tar visnagariṅ don pāga āhet va tumacī pāga āise bāher nighon jamini karoṇ bandobasta karaṇe.*

2. *Selections from Baroda Records*, II, (96) p. 218 : *sarva Māvāsimātra rājapimpaḷesudhāṅtyājala ruju jāhale āṁhi sāhebāce caraṇāvar dṛṣṭa ṭhevūṅ baisaloṅ.*

3. *Ibid*, III, (77) p. 355 ; *prān takid vasanekār vagaire yāṅsi karane va pra tilakwādeṅ yethiḷ dhanake māvāsi gāṁvāce yevūn pra-savkhedeṅ yethil rasṭi gamvāciṅ gureṅ va jinasbhāv netāt, mhaṇon sarkārent jāhīr jhāleṅ.*

4. *Ibid*, (81) p. 359 : *ikaḍe māvāsāni ghaḍica upadrav mānḍalā āhe, svāri tar roj kēli pāhije ...tarī kṛpā karūn payecin māṇaseṅ pāṭaviliṅ pāhijēt.*

made out. From a letter of Gaṇapatrao Gāikwāḍ of Sankheḍa to Govindrao Gāikwāḍ, dated 22-10-1797 it is clear that eight hundred men and four thousand Māwāsis and Naikdas had plundered Tilakwāḍa and would have captured Sankheḍa in a day or two.[1]

The Marāṭhā State, however, did not permit these Māwāsis to continue for long to do what they pleased. The triumph of a successful expedition against them was reported on 18-9-1801. Bābāji Appāji in command of the Mulkgiri expedition encountered at Gumba in Vasre *pargaṇa* one Mukundrao, who after harassing the Baroda territory and seizing the ornaments dedicated by the late Govindrao Gāikwāḍ to the shrine at Dakore, had collected a force of four to five hundred strong. Mukundrao was at last driven away to Kapaḍvanj. The *Thākore* of Anghaḍ being killed in this battle, the Māwāsis surrendered themselves to the government forces.[2] Once these Māwāsis were subdued in one place it did not at all mean that they were conquered in all their haunts. This can be inferred from an order of the Baroda Government to an official Mathāvad Bhadagirkar in Kanha Padvayi *prānt* on 7-7-1802, that a rising had taken place in Kharag. The communique adds that one Sagbarekar, with Hanaji and Valavi and others had committed incendiarism and had become turbulent. For the administration of that area the government had despatched forces and therefore he was ordered to present himself with his men before the government battalion.[3]

These facts reveal that the Māwāsis evidently had turned their footsteps to the fertile land of Gujarat from their original home in Rājputana. Even here as has been shown they appear to have felt, as it were, the pulse of the strength of the government in power and once they saw that it showed the least signs of any weakness, they at once rebelled. Not only did they rebel but they joined hands with the Muslims or even with the Hindus as it suited them, for their main object was to loot and ravage what they could lay their hands on wherever they went. The Marāṭha State adopted in their case more or less the same measures which they adopted when they were confronted with similar disturbances of their equally nefarious contemporaries the Kolis, the Bhils, the Beḍars and the Girāssias in various parts of the Marātha empire. Despite all these measures, probably unlike the Beḍars, as the accounts show in the beginning of the nineteenth century, these Mīnas proved to be extremely provocative in their own haunts.

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1. *Baroda State Records*, III, (173) pp. 431-32 : *ikaḍīl vartamān yeseṅ āhe kīn, rājasri Kānhoji rāv yāni aṭhaṣeṅ-navaseṅ barakandaj ṭhevūn, sivāye māvāsi nayakakaḍe cār pānc hazār mela karūn tilakawāḍe mārūn gāṁv jāleleṅ āṇi morce lāvile āhet. paraṅtu sāheb āj udyāṅ ṭhāne ghetīl.* p. 431.

2. *Ibid*, (16) p. 478 : *tene karūṅ bārāgāṁv māvāsi yāṅca ghar suṭuṅ tamām yevuṅ ruju jhāle.*

3. *Ibid*, (47) p. 505 : *kanha paḍvāyi prānt mathavaḍ bhaḍagirikār yāṁs patra kīn umedya vasāva,kharāg ṁauje sagbharkar yāni hārāmkhori mānḍali va kanōji, vaḷav vagaire māvāsiyāṅs maron masta jhāḷa āhe. tyāce parapatyās sarkārce saranjām phauj pāṭhavili āhe. tar tuṁhi imāne itbareṅ bevasvas phaujānt yevūn tumace saranjām sudha bheṭane.*

The Mīnas of Rājputana.

In Rajaputana, which was the original home of the Mīnas, they once more rose into prominence in the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Malleson the Mīnas "were tribes of Muhammudans converted from Hinduism in the reign of Aurangzib, and who are plunderers and thieves by profession. These curious races yet retain many of their old customs and traditions. Of nothing are they fonder than of the glories and pleasures of the days, when to use an old adage of that part of the country, the buffalo belonged to him who held the blundgeon."[1] But though there is no evidence to prove that all the Mīnas in Rajputana are Muslims, they are considered to have been the inhabitants of the Jaipur territories and were originally the tillers. of the soil. While they were agriculturists one half of the produce of the land went to the government. But they were considered to have a Kṣatriya origin, and such a tradition appears to be in consonance with ancient belief as recorded in the Hindu texts quoted above. Nevertheless they were styled as Rajputs because they deemed it to be derogatory, except in cases of extreme poverty, to follow any vocation other than that of arms. Many Rajputs, however, rented large estates or zamindaries where these Mīnas were employed for manual labour.

They soon obtained a chance to organise themselves as they had done several times in the days of old. Many years prior to A.D. 1809 the intrepid Eeo Singh, the natural son of Rāja Mān Singh of Jaipur, assembled large numbers of these Mīnas for the sole purpose of robbery and plunder. Rāja Jagat Singh, the Raja of Jaipur in A.D. 1809 captured this bold and reckless adventurer and had him trodden under the feet of elephants, in pursuance of a hoary yet horrible custom. Deprived of a leader, the wild Mīnas returned calmly to their old pursuit of agriculture.

The menace of the Mīnas.

But though agriculturists by profession, in the districts of Kotah and Bundi, the Mīnas who inhabited the hills and jungles were exclusively given to committing thefts. With them the Mīnas of Jaipur held, at least according to them, no kind of communication ; the former ate meat and consumed liquor whenever they could be procured, but the latter did neither. These Mīnas of Bundi slowly became more daring and wrought grave havoc on the Marāṭha forces, attacking the foragers, intercepting the Vunjārās and plundering everyone who was unfortunate to fall into their nefarious hands.[2] Captain BROUGHTON, an eye-witness, tells us that the foragers "were constantly attacked by the Mīnas, or hill people, without the camp ; and the Bazars almost every night by thieves within it."[3] Such an incursion of the irrepressible Mīnas took place in the year A.D. 1809 and the terrible conster-

1. MALLESON, *Recreations of an Indian Official*, p. 10 (ed. 1872).
2. BROUGHTON, *Letters written in a Maratha Camp*, pp. 137-38.
3. *Ibid*, p. 110.

nation of the Marāṭhā forces can well be imagined. As though these destructive raids were not enough these wild mountaineers commenced to harass the Marāṭhā soldiers even in their own camp and as BROUGHTON observes, they became a veritable menace. Commenting on this unfortunate situation, he says: "We are in the very midst of the Minas, who seem resolved to make the most of such an opportunity and revenge themselves for the treatment which their friends, who by the way have all gone off, met with, while they continued in camp. Not a day occurs without the most daring robberies being committed. The foraging parties are attacked wherever they appear; and it is absolutely unsafe for individuals to move a musket shot from the camp. The main army is kept in a constant state of alarm; several attacks having been made on its skirts by bands of these daring mountaineers; and the stream of the river running under the bank opposite the army, the women and others, who are obliged to go for water are perpetually stopped, and plundered of their clothes, brass pots and etc." The consequence of all this annoyance was that fodder could scarcely be procured even in the smallest quantities and this situation created such a discontent that a number of the *Sardars* of the army of Mahādji Sindia, taking with them all their cattle, proceeded in a body straight to Deoree, declaring that they would not stir from that place until the Maharaja consented to "march away Meenas from such an abominable place."[1]

Measures to control the Mīnas.

Owing to this open exhibition of disaffection in his own ranks, Mahādji Sindia at last resolved to suppress the almost unbearable ravages of the Mīnas. He first attempted conciliation and therefore employed a large number of these thieves in his service for especially protecting the foragers. Such gestures of Mahādji Sindia are reminiscent of a similar practice of the Peśwas who employed the ferocious Bhils or Beḍars as watchmen to protect affected villages from the depredations of their kinsmen. Consequently the Sindia made a treaty with the Zamindar of Sūrsa, a district about twenty miles from the Marāṭhā camp, in order to entertain five hundred Minas in the Marāṭha army. This Zamindar, considered to be the most important of the Mīna chiefs in the neighbourhood, came to the Marāṭha camp and after the agreement left for his village to recruit his people. Soon after there was a Mīna battalion in the forces of the Mahādji Sindia.[2]

These wild desperadoes must have made a rather picturesque sight. BROUGHTON found that they hailed from Jaighur and were "all stout, good fellows," armed with a bow, a quiver, arrows and a dagger in the use of which they were specially expert. They wore their turbans rather very high and adorned them at the top with a bunch of feathers of a species of curlew called the Bojha.[3]

1. BROUGHTON, *Letters written in a Maratha Camp*, pp. 165-66.
2. BROUGHTON, *op, cit.* pp. 165-66. 3. *Ibid*, p. 158.

But strangely enough, the lethargic Mahādji Sindia, who had not the foresight that the Mīnas would shatter the morale of his forces, although virtually coerced into a treaty with their leader by the undisguised mutiny of his own *sardārs*, was indiscreet enough not to make the best of this apparent conciliation. This indiscretion became obvious when he displayed an injudicious niggardliness in making the stipulated payments to these Mīnas. The result was discontent. They loudly complained of this treatment of the Mahārāja towards them and maintained that, as he had distributed only five hundred rupees among them since their arrival in the camp, if the Sindia within a few days did not meet their demands, they would simply quit his camp and recover their dues at his expense.[1]

The nature of Mīna incursions.

Despite this loud protest, the Sindia paid little attention to the discontent of the Mīnas. Disappointed at the non-fulfilment of the treaty contracted between their chief and Mahadji Sindia, the Mīnas probably left the Marāṭha camp in a body. History again repeated itself and the Mīnas simply reverted to their old tactics. Some examples of their incursions may be cited to reveal their modes of pillage and destruction. Riota, for example, was a miserable little village inhabited by the Mīnas and the Gūjars. On the approach of an enemy they took refuge in the hills at the foot of which their village was built.[2] In their turn the Mīnas pounced not only on small or fairly large foraging parties and on helpless women and children, but on equally helpless armies, by day as well as by night. The three battalions of Baptiste, a Portuguese commander in the Marāṭhā army, were so much harassed by these fierce mountaineers, that they were at length in the most imminent danger of losing their guns. In fact such were the extremities to which they were reduced that they were finally obliged to approach Zalim Singh, a person of consequence in the Mīna neighbourhood for assistance. He exerted his influence with these tormentors to procure for the army a safe passage through the Mīna-infested country.[3] If such atrocities were practicable for the Mīnas during the day, by night they must have wrought havoc in the Marāṭha as well as other camps. This suggestion can be proved by an example of Mīna high-handedness which recalls what Manucci branded as "adroitness" in the case of the equally enterprising and unscrupulous Beḍars.[4] Once the Mīnas contrived to enter a tent in which the English Resident's own horses were picketed, without being perceived and cutting off the head and heel ropes of one horse which was commonly so restive as to require two men to lead it, and actually conveyed it, under cover of an extremely dark night, beyond the reach of the sentries. This audacious yet skilful theft was then fortunately discovered and an alarm sounded. This

1. BROUGHTON, pp. 158-9.
2. BROUGHTON, *op. cit.* pp. 158-9.
3. *Ibid*, p. 264.
4. MANUCCI, *Storia du Mogor*, IV, pp. 460-61.

so frightened the mischievous horse that it broke loose from its captors and returned of its own accord to its stables.[1]

Further attempts to control the Mīnas.

Such constant incursions and thefts of the Mīnas on the restless Maraṭha camps so exasperated the lethargic patience of Mahādji Sindia that he at last resolved to employ yet another expedient to punish the uncontrollable Mīnas. A detachment of two thousand Marāṭha horse was formed a week or two before the actual expedition against them took place. The sole object of this expedition was to avenge the sufferings of the Marāṭhās and to plunder a couple of Mīna villages not very far from the Marāṭha camp. This was "a service so congenial to Marāṭha feelings" sarcastically observes BROUGHTON that the Rāja Deśmukh, "the heir of State" himself, marched at the head of this punitive expedition. It is not recorded what was actually accomplished by such an exploit, but it is not unreasonable to think that such raids, which irresistibly recall the modern British descents on the Mīna-like Afridis of the North-Western Frontier and their similar political consequences, left no substantial results except the temporary submission of the incorrigible Mīnas and a fruitless display of Marāṭha militarism. The Mīnas subsequently took to their old wild ways and preyed on the Marāṭhas until they were exterminated by the British about the year A.D. 1858. Consequently it cannot but be concluded that no Marāṭha statesmen took any such decisive measure to stamp out for ever the restless spirit of the Mīna depredations which so much affected the morale of the Marāṭha army during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Some customs of the Jaghur Mīnas.

The Mīna corps from Jajghur, whom BROUGHTON was so keen on seeing, gave some interesting information about their social customs to this inquisitive military adventurer. One of them related to him how Jajghur was wrested from the Rāṇā of Udaipur about A.D. 1803 by Zalim Singh of Kotah and how ever since it had remained a portion of his territories. The district was comprised of eighty-four towns and villages, twenty-two of which were exclusively inhabited by the Mīnas, who paid only personal service to the Kotah ruler. Each village had a *kotwāl* or a watchman of its own and he managed the affairs of the community according to their peculiar customs and laws.

One of such strange customs was their matrimonial system. These Mīnas, for instance intermarried with no other tribe except their own and among them prevailed a singular practice of the second brother taking to wife the widow of the eldest. For this purpose he purchased jewels and clothes and brought her into the midst of her relations and friends who, assembling together, sanctioned this union. Such a ceremony was, however, not called

1. BROUGHTON, *op. cit.* pp. 159-60.

a marriage though it had the same privileges and could not be set aside. It was styled as *Nāṭa*. If the second brother died, the third took her to wife and this system was continued until she became too old to be of use to any one. These Mīnas assured BROUGHTON that they could, in the case of an emergency, muster a force of twenty thousand strong, of which a third were sprung from one family. The rest were aliens who were incorporated at different times into the Mīna community.

The Mīnas like the Beḍars and other wild tribes, professed to be thieves and considered this profession no more harmful or degrading than their enlistment in the armies of some ruler or other for the purposes of battle or plunder. They were specially fond of carrying away children either from villages or camps, both of which they attacked. If the kidnapped children happened to be boys they were, of course, brought up as Mīnas ; but if they chanced to be girls they were sold as slaves in the neighbouring provinces. Their adoration was especially offered to Mahādeva, whom they invoked prior to the undertaking of any engagement in an expedition and prayed to him to grant two children for every man that might be slain.[1]

How the unfortunate girls stolen from their parents were disposed of can fortunately be ascertained from the details of an actual sale which took place in the Marāṭhā camp of Mahādji Sindia himself in the year A.D. 1809. Two of the head servants of the English Resident intimated their wish of purchasing four girls to some Mīnas who were then in the camp. These servants added that one or two of the Mīnas were to accompany one of their men in order to make a selection, but no agreement was arrived at regarding the price. A few days later the Mīna party returned with the four girls for whom they demanded three hundred rupees. As the servants disapproved of these girls they declared themselves both unwilling and unable to pay so large a sum. Wroth at this conduct, the Mīnas threatened to complain about this transaction evidently to their masters, and were with difficulty prevailed upon to take their charges to the bazar where they were openly exposed for sale. These poor children, obviously between eight and ten years of age, appeared to feel the indignities inflicted on them. One of BROUGHTON'S servants, who was curious enough to see these victims, revealed to him how their eyes were swollen with weeping and how they presented a most distressing spectacle. Finally two of them were soon sold while bidders for the rest crowded to the quarter where the Mīnas remained throughout the day.[2]

It is not at all shocking why such a public exhibition of theft and slavery was tolerated without the least compunction by the Marāṭhas and the English. Both of them connived at the survival of this practice for slavery was not a little rampant among the Marāṭhas and the Europeans in the early days of the nineteenth century.[3]

1. BROUGHTON, op. cit. pp. 137-39.
2. *Ibid* pp. 152-153.
3. BANAJI, *Slavery in India*, pp. 80-147.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

As illustrated by the Collection of Jaina Antiquities in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay

By

H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

Jaina iconography has never been properly studied. BURGESS wrote a small monograph on Jaina mythology[1] and on the images worshipped by the Digaṃbara sect.[2] But his treatment of the subject was never intended to be either historical or geographical as would show the evolution of mythology, its representation and regional distribution. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR explained in an article[3] the representation in sculpture of two scenes known as *Śakunikāvihāra* and *Aśvāvabodha*. Recently, Mr. NAWAB[4] has given a fairly good idea, more or less chronological, of the representation of Jaina stories on palm-leaf, paper and textile MSS. in Gujarāt, 11th century onwards; whereas Muni JAYANTAVIJAYA[5] has described the stone and metal images obtaining in the Jaina temples at Mt. Abu. Each of these works is good in its own way. What is now required is a work which will trace first the evolution of Jaina mythology in its widest sense from the canonical and non-canonical works of the Śvetāṃbaras and the Digaṃbaras; secondly correlate it chronologically with archæological evidence as available in the north as well as in the south. From this correlation will be evident the chronological and regional evolution of Jaina iconography, its dependence on and departure from the classical texts (*śāstras*) and relation with the Hindu (and also Buddhist?) iconography. Some texts are admittedly late and as in the case of some Hindu works on the subject, might be laying down rules for icons following the existing icons.

The present Jaina pantheon is very extensive. It consists besides the 24 Jinas or *Tīrtha (ṅ) karas*, of Bhavanapatis (deities of ten different 'worlds'), Vyantaras or Vānamantras (forest deities), Jyotiṣka (planets, constellations and stars), Vaimānikas (deities) who live in different heavenly (*kalpa*) and beyond hevenly (*kalpātīta*) worlds,[6] Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs and (as

1. *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas* (1903), pp. 60-79.
2. *Digambara Jaina Iconography* (1904), pls. i-iv.
3. *Jaina Iconography, Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1905-06, p. 141.
4. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* (in Gujarāti, Ahmadabad, 1936).
5. *Ābu* (in Gujarāti), *Yaśovijaya Jain Granthamālā* (Ujjain, 2nd edition, 1933).
6. For names of these 4 classes of deities see BURGESS, *op cit.*, pp. 72-74.

will be shown below) god Gaṇapati, goddess Aṃbikā, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and even Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva deities.

Roots of a part of the above pantheon are found in the Jaina Sūtras, known as Āgama or Siddhānta, which constitute the earliest Jaina literature (c. 300 B.C.), whereas the rest developed by the contact of Jainism with different branches of Hinduism. From the Jaina Sūtras we can gather that many of the Jaina doctrines were preached before Mahāvīra by Pārśva who was regarded as a Jina and worshipped by the people,[1] whereas other Jinas, Ariṣṭanēmi, Śāntinātha, Mallī were known and their images worshipped[2]; that Mahāvīra was attended upon by the four orders of gods above mentioned and that Indra worshipped him after having erected a pavilion and placing therein Mahāvīra on a throne;[3] that a diversity of opinion existed (which was at that time reconciled, but which later resulted in a schism among their followers known as Śvetāṃbara and Digaṃbara), with regard to the law of Pārśva which allowed monks to wear an under and an upper garment and the law of Vardhamāna which forbade clothes.[4]

Gradually by the time of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*,[5] the Jaina mythology comprised over and above the deities of the *sūtras*, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs all having definite characteristics, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Mother-goddesses (*Mātṛdevīs*), Protectors of Directions (*Dikpālas*) and Fields (*Kṣetrapālas*), Household deities (*Gṛhadevatās*), Planets (*Grahas*) and others which also find place in Hindu mythology.[6]

Of course, the principal cult-image was that of a Jina and though all the above deities formed part of the daily worship (*nityakarmavidhi*),[7] they were there to ensure internal and external purity of the place of worship.[8] They were and should be regarded properly as attendant deities (*parivāra devatās*).

1. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, *Tr.* JACOBI, *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 119. Parents of Mahāvīra were also his followers. *Ācārañga Sūtra, op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 194.

2. *Jñātādharmakathā, adhyāya* 16, p. 210; *Bhagavatī Sūtra, śataka* 20, p. 170 and p. 793; *Upāsakadaśāsūtra*, p. 14; *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*, p. 259; *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, p. 169 (pages referred to are of the editions of these works published by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehasana). These references were collected in a 17th century work, *Sāmācāriśatakaṃ* by Samaya Sundara. It is being published in *Jinadattasūri Jñāna Granthamālā*. They are used in the *Ancient History of Moorti Pooja* (in Hindi), Muni GYAN SUNDERJI, published in *Sri Ratnaprabhakar Jñāna Puṣpa Mālā*, No. 164, pp. 110-114 (Phalodhi-Marwar, 1936).

3. *Ācārañga Sūtra, op. cit.*, p. 196.

4. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, op. cit.*, pp. 121-23.

5. Edited by M. B. ZHAVERI, *Mohanlalji Jaina Granthamālā*, Vol. 5, A.D. 1926. Mr. ZHAVERI on the strength of the colophon credits it to Pādaliptasūri, and places the work in the 1st century A.D. But, from internal evidence, the work in its present form does not seem to be of Pādalipta who, according to WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 522, lived at least before 400 A.D., but seems to be late (c. 700 A.D.).

6. Gopinath RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

7. ZAVERI, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

It is admitted by Mr. ZAVERI[1] that the development of the Jaina pantheon and religious practices as described in the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, were due to the influence of *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy and Tāntric doctrine and practices. The latter, about the 7th century A.D., had caused almost a revolution in Buddhism. But whereas the Buddhists evolved an independent pantheon of their own, the Jainas incorporated,[2] as they seem to have been doing from the earliest times, Hindu deities for the purposes of daily ritual, but unlike the Buddhists, always assigned to them a place subsidiary to the Jinas.

Three centuries later, many of the *parivāra devatās* seem to have acquired a little independent existence within a Jaina temple, as Vardhamānasūri in his *Ācāradinakara*[3] gives separate description for their installation ceremony.[4]

Further contribution to the Jaina pantheon appears to have been made in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., when the Bhakti cult became extremely popular and Hinduism was split up into numerous sects. With this came into existence small brass icons. These essentially Hindu images also seem to have been adopted by Jainism, particularly by the lay devotee, as they are mentioned in a Jaina work on architecture and sculpture of the end of the 14th century.[5] This is shown by a number of images in our museum which besides having all the characteristics of Hindu images, possess others which betray Jaina influence.

Archæology—epigraphy and monuments—confirm to a certain extent the evidence from literature. The inscription of Khāravela[6] testifies to the fact that images of Jina were worshipped in Magadha and Kaliṅga during the 4th century B.C. The finds in the Kankāli Tilā (mound) at Mathura prove that in the Kuśāna and also perhaps in pre-Kuśāṇa period *parivāra devatās*, Indra (?), Aṃbikā and others were sculptured round the images of a Jina.[7] Gupta inscriptions, likewise, refer to dedication of images of Ādikartṛ[8] (Jinas), which still decorate the pillar at Kahaum. Other Jaina sculptures of the period have reached the museums at Mathura, Lucknow and Allahabad,[9] while some-

1. *Ibid.*, *Introduction*, p. 2.
2. Cf. GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 314-16 cited by WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
3. Published in two parts in the *Kharataragaccha Granthamālā*, 1922-23.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-13.
5. *Siri-Vathusārapayaraṇaṃ* (*Vastusāraprakaraṇa*) by Thakkura 'Feru" Tr. into Hindi by Pandita Bhagvandas JAIN, *Jaina Vividha Granthamālā*, 1936, p. 101, verse 54, and p. 127, verses 40-42.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, X, Appendix p. 160-1. Later re-edited and discussed by JAYASWAL and BANERJI.
7. SMITH, *The Jaina Stūpa*, *ASI* (NIS)., Vol. XX pl. xcviii.
8. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, CII, III, p. 67; and CUNNINGHAM, *ASI.*, Vol. I, pl. xxix. The term is used in this sense in the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 225.
9. Numerous Jain sculptures mostly from Kosam (?) and other sites are lying outside the Allahabad Municipal Museum. They do not seem to have been studied and published.

might be lying unnoticed throughout the U. P. and C. I., as were those of Kāthiāwāḍ.[1] Only a proper field survey will enable us to determine the state of Jaina iconography at this period.

During the post-Gupta period Jainism flourished under the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Gāhaḍvālas, Candellas and the Kalacūris in Rājputānā, the U. P., C. P., and C. I.[2] References to dated Jaina images and temples can be had from their inscriptions, whereas ruins of some of them are noted by Cunningham[3] and Banerji.[4] An image of a Jina (Ajitanātha)[5] published by the latter throws some light on the Jaina iconography in the Kalacūri period. It shows that *Navagrahas* were sculptured on the pedestal of the image of Jina as they were on metal images of the mediæval period.[6] The Candellas in particular built magnificent Jaina temples at Khajurāho, and ruins of some of them are also found at Kālañjar, Ajayagarh and Mahoba. A first-hand study of the ruins of the Jaina temples at Khajurāho, might illustrate the Jaina pantheon of Central India in the 10th century, as do the temples at and around Mt. Abu[7] of the Caulukyan Gujarāt-Rajputānā.

Jainism spread to Karnāṭaka, in the south, according to tradition as early as the 4th century B.C. But no definite archæological evidence of the period has come forward to substantiate this claim. But that the country was a stronghold of the Digambara and to a certain extent other Jaina sects under the Kadambas, Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is attested not only by contemporary literature but by epigraphic references and archæological remains.[8]

It is evident from what has been said above that Jaina iconography in its widest sense comprises the following :

(1) Images in stone, brass or other metals, wood, and paintings of Jinas or Tīrtha(ṅ)karas ;

(2) Images of the attendant gods and goddesses of Jinas, called Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, and others mentioned above.

1. *J. R. A. S.*, July 1938, p. 426, pls. iii-iv.

2. Bihar and Bengal were predominantly Buddhist under the Pālas and Senas ; whereas the various dynasties of Orissa, once a centre of early Jainism, according to epigraphic evidence, were primarily patrons of Hinduism. In spite of this negative evidence, Jainism did exist, at least in Bihar, as it does now, as affirmed by tradition and proved by Jaina pilgrimages to Rājgṛha and other places in Bihar.

3. *ASI.*, Vols. I, III, VII, X.

4. *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, *MASI.*, No. 23, pls. xli, xlviii, lii.

5. Ibid. pl. xlviii (b).

6. See below No. Ib² 21.

7. This has been done to a certain extent by Muni JAYANTAVIJAYA in his *Ābū*.

8. The school continued to flourish after the 10th century A.D., under the later Cālukyas and their successors. Further south Kāñcī and its environs had come within Jaina influence, perhaps before the Pallava period. Hiuen Tsiang saw some Jaina temples at Kāñcī, but so far not much archæological evidence is available except a few sculptures. Cf. Fig. Ia² 3 in the present catalogue.

(3) Certain symbolic representations as *samosaraṇa* (*samavasaraṇa*),[1] Śakunikāvihāra and representations of scenes from the life of Jinas.

(4) Jaino-Hindu images (i.e. images of Hindu gods—Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, and goddesses Ambikā, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī—betraying Jaina influence,[2] after having been incorporated by the Jainas in their temples as *parivāra-devatās* or as family deities (*kula* or *gotra devatās*).

The Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, possesses a fairly representative collection of Jaina antiquities. The following catalogue is prepared and published with a view to enabling scholars to use it in their study of the subject. It treats of stone (Ia²), metal (Ib²) and wooden (Ic²) images. The images have been classified on religious bases, those of the Jinas coming first, next those of Ambikā, Vidyādevīs and Sarasvatī. The former, from early times, is associated with the Jinas, and accepted later on as a Yakṣiṇī of the 22nd Jina Neminātha ; the latter is regarded as one of the Vidyādevīs. Following this group are the images of Viṣṇu, his consort and Sūrya ; then Śiva, Pārvatī (or her aspects, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, etc.), Gaṇeśa and some unidentified images which seem to be Jaina.

Within each group chronological order is followed as far as possible. A geographico-chronological classification could not be had, though desirable, for want of sufficient specimens from different regions. As it is, each image is assigned a date and provenance approximately following a known image, or on stylistic considerations only.

The following terms, *Parikara, Toraṇa, Kalaśa, Eka-Tri-Pañca-tīrthī, Kāussaggiya* (*Kāyotsarga*) and *Samosaraṇa* (*Samavasaraṇa*) used in the catalogue require an explanation.

Parikara.

Indian figure sculpture, barring a few exceptions,[3] was rarely modelled completely in the round. It will be found either forming part of architecture, or, when independent, supported by a back-piece. In some early figures this piece was distinct from aureole (*prabhā*), which was made just behind the figure's head.[4] Very soon the *prabhā* and the back-piece were combined into one.[5] This entire piece was called later *prabhā-vali* or *maṇḍala*, the actual *prabhā* being carved or engraved on it,[6] whereas figures of attendants, etc., were carved on either side of the central figure. Jainas call this entire piece

1. For explanation see below p. 503.
2. For this see next page and particularly Nos. Ib² 18, Ib² 31, Ib²60, Ib²78 and Ib² 32.
3. See BACHHOFER, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vols. I-II, pls. 9-11, 61, 62, 79.
4. See CODRINGTON, *Ancient India*, pl. 34.
5. BACCHOFER, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pl. 81.
6. Cf. Fig. Ia² 3 in the present catalogue.

surrounding the central figures *parikara*[1] (which in English may be called a *stele*).

Later on this *parikara* was amalgamated with the *toraṇa,* an ornament consisting of a simple triangular, often richly decorated arch, which was surmounted by a *kalaśa* (egg-like ornament), supported by two pillars, standing either over or in front of an image. The idea in making *toraṇa* for individual icons was that the image should appear to the worshipper as if it were installed in a temple.[2] This practice does not seem to have been popular, for almost invariably the pillars of the *toraṇa* are found merged into the sides of the back-piece, where they appear as pilasters, sometimes in bold relief, and the *toraṇa* itself, with its *kalaśa* into the body of the back-piece. This is evident from a copper image of Gaṇeśa (No. Ib² 35) where the *parikara* (or back-piece), *toraṇa* with its pillars, and *kalaśa* are distinctly shown.

In spite of this threefold combination, the later Jaina texts[3] use the words *parikara* as connoting the entire piece surrounding an image, *toraṇa* referring to the arch-like portion of the *parikara,* and *kalaśa* meaning the ornament surmounting the *toraṇa.* The terms have been used in this sense in the catalogue.

And just because the Jaina texts use these terms for describing features of images which have been found in definitely known Jaina images, that other images possessing similar characteristics, and a few others, for instance, silver inlay in eyes, and various parts of a sculpture—are called '*Jaino-Hindu*' images and described in this catalogue. It is to be noted that other Hindu or Buddhist metal images in the Museum *do not possess* the characteristics above referred to, nor could the present writer find them in any image figured in the catalogues of various museums, except those published by COOMARASWAMY[4] from the Boston Museum Collection. He, too, thought that these Hindu images belonged to Jaina school.[5]

A *parikara* is called *ekatīrthī,* when it encloses a single image of Jina; *tritīrthī* when there are three images—one central (called *mūlanāyaka*) and two others one on either side; *pañcatīrthī,* when there is a central image, two (one each) on either side, and two above these. When a *parikara* has all the 24 Jinas on it, it is called a *caturviṁśatipaṭa.*

1. The Jainas seem to have been using it from early times as the *Nirvāṇakalikā, op. cit.,* p. 4, cites an *āgama,* mentioning it, as *pariyara.*

2. Cf. Feru THAKKUR, *op. cit.,* p. 134, verse 41, describing the parts of a Jaina temple.

3. *Ibid.,* pp. 93-96.

4. *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts* Boston, (1923), pp. 106, 108, 142-44, pls. LVIII-IX and LXXXVI.

5. *Ibid.,* pp. 108 and 145. His use of the word *caitya,* as I have already pointed out (*Jaina Antiquary,* December 1938, Vol. IV, No. III), for describing the ornament surmounting the *toraṇa* is wrong. It is *kalaśa,* or historically conventionalized *chhatra,* for in early images it is this that is found sculptured over the Jina's head. A few later metal images of Jinas figure both a *chhatra* and a *kalaśa* (see Nos.), but usually it is the *kalaśa* which at times is three-fold: a relic, no doubt, of the triple umbrella shown over Jina's head.

Kāyotsarga (or *Kāüssagga*).

This is the name of a pose of Jinas who stand erect and motionless, with their arms thrown down on either side of the body, and hands, very often, touching the ankle. It is usually explained as a standing meditation pose in English books on sculpture[1] and in later Jaina texts.[2] But this explanation is not quite correct. The exact rendering in English would be an erect, standing, motionless posture of the body practising penance. For Mahāvīra in the *Uttarādhyayana*[3] says that "by Kāyotsarga (literally abandoning the body) he (a monk) gets rid of past and present (transgressions which require) *prāyaścitta*." This rite was to be performed every evening. And after that, "he should confess his transgressions committed during the day."[4]

Samosaraṇa (*samavasaraṇa*).

"This word and the verb *samosarai* are commonly used" writes Jacobi, (*Sūtrakritāṅga, SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 315, n. 2.), "when Mahāvīra preaches to a meeting (*melāpaka*) gathered round him." It really meant perhaps 'a true principle' or 'creed' (See *Ibid.*, p. 386, n. 3). To this meeting as told in *Jñātādharma-kathā*, (*op. cit.*, *Sūtra* 21, pp. 43-45), came kings, princes, officers, gods, and others. So the Jainas now explain *samosaraṇa* as a grand assembly hall designed by gods for listening to the discourse of Jinas (cf. JAYANTAVIJAYA, *Ābū*, p. 254). This explanation is based on the actual representation of the scene in sculpture and painting, which evidently is an exaggerated version of the facts in *sūtras* cited above.

I JINAS, YAKṢA, YAKṢIṆI (STONE)

I a² 3

JINA, seated in *ardhapadmāsana*, with hands in *dhyāna mudrā*, over a triple cut pillow-like seat. Right and left cut in low relief, a female (?) and male attendant standing with a fly whisk (*cāmara*) with a high head dress, and scanty costume. Behind the Jina's head a circular *prabhā*, and over it an umbrella (*chhatra*) with triple decorations, and surmounted by a small *kalaśa*. The *parikara* all round is decorated with lotuses in low relief.

Rough, coarse, basic rock. Tirupati Kundram, a Jaina suburb of Conjeevaram (Kāñcī), S. Indian (Pallava), c. 600 A.D.

Dimensions (about) breadth 2′ × height 3′ 11″ × thickness 6.2″.

Pl. I

I a² 6

A bust of a Jina (Ādinātha), originally seated figure, now broken from the waist, left shoulder and right hand. The Jina has curly hair, which fall down over his shoulders, long ear lobes, and behind his head a circular *prabhā*.

Fine grained, compact, light green, basic rock. Bijapur, Karnāṭaka. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, c. 800 A.D.

Hight 2′ 10″.

Pl. I

1. CHANDA, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Musuem*, London 1936, p. 13.
2. Ferru THAKKUR, *op. cit.*, p. 94, verse 30, commentary.
3. *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 164. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

I a² 7

Head of Jina, defaced. Reddish sand-stone. Chandor, Goa, W. India, c. 1000 A.D.

Height 12".

I a² 8

The head of a Jina who is known with very long earlobes and curly hair in relief, surmounted by a quarterfoil flower (?) Fine grained, buff sand-stone. Khajurāho, C. I. Candella, c. 1000 A.D.

Height 6.2".

Pl. II

I a² 4

PĀRŚVANĀTHA of Digambara school, standing in penance pose (*kāüssagga*) over a high pedestal. Behind him is a cobra, forming a canopy of seven hoods over his head. The Jina has curly hair and long earlobes.

Lapis lazuli. Baindur, S. Kanara. c. 1100 A.D. Presented by Prof. G. M. MORAES.

Height 27" (about)

Pl. I

I a² 1

Upper portion of the triangular *parikara* of an image of Jina, probably Mahāvīra, seated in *padmāsana*, once adorned with a number of seated Jinas, of which two on the left are intact, 3 badly defaced, and the rest broken away. To the right and the left of the head of the central Jina was an attendant with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*), remnants of which are left. Over the head of the Jina is sculptured a triple umbrella (*chhatra*), surmounted by a *kalaśa*, and ornamented with *caitya*-window design on its three facets, central facing the full front and the side ones right and left.

Fine grained, compact, greenish grey, basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara. S. Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Dimensions 10" × 14" ×2'.3".

I a² 2

Pedestal of the image of a standing Jina, together with a portion of the *parikara*, and remains of the feet of the Jina. To the right and left of the feet a male (*Yakṣa*, Ajita ?) with four hands carrying a noose (*pāśa*) and fruit (*bijorakaṁ*) in u. l. h. and l. l. h., and rosary (*akṣamālā*) in the u. r. h., (now mostly broken) and l. r. h. in *varadamudra*, seated in *latitāsana*, (tall *mukuṭa* over the head and a long *hāra* touching the feet round the neck)—and a female (*Yakṣiṇī*, Mahākālī), seated, ornamented and carrying the symbols, an axe (*paraśu*) and *śakti* in the u. r. and l. hands, lower—similar to those in the hands of the male. The sides of the *parikara* are cut in facets, and each side was decorated with a crouching *makara*, having upraised face. On the front of the pedestal an inscription in Kannaḍa characters in six lines.

Fine grained compact basic rock. Bidi, Belgaum, S. Indian, c. 1100 A.D. Presented by the Patil of the Village.

Dimensions 21" × 9".

The inscription is not completely read. According to Mr. Venkata Rao, a postgraduate student of the Institute, it seems to record the installation of the image in Jaina temple (*Jinālaya*).

I a² 5

Left hand fragment of a richly decorated *parikara* of the image of a Jina. On the pedestal a standing female (*Yakṣiṇī*—Cakreśvarī) with 12 arms, holding in the upper eight hands a disc (*cakra*), in the lower right a *vajra*, and an indistinct emblem, perhaps a *vajra*; those of the left broken, but should have held a *bijoraka* fruit and *varadamudrā*. (The male attendant on the other side would be *Yakṣa*

Gomukha and the Jina Ādinātha of the *Digambara* school). Above her figure a vertical row of seated Jinas, then an ornamented *makara toraṇa.*

Fine grained, compact, greenish grey, basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara. S. Indian (Hoyṣaḷa), c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3′ 10″.

Pl. I

I a² 9

Head of a Jina, together with part of the *parikara.* The Jina has curly hair, and long earlobes, and three *mālā*-like strokes on the chest, and round the neck.

Smooth grey basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara, c. 1200 A.D.

Dimensions 10″ × 6″ × 4″.

II JINAS (Brass)

I b² 73

A Jina of the Digambara school, standing in penance (*kāüsagga*) pose. Feet broken. Curly hair and long earlobes. Three semicircular *mālā*-like strokes engraved round the neck and on the chest.

Alloy of five metals (*pañchadhātu*). Gersoppa, N. Kanara, S. Indian, c. 10th century A.D.

Height 12″.

Pl. II

I b² 27

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana,* with his hands in *dhyānamudrā* over a cushion, supported by a stand, under a cobra (seven-hooded). Signs of sandal paste on the navel (*nābhi*) ; face worn out because of the application of sandal paste. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt (?), dated Saṁvat or Saka (?) 1234 = A.D. 1777 or 1312.

Height 2.5″.

The inscription reads : *Śrī Mūlasaṅgha śrī Mu* (?) *da na kī* (?) *upadeśāt* 1234 " In Mūlasaṅgha—because of the preaching of. . . . (year) 1234."

I b² 72

PĀRŚVANĀTHA (as in I b² 27). No inscription on the reverse.

Brass Gujarat (?), North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2.6″.

I b² 8

PĀRŚVANĀTHA seated in *padmāsana,* hands in *dhyānamudrā,* seated on a bow-like pillow (?) . . . Behind his head the seven-hooded cobra has its hoods broken. Face of the Jina completely worn out due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 1.5″.

I b² 28

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana,* with hands in *dhyānamudrā,* seated over a cushion (which is resting on an inverted funnel-like stand). Over the figure is a canopy of seven-hooded cobra, surmounted by a *kalaśa.* The entire sculpture is completely worn and become blackish, due to the application of sandal paste and subsequent contact with calcareous substance.

Brass or copper (?) Gujarāt (?). N. Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2.4″.

I b² 25

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, with four other Jinas. A *pañcatīrthī* image (*biṃba*). Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana,* with hands in *dhyānamudrā,* on a cushion. To his right and left a Jina standing in penance (*kāyotsarga*) pose. Behind him a seven-hooded cobra, making a canopy. To its right and left a seated Jina. Behind it the *toraṇa* of the *parikara,* surmounted by a *kalaśa.* Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt (?) North Indian, Digambara school. Dated Saṃvat 1425= A.D. 1368-9.

Height 4.8".

Pl. II

The inscription is illegible at places. It reads: *Saṃ 1425 Vai (Vaiśākha) sudi 10 kāla* (?) *Saṅghe a ....praṇmati.* "In the year 1425 Vaiśākha sudi 10 ......"

I b² 9

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion, resting on a square pedestal. Behind his head traces of the seven-hooded cobra. An inscription round the pedestal.

Brass or alloy of 5 metals (*pañcadhātu*?). Digambara school. North Indian, Dated Saṃvat 1443=A.D. 1396-7.

Height 3".

The inscription reads: *Saṃ 1443 Vaiśākha sa (śu) di 12 Śrī Mūlasaṅghe sā-tan putra........* "In the year 1443, Vaiśākha sudi 12 in Mūlasaṅgha......"

I b² 74

A *pañcatīrthī* image of Supārśva, 7th Jina of the Digambaras. Supārśva, standing in penance pose (*kāüssagga*), over a rectangular pedestal, under five-hooded cobra. To its right and left a seated Jina. To his right and left a nude Jina standing in *kāüssagga* pose. To the right and left of these a standing Yakṣa (*Mātaṅga*) and Yakṣiṇī (*Kālī* or *Mānavī*), with four arms. Symbols indistinct. Behind it a semi-circular *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, surmounted by a *kīrtimukha*. The sculpture is in three pieces: (1) The standing Jinas, (2) the pedestal, and (3) the *parikara*.

Brass. Digambara school. South Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 10.5".

Pl. II

I b² 3

SUMATINĀTHA, the 5th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, over a bow-like pillow, supported by three small rectangular legs, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*. Traces of silver inlay over the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest, and five dorps (*taṅka*) on the pillows. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 2".

. The inscription reads: *Śrī Sumatinātha biṃbaṃ/Hirati .... srava raja I.* "An image of Sumatinātha ...."

I b² 5

A Jina, either Ādinātha or Śāntinātha, seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a pillow resting on three small square legs. Traces of silver inlay remain on the girdle and over the cognizance (*cinha* which looks like a bull or a deer) and other marks over the pillow.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·7".

I b² 29

A *pañcatīrthī* image (*biṃba*) of Suvidhinātha, the 9th Jina seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion, which was inlaid with five crystals, three of which are now missing, resting upon a *siṃhāsana*. The cognizance (*cinha*), *makara* of the Jina is faintly engraved between the lions supporting the throne. To the right and left Yakṣa (Ajita) and Yakṣiṇī (Sutarā). The *parikara*, and the position of the four other Jinas as in I b² 21, except that the worshippers on the pedestal in this image are seated and not standing. Silver inlay on the *kalaśa* and in the eyes of the central Jina. Reverse an inscription.

Brass? North Indian, Gujarāt. Dated Saṃvat 1505 = A.D. 1448.

Height 8".



I a² 3
P. 341

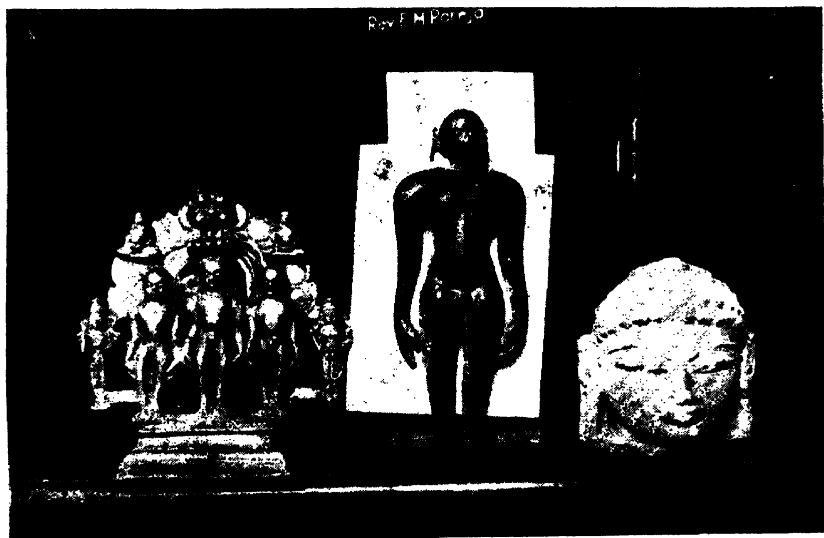


I a² 6
P. 341

I a² 5
Pp. 342-3



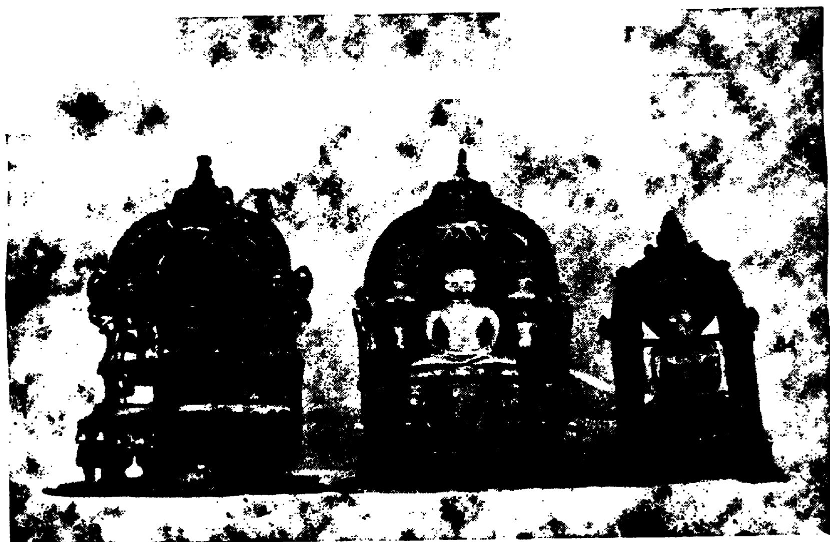
I a² 4
P. 342



I b^2 74
P. 344

I b^2 73
P. 343

I a^2 8
P. 342



I b^2 26
P. 345

I b^2 21
P. 346

I b^2 25
Pp. 343-4

The inscription reads : *Saṃvat 1505 varṣe jyeṣṭa sudi 9 ravau Śrī Aṁcalagacche śrī Jayakesarisūriṇā = mupadeśena jālaṃrāvādā bhāryāmū suta Jayatāsu śrāvakeṇa bhāryāhalūputra devānara dāharipāla maṇika sahitena ātmaśreyase śrī Suvidhināthabiṃbaṃ kāritaṁ pratiṣṭhitam śrī saṅghena śrīh.* " In the year 1505, Jyeṣṭa sudi 9, Sunday, an image of Suvidhinātha was caused to be made and installed by the wife of Maū's son, son of Jayatā, together with Mānika, Dahirapāla, son of the wife Hālū of Jhāharvāda (?) for their welfare by Śrī Saṅgha, by the preaching of Sri Jayakeśisūri of Aṁcalagaccha. Jayakeśisūri and Aṁcalagaccha are mentioned by several inscriptions from V. S. 1505-1530 (See Nahar, *op. cit.*, Index, p. 1). The date is regular, and corresponds to Sunday May 12, A.D. 1448. Cf. PILLAI, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 198.

I b² 1

A *pañcatīrthī parikara* of an image of Abhinandana, the 4th Jina, whose figure is missing from his seat. The cognizance of the Jina, monkey (*kapi*) was engraved between the lions, which support the throne, but it is defaced now. To the right and left of his throne are the Yakṣa (Iśvara)' and Yakṣiṇī (Kālikā). The *parikara* as in I b² 26. Reverse an inscription.

Brass (or copper ?). Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Gujarat.

Dated Saṃvat 1528 = A.D. 1471.

Height 4·7".

The inscription reads : *Saṃ 1528 varṣe vai (Vaiśākha) sudi 5 śukre Śrīmālajñatīya śā (Saha) Pūjalā (la) Līlusuta Rāṇakena bhāryā Hīrāisuta Harṣādikuṭuṃbayutena svaśreyase pravā śrī Abhinandana biṃbaṃ Śrī Āgamagacche śrī Devaratnasūriṇā=mupadeśena kāritaṃ pratiṣṭāpitaṃ ca staṃbhatīrthe.*[1] " In the year 1528 Vaiśākha sudi 5, Friday an image of Abhinandana was caused to be made and installed by the preaching of Devaratnasūri of Āgamagaccha for their own welfare by the family of Harṣa, son of Hirāī, wife of Rāṇāka, son of Lilu (and) Śa (Shāh) Pūjālāla of Śrimāla caste ".

I b² 26

A *pañcatīrthī* image of Neminātha, the 21st Jina seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion with three silver and two copper (?) drops, resting upon a *siṃhāsana*. The cognizance (*cinha*), a blue lotus (*nīla kamala*), of the Jina is engraved in silver between the lions supporting the throne. The *parikara* and the position of four Jinas as in I b² 21, except that there are no musicians by the side of the seated Jinas, and there is a figure of *Cakreśvarī* on the pedestal.

Silver inlay on the *kalaśa*, on the eyes and chest, cushion and the cognizance of the central Jina ; and on the chest of the seated Jinas and to their right and left on the frame and on the chest of standing Jinas. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarat-Rājputānā, North Indian. Dated Saṃvat 1597 = A.D. 1540.

Height 6·4".

The inscription reads : *S. 1597 varśe marga sudi 3 gurau Upakeśa jñātau Kurkuṭa gotre va (vaṇika) Rāmasihabhāryā Ramāde putra va. śa (khe) tā va. cāṃpā va. Cahadhā va. Cāhaḍa tadbhāryā Kutigadī nāmnyātmaśrerthaṃā Śrī Neminātha biṃbaṃ kāritaṃ pratiṣṭitaṃ śrī Upakeśagacche śrī Kukudācāryasantāna śrī śrī Sidhasūribhiḥ.* "In S. 1597 Mārga sudi 3 Thursday an image of Neminātha was caused to be made and installed by Śrī Siddhasūri, the spiritual descendant of Śrī Kukudācārya for the welfare of Kutigade, wife of Vaṇika (Baniya) Cāhada.... son of Ramāde, wife of Rāmasiha of Kurkuṭa gotra and Upakeśa caste."

Kukudācārya belonged to the Upakeśa gaccha. Nahar, *op. cit.*, No. 1634. The date seems to be irregular. In PILLAI, *op. cit.*, p. 283 Thursday fell on *sudi* 4, the whole date corresponding to Thursday, December 2, A.D. 1540.

Pl. II

1. The date seems to be irregular. In Pillai, *op. cit.* p. 142 *sudi* 5 falls on Friday in the year V. S. 1527=Friday, April 6, A.D. 1470.

I b² 21

A *pañcatīrthī* image (*biṃba*) of Śītalanātha, the 10th Jina. Jina seated in *padmāsana*, the hands in *dhyānamudrā*, upon a cushion (?) inlaid with 5 rosettes, which rests on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*). The centre of the seat of Jina has a small horizontal piece, on which his cognizance (*cinha*), Śrīvatsa, may have been engraved, but is now defaced. The image is called *pañcatīrthī* because excluding the central Jina (called *Mūlanāyaka*) there are four other Jinas in the whole *parikara* who are placed as follows: Right and left of the central Jina there is a Jina in standing penance-pose (*kāüssagga*=*kāyotsarga*). To their right and left are attendants with fly-whisks (*cāmara*). Above these, right and left of the head of the central Jina are seated Jinas, and to their right and left are musicians and dancers (*jharjharvādyakārāḥ purusāḥ*). Over these is a pair of elephants holding as it were the umbrella (*chatra*) over the Jina's head. A conch-blower (*śaṅkhadhmā*) is seated over the top of the umbrella. Behind is the perforated semi-circular part of the *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The outer ends of the *parikara* has an elephant-crocodile face (*makara-mukhā*).

To the right and left of the *siṃhāsana* are seated a male (*Yakṣa* Brahma*yakṣa*) and female (*Yakṣinī*: *Aśokā*) attendants. Below the throne is a pair of deer around *dharmacakra*. To their right and left are five and four constellations (*grahas*) making in all nine constellations (*navagrahas*). In the centre of the pedestal is seated Cakreśvarī (a goddess), and to her right and left a male and a female worshipper. Signs of silver inlay of gilt on the *kalaśa, chatra*, Jina's chest, and waist-band, pillow, below the *siṃhāsana*, and the perforated panel behind Cakreśvarī. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Devapaṭṭana (Somnath, Kathiawar ?). North Indian, dated Saṃvat 1666=A.D. 1603-4.

Height 6·3".

The inscription reads: *Saṃ o 1666*....(letters not clear).... *Devapattan* (*e*) ....(letters not clear)....*Śrī Sitalanātha bio.* (*biṃbaṃ*) *kā* (*kārapitam*) *Pra.* (*pratiṣṭhapitaṃ*) *ca tapa. Śrī Vijayasena sūribhiḥ.*

"In the year 1666........an image of Śitalanātha was caused to be made and installed by Śrī Vijayadevasūri at Devapaṭṭana...."

A number of inscriptions from all over India mention Vijayadeva Sūri and Tapagaccha. See Nahar, *op. cit.*, Part II, Index, pp. 8-9.

Pl. II

III AṂBIKĀ (Metal)

I b² 7

AṂBIKĀ, seated on a stool-like lotus. Two armed: the right hand holds a very indistinct object, perhaps a mango; the left supports a child on her left lap. Behind the image a *parikara* with a *kalaśa.* The piece looks blackish and is too much worn out with application of sandal paste.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 4·2".

I b² 30

AṂBIKA (?) four armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana*, upon a crude lotus resting on a crouching lion, facing left. The upper two hands carry a lotus each. The l. r. h. has a round object, mango (?), and l. l. h. supports a child on her lap. An attendant (?) standing to the right, touching the thigh of the goddess with his left hand. A worshipper on the left. A *parikara* at the back, surmounted with a *kalaśa.* Just over the head of the goddesss a seated Jina. The entire sculpture cast in one piece. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian (probably Gujarāt-Rājputāna). Dated Saṁvat 1198= A.D. 1141-2.

Height 8·1".

The inscription reads : *Aṣrignanā Saṃvat* 1198.

Pl. III

I b² 42

AṂBIKĀ, two armed goddess standing under a mango tree with a child in her left hand and a twig of mango tree with mangoes in her right hand. Below on her right two seated figures, a man and a woman. On the left a lion, and a woman with a child. On the pedestal a worshipper in each corner and an attendant with a *cāmara* in his right hand; on his left an animal (deer ?). Behind the image a *pañcatīrthī parikara* with a *kalaśa* on the apex, with three seated *tīrthaṅkaras* on a cusped *toraṇa*, and a nude standing *tīrthaṅkara* on either side of Aṃbikā. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Digaṁbara school. North Indian (?), Dated Saṁvat 1211=A.D. 1154-5.

Height 4·8".

The inscription reads : *Saṁ* 1211 *Sā bū* .... (worn out) .... *saha pa pra.* "In the year 1211 ......"

Pl. III

I b² 75

AṂBIKĀ, two armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana*. The left knee supported by a lion, facing right. The r. h. holds a branch with mangoes, the l. h. supports a child, which is seated on her lap. Behind the goddess a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, and showing in bold relief a twig of a mango tree, with mangoes.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputāna. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·6".

Pl. III

I b² 76

JAINA GODDESS, four-armed, called Bālādevī in the inscription (see below); seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion. The upper two hands hold a creeper (?) in the form of a semi-circle over and behind her head; the lower two hands support a child on each lap. Below, on the right, a worshipper. Behind the *devī* a semi-circular *parikara*, surmounted by a long *kalaśa*. Drops of silver inlay on the head-dress, eyes, *hāra*, and *mālā* of the *devī* and the eyes of the lion. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputāna. North Indian, Dated Saṁvat 1505=A.D. 1448-9.

Height 5".

The inscription reads : *Saṁvat* 1505.... (effaced) .... *Śrīmāla jñātīya u Māḍaṇapati Turuṇa koḍiya Bālādevā* (ī) *Maruṇa gotradevā* (ī) *kārāpita pratiṣṭ(th) ita śrī Gaṇaratna sūri.*

"In Saṁvat 1505 (A. D. 1448), Turuṇa, of Śrīmal caste and an inhabitant of Māḍaṇapati caused an image of Bālādevī to be made and established by Gaṇaratnasūri."

Pl. III

I b² 43

AṂBIKĀ (?) goddess, two-armed, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a hollow stool. R.h. holds a mango twig; l.h. holds a child, which is clinging on to the waist of the goddess with its right hand, under the goddess's armpit; left touching her left breast. Goddess has no *mukuṭa*; her hair is parted in two, and tied in a huge knot to the left.

Bronze (?) c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·7".

IV SARASVATI

I b² 20

SARASVATĪ, four-armed goddess, seated in *latitāsana* over an indistinct seat. In front of her left lap, her *vāhana*, swan, facing right. The upper two hands carry a ladle and a book. The lower a rosary and a water-vessel. On her either side a

female attendant carrying a water-vessel. In front of her, just below the right knee a sage worshipping and facing the left.

Behind the image an highly ornamental *parikara*, in the shape of a cusped *toraṇa* (arch) surmounted by a *kalaśa*. On the pillars of the *toraṇa* is seated on the right *Gaṇeśa*, on the left an indistinct figure. On the outward sides of the pillars or pilasters on either side is a prancing horse or griffon (?). The images and the *parikara* are cast in one piece, and except the top of the *parikara*, all the figures are extremely worn out.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 6·8″.

Pl. III

I b² 67

SARASVATĪ, four-armed goddess, seated on conventional hour-glass like lotus, resting on a square pedestal, on which is engraved in outline a swan (*haṁsa*), her cognizance (*ciñha*). U. r. and l. hands carry a goad (*aṅkuśa*), and noose (*pāśa*). but r. h. in *varada mudrā* carrying a rosary (*akṣamālā*) l. l. h. a round object. The image has no *parikara* but the crown (*mukuṭa*) of the goddess is surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. S. Indian (?), c. 1500.

Height 4·2″.

V VAIṢṆAVA (METAL)

I b² 66

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing on a lotus, supported by a pedestal and a *parikara* on the back. Four-armed : u. r. and l. hands *gadā* and *cakra* : l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. To the right and left an attendant, and two seated figures on the *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, whose crest is broken. Silver inlay in the eyes, *hāra* and on the *cakra*. Figure very much worn out due to use.

Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujārat (?). North Indian, Dated Saṁvat 1205 = A.D. 1148-9.

Height 3.5″.

The inscription reads :

Saṁvat 1205......9 *nomne paṇḍita dādā vatṣṭa* (*tvaṣṭā* ?) *trikāma mūrti* (?) *kārāpita*.

"In the year 1205 ... on the 9th, Paṇḍita Dādā .... caused to be made an image of Trikama".

I b² 19

VIṢṆU (Vāsudeva), standing. Four-armed : the two u. r. and l. hands hold a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha* ; the l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *gadā*. Below on the right a man standing, holding an outstretched serpent in his left hand ; on the left a woman holding some object in her right hand. In either corner of the pedestal a worshipper too much worn. Behind the image a *parikara* with a *kalaśa*, which has holes on the underside at each end. Signs of silver inlay in the eyes of Viṣṇu. (Cf. Coomarswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue Indian Collections*, 1923, pp. 105-106, pl. lviii.)

Brass. Gujarāt—Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 8.1″.

I b² 18

VIṢṆU (Kṛṣṇa), four-armed, standing over a lotus, which is resting on a four-stepped, ornamented pedestal, having a broad plinth. As the figure is extremely worn, the symbols in Viṣṇu's hands are indistinct, but they seem to be : u. r. and l. hands *gadā* and *padma* ; l. r. and l. hands *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. R and l. of Viṣṇu are a female and male attendants standing, the first holding some weapons (?) with both hands, the second with one hand. In the front of the pedestal there were some objects which are now completely worn out and indistinct. Traces of silver in the

eyes and navel of Viṣṇu, the forehead of attendants, and the front of the pedestal. The image is *saparikara* ; the latter has an oval perforated *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. On the *toraṇa*, just over the *prabhamaṇḍala* of Viṣṇu, on its either side, is a figure seated in *lalitāsana*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 5-5".

I b² 33

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing figure, four-amed : the u.r. and l. hands hold a *gadā* and *cakra* ; the l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha* ; wearing a high crown. Below on either side two worshippers holding some objects with both hands. Garuḍa in human form with wings on the pedestal. Behind Viṣṇu, a *parikara*, with a *kalaśa* in the centre, and on either side of it a worn out figure seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus. (cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. lviii).

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.7".

I b² 46

Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), four armed : u.r. and l. hands *gadā, cakra* ; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Standing as in I b² 66. *Parikara* has an oval *toraṇa* which is surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.4".

I b² 61

VIṢṆU (Pradyumna), standing as in I b² 66. Four armed : u. r. and l. hands *śaṅkha* and *cakra* : l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *gadā*. *Parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Figure worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.7".

I b² 38

Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), standing as in I b² 66. *Parikara* and *toraṇa* as in I b² 46.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.2".

I b² 17

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), four-armed, standing over a pillow-like stool, which is resting on a four-legged pedestal. Right and left of Viṣṇu an attendent standing. U. r. and l. hands hold *gadā* and *cakra* ; l. r. and l. hands hold *padma* and *śaṅkha*. The image is *saparikara* : the latter has a low, semi-circular *toraṇa*, without a *kalaśa*. On it is engraved the *prabhā* of Viṣṇu. Figure worn and rusted.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.5".

I b² 10

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing as in I b² 66. *Toraṇa* of the *parikara* without a *kalaśa*. Figure and all the symbols carried by him worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.5".

I b² 11

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing, four-armed, u. r. and l. hands hold *gadā* and *cakra* ; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Right and left an attendant. Viṣṇu has a curious face. Behind, the *parikara* with an oval *torana*, surmounted by a very small *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian (?), c. 1500 A.D.

Height 3.5".

I b² 23

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA, seated in *lalitāsana*; Narāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) over a small stool, Lakṣmī over Nārayāṇa's left lap. Below Nārāyaṇa, his *vāhana*—garuḍa—like a real bird, facing left. Figures extremely worn. Behind the figures a *parikara* surmounted by a long *kalaśa*. All cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 3.4".

I b² 77

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Similar to I b³ 23, only the *kalaśa* of the *parikara* smaller.
Brass. Gujarāt, North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 2.6".

I b² 51

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Figures rusted and worn.
Cf. I b² 23.
Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 2".

I b² 39

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a stool-like lotus; four-armed: l. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*); u. l. h. with mace (*gadā*), l. l. h. supporting Lakṣmī seated on his left lap. She with one hand on his shoulder, the other holding a water-lily (*nīlotpala*). Two small attendants, a male and a female, on the right and left. Garuḍa in front of the left leg of Viṣṇu. Behind a *parikara* in one piece, with the rest of the casting, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 118, pl. lix).
Height 5.3".

I b² 59

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) seated on Garuḍa in human form, Lakṣmī on Viṣṇu's left lap. Viṣṇu four-armed: u.r. and l. hands hold *cakra* and *gadā*; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Below, to the right and left standing male and female attendant. *Toraṇa* of the *parikara* broken; on its either side a seated figure.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.
Height 4".

I b² 52

VEṆU-GOPĀLA (Kṛṣṇa playing on a flute), standing in cross-legged posture on an inverted dish-like stool. Two armed, playing on a flute (which is missing) with two hands to the right; nude hair tied in two knots one standing over the head, like a *kalaśa*, the other falling down over the neck.

Brass. c. A.D. 1500. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. lxv).
Height 8.4".

I b² 56

VEṆU-GOPĀLA (Kṛṣṇa playing on a flute), standing in cross-legged posture on a square piece. Two armed, playing on a flute (which is missing) with two hands, (a little more further apart than in I b² 52), to the right. Hair tied in a *kalaśa*-like knot; long ear-lobes; apparently nude.

Brass. c. A.D. 1500. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. lxv).
Height 9.1".
Pl. III

I b² 78

BĀLAKṚṢṆA (Kṛṣṇa crawling as a child, on its knees and left hand, with a ball of butter in the right hand). Over the head of Kṛṣṇa is an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian c. 1600 A.D. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 109, pl. lxi).
Height 1.5".

LAKṢMĪ

I b^2 22

GAJA-LAKṢMĪ, four-armed goddess, seated in *padmāsana* on an elephant facing the full front, and carrying a lotus stalk in its trunk. The upper two hands of the goddess carry an elephant each of which seems to form a *toraṇa* over her head. The lower two hands carry a rosary (*mālā*) and a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). Behind the image a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The elephant and the goddess all cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarat-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 5.3".

I b^2 79

Unidentified goddess (Lakṣmī ?), four-armed, in *padmāsana*, a hollow stool (?) supported by a pedestal. Symbols carried by upper two hands look like elephants, (cf. I b^2 80), too worn and indistinct; the l. r. h. carried a rosary (*akṣamālā*); l. l. h. a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). The image is *saparikara*, which has a slightly wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4.8".

I b^2 80

A goddess (Lakṣmī ?), four armed, seated in *padmāsana*, over a conventional lotus supported by a pedestal of the *parikara*. Upper two hands carry an elephant each, l. r. h. rosary (*akṣamālā*), l. l. h. a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The figure is worn and very much rusted.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.1".

VI SŪRYA (Metal)

I b^2 70

Sūrya, two-armed god, standing, with lotuses in his hands, dressed in a tall *mukuṭu* (*avyaṅga*) girdle, high boots, and a long *mālā* touching the ankles. Behind his head a circular *prabhā*, below to the right and left an attendant (that on the left with a very long staff held across his body). Behind the figure a *parikara*, with a wavy triangular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Silver inlay in the eyes of Sūrya.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4".

VII ŚAIVA (Metal)

I b^2 53

Unidentified, four-armed figure, standing on a lotus-like stool, resting on a small rectangular pedestal. The u. r. and l. hands carry a lotus (?) and a conch (?), the lower r. hand is held forth and carries a begging bowl (*kapāla* ?); the l. l. hand is similarly held forth and holds a staff or a mace, which is resting on the ground. In the front, on the pedestal are from r. to l. a *liṅga* in a *yonipīṭha* and nine ball-like objects, representing perhaps *navagrahas*. To the r. and 1. of the standing figure a small and a large animal facing the full front. The image is *saparikara*, which has a perforated and cut border, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, with *mukuṭa* of the figure are the crescent moon and sun.
volutes on either side. On the *parikara*, immediately to the r. and l. of the *jaṭā*-

The standing pose, begging bowl and the crescent moon suggest that the figure may be a North Indian representation of the *Bhikṣāṭanamūrti* of Śiva, differing however from the known South Indian images in a number of points. Cf. Gopinath RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 306, pls. lxxxvii-ix.

Brass. North Indian (?), c. 1300 A.D.

Height 6″.

I b² 31

Śiva-Pārvatī, seated figure. Śiva on a pillow-like stool, Pārvatī on his left lap; below her a small bull (*nandī*) facing left. Śiva four-armed: u. r. h. holds a skull (*khaṭvāṅga*), the l. r. h. a round indistinct object, u. l. h. a serpent, and l. l. h. supports Pārvati; she with her right hand embraces him, and with her left hand holds a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*). Silver inlay in the eyes and chest of Śiva. The *parikara*, cast in one piece with the rest, and surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 3″.

Pl. III.

I b² 48

Śiva-Pārvatī. Śiva, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana* over *nandī*, with Pārvatī on his left lap, she carrying a *nīlotpala* in her left hand, with the right holding Śiva, who carries a *triśūla* and a serpent in u. r. and l. hands; in l. r. a round object, with the l. l. hand supporting Pārvatī. The image is *saparikara*, which is surmounted by a long cinqfoil *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.8″.

I b² 62

Siva-Pañcāyatana group. A *liṅga* with a high *pīṭha* sheltered by a hooded cobra, resting on a square stool. Right and left a seated figure, facing the full front, and forming part of the *parikara*, which is semi-circular and surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Facing these figures are Gaṇeśa and Nandī. Between Ganeśa and the opposite figure, a heap of five balls (?). On the *parikara* are sculptured to the r. and l. of the cobra, the moon and the sun.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 2.6″.

(Cf. GETTY, *Ganeśa*, Oxford, 1936, pl. 15a, showing a similar sculpture with Ganeśa as the principal god).

I b² 55

Śiva-Pañcāyatana group. In the centre of a rectangle, a *liṅga* on a *pīṭha*; to the right and left Gaṇeśa and a seated figure; to its north a four-armed seated figure, with the sun and the moon on its r. and l. and behind it a semi-circular *parikara* surmounted by a *toraṇa*; to its south outside the rectangle, *nandī*, facing north. Between the four-armed seated figure and the *liṅga*, the river Gaṅgā.

Brass. c. 1400 A.D.

Height 1.4″.

I b² 57

Śiva-Pañcāyatana group with a *liṅga* in the centre. Cf. I b² 55.

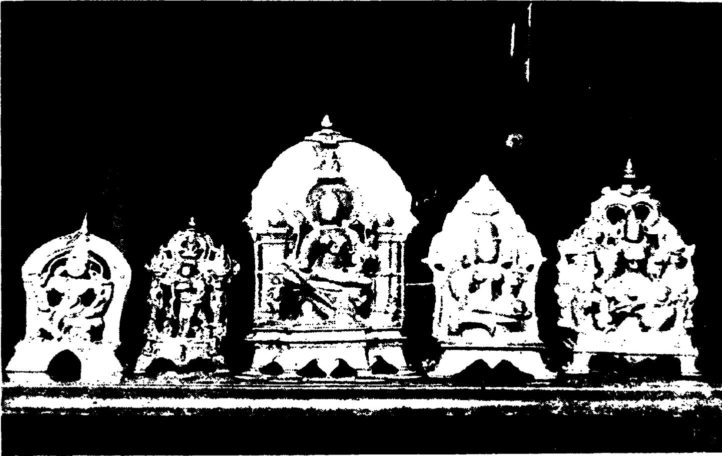
Brass. c. 1400 A.D.

Height 1″.

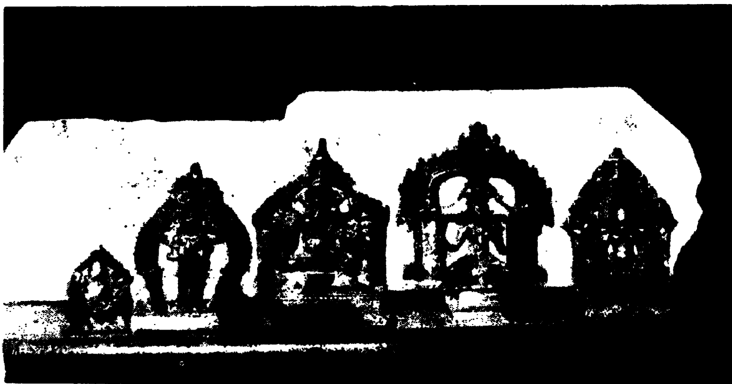
PĀRVATĪ

I b² 60

Pārvatī, four-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* over an oval lotus. A crouching lion or tiger, facing the front, supports the right knee. The upper two hands hold a *triśūla* and *ghaṇṭā*; the lower a rosary and a water vessel. Behind the image an ornamented *parikara*, surmounted by a small *kalaśa*; below it an inset *tīrthaṅ-*



I b^2 76	I b^2 42	I b^2 30	I b^2 75	I b^2 20
P. 347	P. 347	P. 347	P. 347	Pp. 347-8



I b^2 31	I b^2 53	I b^2 81	I b^2 78	I b^2 60
P. 352	P. 351	Pp. 356-7	P. 353	Pp. 352-3



I b^2 13	I b^2 4	I b^2 56	I b^2 32	I b^2 37
P. 354	P. 357	P. 350	P. 353	P. 357

kara, wavy lines with dots, and *makara* head in each corner of the base of the *toraṇa*. The image and *parikara* form one entire piece.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 6.4".

Pl. III

I b² 34

Pārvatī (?). A goddess seated on a tiger or lion facing right. Four armed: the upper two seem to carry a trident (*triśūla*); the l. r. h. a rosary (*akṣamālā*); l. l. h. a round indistinct object, perhaps a fruit. Behind the figure a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.2".

I b² 2

Pārvatī (?), four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana*, over a slender stool, under her legs is lying a man full length, his face turned to the front. The u. r. h. carries a *triśūla*, l. l. h. a *ḍamaru*, at the same time embracing a child which is touching the goddess's breast with her left hand. The l. r. h. holds a staff-like object, while the l. l. h. holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The goddess has worn a long *hāra* which falls down and touches her feet. The image is *saparikara*, which has a wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200. A.D.

Height 3.5".

I b² 78

Pārvatī (?). Unidentified, two-armed goddess, seated in *ardha-padmāsana* over a conventional lotus-like stool, resting on a high pedestal. The arms of the goddess are stretched forward, and in the r. and l. hands carry a rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a *liṅga* with a *yoni-pīṭha*. The goddess wears a *mukuṭa*, but her hair are parted in the centre, and decorated by *veṇi* (braid of hair or flowers). Other ornaments are *kuṇḍala*, a *mālā* or *hāra* with a pendant hanging between the breasts and a girdle which is fastened over her under garment one end of which comes out and falls down, leaf-like, on her legs. Behind her is a detachable *parikara* which has a semi-circular *toraṇa* with pointed teeth, surmounted by a *kīrtimukha*. The *toraṇa* of the *parikara* is perforated, in its centre is a figure (Supārśva) seated in *padmāsana* with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, and over its head a cobra having a canopy of five hoods; similar seated figures to its right and left.

Brass. South Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 7.5".

Pl. III.

I b² 32

An unidentified goddess, four-faced and 18-armed, seated in *padmāsana*, over a lotus, supported by four lions, two on each side, which stand on a high two-storied pedestal. The nine hands on the right hold (from below) (1) a small snake-like object, (2) the mouth of a serpent, (3) indistinct, (4) *vajra*, (5) a hammer, (6) *triśūla*, (7) *aṅkūśa*, (8) a pointed object whose tip is broken and (9) hand broken. The hands on the left (from below) (1) human head, (2) in *abhayamudrā*, (3) *damaru*, (4) a nail (5) *ghaṇṭā* (6) a bud (?), indistinct, (7) broken, (8) touches the bud and (9) broken. The goddess wears a long garland of skulls, which falls down on the lotus seat. From her navel a serpent's head peeps out. Signs of inlay of silver on the forehead and nipples.

Behind the image there was once a *parikara*, which seems to have been cut off. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.4".

The inscription reads :

Śrīḥ... (then letter cut off), *naḥ* (on the other side); on the pedestal : *pitṛbhyo namaḥ.*

" Auspicious one .... bow to the manes ".

Pl. III.

I b^2 13

A goddess, in dancing (*nṛtta*) pose, her right leg raised and bent from the knee, the left fixed with a soldering to the top of the pedestal. 18 arms. The nine hands on each side hold different weapons and symbols. Many of them are too much worn, but a few can be recognised ; for instance, the hands on the right carry (from below) a rosary (*akṣamālā*), (4) a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) ; left (from below), a metal-jar (*kamaṇḍalu*), (3) a skull (*mastaka*), (4) discuss (*cakra*). Silver inlay in eyes. An oval *parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa.*

Brass. South India (?), c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·5".

Pl. III.

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ

I b^2 45

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed female deity, standing with her left leg stretched back, and the right leg bent and placed over the buffalo demon (Mahiṣāsura), who is caught by the hair by l. l. h. of the goddess while the l. r. h. is thrusting long *triśūla* in the buffalo's body ; u. r. and l. hands hold a drawn out sword and a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) ; the hind part of the buffalo demon is seized by a lion. On either corner of the pedestal a seated worshipper. The image is cast together with a *parikara* which has a wavy triangular *toraṇa* surmounted by a *kalaśa.* Traces of silver inlay on the *prabhā*, eyes, necklace, longer necklace, and girdle of the goddess.

Brass. North India, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 11·2".

I b^2 41

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, identical in features with I b^2 45. The head of the buffalo lies severed on the ground (pedestal), and the lion is shown not at right angles, but just behind in one line with the buffalo.

Brass. North Indian, c 1200 A.D.

Height 7".

I b^2 49

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess (Cf. I b^2 45). Too much worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b^2 44

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess. In many respects similar to I b^2 45, except that the u.l.h. of the goddess holds a shield (*kheṭaka*), and not a bell, and that there are no worshippers on the pedestal. Traces of silver inlay in the eyes, longer necklace and girdle of the goddess.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b^2 24

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ. Similar to I b^2 43.

Figure extremely worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2·9".

I b^2 6

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ. As in I b^2 45.

Figure looks blackish due to contact with some calcareous substance.

Brass (?). c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·2".

I b^2 50

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, standing erect; the buffalo is placed on goddess's feet, while the lion seems to be attacking it from the front and not behind as it is usually shown. The goddess carries in u.r. and l. hands the sword (*khaḍga*) and a shield (*kheṭaka*) ; in l. r. and l. hands the demon's blood and some weapon which is not distinct. The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4".

I b^2 36

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, standing, right foot over the buffalo demon which is facing the right and *not* left as in previous figures. U. r. and l. hands hold a sword and a shield, while both the lower hands carry the *triśūla*-like weapon, which is thrust into the buffalo's head. The goddess wears a very long 'beaded' necklace. The figure is together with a *parikara*, which has a beaded fringe and surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. C. 1300 A.D.

Height 4·6".

I b^2 64

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, position etc. same as I b^2 45, except that the u. l. hand carries a seated figure, perhaps a Gaṇeśa, as some figures of Pārvatī do. Over the *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, there is a long *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·5".

I b^2 68

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, similar in many respects to I b^2 45, excepting that the position of symbols in the left hands is different; u. l. h. carries a drum (*ḍamaru*), l.l.h. a shield (*kheṭaka*), whereas there is no separate figure of the demon, the buffalo itself is the demon here, whose head is cut off by a *triśūla*. Behind the figure an oval *parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Figure worn due to the application of sandal paste, traces of which remain.

Brass. C. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b^2 54

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, an eight-armed goddess, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose over the body of Mahiṣāsura. The right hands (from above) carry a sword (*khaḍga*) indistinct, arrow (*bāṇa*), and *triśūla* which is pierced into asura's neck ; left hands carry a shield (*kheṭaka*), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), bow (*dhanuḥ*), the head of the asura which is held by the hair. A thick piece of cloth in several folds is wound round the thighs of the goddess. Her hair seem to be tied in a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with an ornamented crescent on it. The image is *saparikara*, having a semicircular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Behind the asura a lion mauling him.

Bronze (?) c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2·8".

GAṆEŚA

I b^2 35

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a high rectangular seat, resting on a four-legged pedestal. Figure is extremely worn. But unlike other figures, it is seated under a *separate cinqfoil toraṇa, resting on pillars*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Behind

the figure is a *parikara* having a triangular pediment. Just over the head of Gaṇeśa is a semicircular *toraṇa* which was once inlaid with precious stones (?). An attendant outside the *toraṇa* with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*).

Copper. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D. (?)
Height 2·7″.

I b² 12

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a lotus, which is resting on a high pedestal. Symbols as in I b² 47. Behind Gaṇeśa's head almost circular *prabhā* and to his r. and l. a standing female attendant with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*). *Parikara* with a triangular *toraṇa* having a *kalaśa* in relief on it and not surmounting it. Figure most worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·1″.

I b² 47

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated in *lalitāsana* over an hour-glass-like stool, which is resting on a four-legged rectangular pedestal. The u.r. and l. hands carry an axe (*paraśu*), and a lotus (*padma*), l. r. and l. hands *aṅkuśa* (?) and *pāśa* (?). Trunk to the left. Gaṇeśa's *vāhana*, rat, to the left of the seat.

The image is *saparikara* which has a cusped *toraṇa*, having straight borders, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·5″.

I b² 16

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47.
Triangular *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.
Height 3″.

I b² 40

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47.
Parikara with semi-circular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.
Height 3″.

I b² 58

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47. Oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Figure extremely worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

I b² 63

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a slender lotus resting on an inverted hour-glass like stool. Symbols, etc. as in I b² 47. His *vāhana*, rat almost behind his seat to the left. *Parikara* with a semicircular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Figure blackish due to contact with calcareous substance.
Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.
Height 2·5″.

I b² 71

GAṆEŚA. Extremely worn.
Brass (?). c. 1200 A.D.
Height 1·5″.

I b² 81

GAṆEŚA, 18-armed god, seated in *padmāsana*, over a pillow resting on a hour-glass like lotus, supported in the front by a lotus stalk (*kamala-nāla*), all resting on a rectangular, four-pillared pedestal. Gaṇeśa carries in his right hands beginning from the top, a dagger (*śūla*), axe (*paraśu*), radish (?) pestle (*musala*), mace (*gadā*), *daṇḍahasta* or *abhayamudrā*, palm similarly stretched out holding a rosary (*akṣamālā*), trident (*triśūla*), thunderbolt (*vajra*?). The hands on the

left have the *varadamudrā*, bow (*dhanuḥ*) water-vessel (*kalaśa*), pomegranates (?), goad (*aṅkuśa*), book (*pustaka*), goad again (?), broken tooth, citron (*bijorakam*). Among the ornaments are *karaṇḍa mukuṭa*, *hāra* and *sarpopavīta*. Gaṇeśa's trunk is turned to the right. On his lap sits his *devī* in *lalitāsana*, holding a blue lotus (*nilotpala*) in her r. hand and a fly-whisk in her l. hand. Just below Gaṇeśa, on the left, is his vehicle (*vāhana*), a rat, eating a small ball. Behind the image is a perforated *parikara*, with a wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, which has a simple volute-like leaf on each side. The *parikara* is attached to the image by 10 horizontal spokes, the entire sculpture having been cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarat (?). North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.

Height 6·8".

This image has been discussed at length in *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. V. No. II, 1939.

Pl. III

IX UNIDENTIFIED METAL IMAGES

I b² 69

A goddess, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana* over a small stool-like lotus. The upper two hands hold a lotus each; lower right hand holds a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the left some object which is too much worn.

Below the left knee a small seated figure. The *parikara's kalaśa* is broken. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North-Indian, Gujarat-Rājputānā, Dated Saṁvat 1480-= A.D. 1423-4.

Height 3·8".

The inscription reads: *Sa(ṁ)vat 1480 varṣe māgha vadī 5 Ga(u)ru sa(ṁ)gha* (?) *Thākurasī(iṁ)ha suta Göiā* (letters indistinct) . . . *u jñāti.* "In the year 1480, Māgha vadi 5, Thursday Göiā . . . , son of Thākurasiṁha, of . . . . caste".

I b² 37

Unidentified goddess, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana*, under a canopy of seven-hooded cobra, on a slender lotus seat, resting on a rectangular pedestal. To her right is her vehicle (*vāhana*) perhaps a lion. All the four hands carry a cobra, with its hood raised up. Behind the image is a *parikara* with a semi-circular *toraṇa* surmounted by a 3 stepped *kalaśa*. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Mewār, Rājputana (?) North Indian, Dated Saṁvat (15)52 A.D. 1495-6.

Height 4·6".

Pl. III.

The inscription and the image have been discussed in *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. IV, No. III. December, 1938, p. 85.

I b² 4

Unidentified goddess, four-armed, seated in *ardha-padmāsana*, over a stepped pedestal, on which stands side-wise in either corner a horse-like animal facing each other. The upper two hands of the goddess carry a lotus bud; l.r.h. a double edged dagger (?) and l.l.h. supports a female figure (?) with folded hands (*añjali hasta*), seated on its left lap. The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Reverse two hooks for hanging.

Brass. South Indian (?), c. 1300 A.D.

Height 5·5".

Pl. III.

I b² 82

Unidentified two-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a ram (?), facing left. The figure is worn and rusty; hence the symbols carried in the hand are indistinct. The image is *saparikara*, which has a triangular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·5″.

X JINAS ETC. (Wooden)

I c² 1

PADMAPRABHA, the 6th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, in *dhyānamudrā*, inside *samoasarana* (*saṁvasaraṇa*). Right and left a worshipper. Below in right and left corner a musician with *viṇā* and a tambourin (*taṁbūrā*). The cognizance (*cinha*) lotus (*kamala*) shown below the seat of Jina.

Piece of wood, painted red, yellow and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 11″ (about).

I c² 2

VĀSUPŪJYA, the 12th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyāna*; his cognizance (*cinha*), buffalo (*mahiṣa*) to the right.

Piece of wood forming part originally of a *toraṇa*. Painted red, green, yellow. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 3·5″.

I c² 3

ŚĀNTINĀTHA, the 16th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyāna* over a pillow, under a *toraṇa*, formed by two elephants' trunks and head issuing from decorated pillars. His *cinha*, deer (*mṛga*) shown below the seat.

Piece of wood, painted red and yellow. Gujarat, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 4″.

I c² 4

Winged *apsarā*, carrying a horse (*aśva*), cognizance of the 3rd Jina, Sambhavanātha.

Piece of wood, forming part originally of some sculpture (?), painted red and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 7″.

I c² 5

Winged *apsarā* carrying a heron (*krauñca*), the cognizance of Sumatinātha, the 5th Jina.

Piece of wood forming part originally of some sculpture (?), painted red and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 8·5″.

I c² 6

An *āpsarā*, seated in *sukhāsana*, over a lotus-seat, carrying a pot (*kalaśa*), the cognizance of the 19th Jina Mallinātha.

Piece of wooden bracket originally painted red, now weather-worn, and faded. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 6·5″.

I c² 7

An *apsarā*, seated in *lalitāsana*-like pose, supported by a lotus, carrying a heron (*krauñca*), the cognizance of Sumatinātha, the 5th Jina.

Piece of wooden bracket. Traces of red colour. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 6·5″.

I c² 8

A disc representing the sun (shown by a bust surrounded by aureole, *prabhā*), one of the 14 dreams (*svapna*) of Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā, before his birth.

Wood, traces of red paint. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Diameter 8·4″.

The author would thank here Muni MAṄGALSAGARJI and Muni KANTISAGARJI, of Bombay, who supplied him with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Gujarati works which were not available in any known library in Bombay.

A NOTE ON TELEOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

By
C. R. SANKARAN, Poona

In Volume IX, Part IV (p. 309) and Volume X, Part IV (p. 318) of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, I made brief mention of the exact bearings of teleology to linguistics.[1] I intend further to point out here in this short note how thoroughly teleology is discarded from the domain of modern linguistics, just as it is banished from all the exact physical sciences.[2] I propose incidentally, just to indicate also, the leading fundamental concepts which are gaining currency among students of linguistic science to-day.

The peculiar factor in living organisms which the actions of plants and animals involve and which is not present in the actions of inanimate matter is a highly specialised, chemical combination called the protoplasm. Even so, to one of the ablest exponents of modern linguistics, Professor Leonard BLOOMFIELD, language which appears as a highly specialised and biological complex is the peculiar factor in man which forbids our explaining his actions upon the ordinary plane of biology.[3] By his own admission, this hypothesis was originally worked out by Professor Albert Paul WEISS.[4] In his illuminating article "The Mind and Man Within" (in the *Psychological Review*, Volume 26, 1919, pages 327-34), WEISS points out how the primitive savage explained the actions of animals and plants by postulating the existence of an impalpable and invisible being lurking inside the palpable and visible animal or person, controlling their actions.

In the medieval times, teleology was the ruling principle even in science. It was thought that a favoured event, the 'cause' pulled a kind of invisible string which, in some metaphyscial sense, forced the occurrence of a later event, the 'effect.' Both these animistic notions, causality and teleology, are pre-scientific. In fact, teleology does not stand in contrast with 'causality' but represents merely a more age-old popular notion [WUNDT, *Völker psychologie, Die Sprache*, I. pp. 352-3 also p. 15. LESKIEN, JENAER, *Lit. Zeit.* 1875, p. 98. Hanns OERTEL, *Lectures on the study of Language*, p. 205, 1913.]

1. See my paper, *JORM.* XI. 1937 p. 291.
2. Willis D. ELLIS, *A Source Book of Gestalt Psychology.* London. Kegan Paul. Section 1. 1938. Pages 7-8.
3. *Vide* L. BLOOMFIELD, Linguistics as a Science—*Studies in philology*, Volume XXVII, No. 4, October 1930, p. 555.
4. *Theoretical Foundations of Human Behaviour*, Second Edition, Columbus Adams, 1929.

In modern science, "the displacement of any particle is expressed by the equation of the type

$$dx = \frac{\partial x}{\partial k} dk + \frac{\partial x}{\partial l} dl + \frac{\partial x}{\partial m} dm + \frac{\partial x}{\partial n} dn + \dots\dots\dots\dots$$

with practically endless number of terms on the right hand side; those of the right hand terms which are nearest to *dx* in size are sometimes, loosely but conveniently, spoken of as 'causes' of *dx*." As Prof. BLOOMFIELD says,[1] Karl PEARSON's classical treatise—*Grammar of Science* (2nd edition, London, 1900; 3rd edn. Vol. I, 1911)—contains the clearest discussion of this matter.

Martin JOOS[2] has rightly expressed a doubt whether any causal relation can ever be perfectly established for the familiar reason that the 'chain of causality' between any two events consists of an infinity of nexus points all of which cannot be conceivably disclosed to empirical analysis (See also ZIPF, Statistical Methods and Dynamic Philosophy—*Language*, Volume 13, No. 1, January—March 1937, page 60).

Some linguists hope that language is the very activity of man which will account for the super-biological features of man's conduct and in the study of language now, the pre-scientific approach has once for all been abandoned.

The universe of science is a physical universe and any scientifically meaningful statement reports a movement in space and time. The terminology of mentalism and animism is now discarded and replaced in minor part by physiological terms and in major part by terms of linguistics. It is recognised that the statement about 'ideas' are to be translated into statements about speech forms.[3] CARNAP'S most interesting doctrine is Radical Physicialism. According to this all sentences (excluding those of pure syntax and pure logic) may be translated into a universal language which is similar in form to the language of contemporary physics. "The assertions about unobserved objects and events as well as the records of personal experiences may, on the basis of certain known laws and experimental findings, be translated into this inter-subjective language of physics" [Julius Rudolph WEINBERG, *An examination of Logical Positivism* London. Kegan Paul 1936, pp. 228-9 and also pp. 262 ff. CARNAP, '*Die physikaliche sprache als Universalsprache der Wissenschaft,*' *Erkenntnis,* Band II. Heft 5-6 pp. 437-462. L. Susan STEBLING, *Logical Positivism and analysis. Proceedings of the British Academy.* Volume XIX, pp. 19-21]. On the other hand, MCDOUGALL'S theory of pur-

1. See L. BLOOMFIELD'S review of HAVERS' *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* in *Language* Volume X. 1934, pages 34-5 and footnote on page 34. L. BLOOMFIELD'S contention is that Karl PEARSON'S work loses much by ignoring linguistic values and leaves otherwise simple things in a fog by saying conceptual where the linguistic would say 'verbal.'

2. Review of George Kingsley ZIPF'S *Psycho-Biology of Language.* LANGUAGE Volume 12, (1936). Pages 196-210.

3. See L. BLOOMFIELD. " Linguistics as a Science "*Stuides in Philology.* Volume 27, 1930, page 553. Cf. also L. BLOOMFIELD "Language or Ideas?" *Language* Volume 12, No. 2, page 89-95. For full criticism, see Karl Britton, *Communication.* London, 1939. p. 15.

positive striving doubtless implies teleology. [c. Wm. MCDOUGALL. *The hormic psychology. In C. Murchison* (ed). *Psychologies of 1830.* Worcester, Mass. Clark Univ. Press, 1930. pp. 9-10. Vide also Edna HEIDBREDER, *The journal of Abnormal and social psychology,* 34, 1939 pp. 154-5]. It is increasingly felt to-day that "an understanding of language mechanism is necessary for the study of both historical problems and problems of human behaviour."[1]

MEAD supposes animal-gesture to be the basis of the language-symbol and demonstrates the biological function of the former. He believes that what are called—'attitudes'—organisations of different parts of the nervous system which are instrumental in producing acts and therefore are capable of representing both what has taken place immediately and what is going to take place, gives distinctive character to genuinely social behaviour, when communicated. The act as a whole can exist in such an attitude, determining the later stages of the nervous system. This attitude can represent also alternative courses of action and responses to classes and kinds of objects, e.g. the characters we assign to 'horse' as idea or 'concept.' [Cf. G. H. MEAD, *Man, self and Society.* 1934, 11. See also H. W. WRIGHT, *The Psychology of Social Culture. The American Journal of Psychology* Vol. 52. 1939. pp. 211, 214 and 216.] In passing, the following interesting view of SULLIVAN may be referred to here. "SOMMERFELD suggests that the laws of the new quantum mechanics may be teleological, and that the old scientific notion of causality cannot be applied to them." [J. W. N. SULLIVAN, *The Bases of Modern Science. Pelican Books.* p. 201.]

Finally, it must be remembered that certain arguments of L. BLOOMFIELD in his recent work—*Language*—based on mechanistic theory (which itself is not wrong at bottom) seem to be misleading [Vide W. EMPSON—"The need for 'translation' theory in Linguistics." *Psyche.* 1935. XV. pp. 188-197.]

1. Vide SAPIR, *Language* 5, (1929), page 213. In speaking about problems of human behaviour; it is good to remember that Arthur G. BILLS shows how the concept of mechanism in science can be interpreted in many ways [" Changing Views of Psychology as science"—*Psychol. Review.* Vol. 45. 1938. pp 385-6]. The term mechanism "does have definitive value, in sharply excluding any theory which implies teleology" [Arthur G. BILLS, *op. cit.*, p. 386.]

SAMANA

(SAMANA FESTIVAL)

By

KALICHARAN SHASTRI, Krishnagar.

History is seldom perused for its own sake. Thousands approach it with thousand different purposes in view. It is a free emporium where belligerents peaceably meet. Real history, CARLYLE rightly mourns the loss, has never been written. It can never be written. History proper is nothing but the record of destructive events. The real benefactors of mankind, the builders of societies, the inaugurators of constructive schemes, or the inventors and discoverers of the very elements of civilisations—the very beings upon whose disinterested diligence and devotion our days rest, are forgotten beyond recovery. The march of human society from its infancy to our days is as inscrutable as its origin. Conjectures of antiquarians on the relics of the past, or on the findings of archæologists have sometimes more muddled and shrouded the truth than have thrown any intelligible or intelligent light on the progress of the human race. Such attempts have more often bordered on the ridiculous like that of DICKENS' Pickwick.

Yet nothing is perhaps more amusing, more instructive, sometimes more profitable, than a successful research into the mines of the 'rich past'. Nothing pays the ceaseless labour and the honest pursuit of a student of ancient history more than the discovery of a link missing from the chain of human progress. He bursts forth like Archimedes—I have found. A few, however, there are in these days of gross utilitarianism who pursue history for its own sake or consider its study as an end in itself. It opens up a field to that disinterested devotee similar to that the passionate lover of arts finds. It is indeed a pleasure and a discovery to watch the slow, mysterious and easy growth of a baby into manhood or womanhood. Equally pleasing is the growth of society from infancy to a developed form. Rightly had the Greeks accorded History the first place among all branches of knowledge and installed Clio, the eldest of the nine Muses, as the deity presiding over it.

Our attempt in this thesis will be to trace the origin and development of the authorised and authenticated, healthy recreations of the Hindu society. To define yet clearly, we propose to discuss herein only those festivals, outdoor and indoor, which have a special bearing on the profane, social and non-religious instincts of the Hindu race. We have thought it judicious to proceed by the rule of dichotomy—of dividing the festivals into religious and non-religious, and we have taken upon ourselves the task of dealing with the latter only. Festivals such as the Durgā-pūjā or the Kālī-pūjā, we have decided not to include in the scope of our discussions. But such

a division of festivals into religious and non-religious may seem to one to be rather fictitious than real inasmuch as the very instinct of the Hindu race associates any institution social or otherwise with something of the Pantheon ; their native impulse has often tinged things non-religious with the emotion of religion. Still our attempt to winnow out the non-religious out of the religious will not be a vagary. We shall see that in many cases the colour of religion in some of the festivals is of later date, they being purely social in their origin. We propose as well to discuss those which show a happy blend of the two elements or the one which borders on the other.

Prof. H. C. CHAKLADAR in his *Social Life in Ancient India*[1] holds on the authority of Vātsyāyana, the celebrated author of *Kāmasūtra,* that there were many high days and holidays when the *nāgaraka* made merry with his friends and companions. With regard to all these games and festivities enjoyed in company, Vātsyāyana gives the sage advice that they can be relished best in the company of friends of the same social status, but not with those that are either above or below one, because permanent good relations and mutual understanding can only be established when each party in a sport seeks to afford pleasure to the other and where each is honoured and respected by the other.[2]

Vātsyāyana classifies the occasional festivities into five groups.[3] In the first place he mentions the festivals in connexion with the worship of different deities (*samāja, yātrā,* and *ghaṭā*), sometimes attended with grand processions ; then come the *goṣṭhīs* or social gatherings of both sexes ; next *āpānakas* or drinking parties and *udyāna-yātrās* or garden-parties, and last of all, various social diversions in which many persons take part (*samasyākrīḍā*).[4]

'The social gatherings are known in later times as *goṣṭhī* (Vide also Amara & Kṣīrasvāmin) which has been described in some detail by Vātsyāyana (*Kāmasūtra,* ch. IV, pp. 47ff, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series). This resembles very much the modern institution, the club. It is held in a definite house where people meet in the evening to amuse themselves with music, drinking and various discourses on literature and arts. Sometimes there are garden-parties and drinking bout in a member's residence. These institutions are apparently meant for healthy amusement and relaxation.[5]

Among the festivals purely social in nature *Samana* seems, on literary evidences, to be the earliest of the kind. The historical records of the times to which the festival relates, appear in the Ṛgveda. We propose to take it

1. Pp. 161f.
2. samasyādyāḥ sahakrīḍā vivāhāḥ saṅgatāni ca |
samānair eva kāryāṇi nottamairnāpi vādhamaiḥ ||
paraspara-mukhāsvodā krīḍā yatra prayujyate |
viçeṣayantī cānyonyaṃ sambandhaḥ sa vidhīyate ||
—*Kāmasūtra.* CSS, p. 190.
3. ghaṭā-nibandhanaṃ, goṣṭhī-samavāyaḥ, samāpānakaṃ, udyāna-gamanaṃ, samasyāḥ kriḍāçca pravartayet |— Ibid. p. 49.
4. CHAKLADAR, *Social Life in Ancient India,* p. 162.
5. R. C. MAJUMDAR'S *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* p. 174.

up in the first place not because of its any intrinsic value as such a festival, but because it precedes all the rest of its kind in point of time.

The word *Samana* has been variously explained. MONIER WILLIAMS in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* assigns to it the following meanings : Ved. a battle, fighting (in Naigh. II. 17 enumerated among the *saṅgrāma-nāmāni*), rivalry, coming or going together, meeting, union, collection ; a marriage, marriage-ceremony; a sacrifice (Say. *yajña*). Yāska[1], the author of the *Nirukta*, explains it as a *saṅgrāma*, who is followed in his explanation by many a Vedic scholar. Sāyaṇa, the celebrated Indian scholiast, interprets it differently on different occasions. This, he does to suit contexts. We can hardly say that he never interprets it as a festival.

Some of the Orientalists among Western scholars delved deep into the Vedic literature with a view to trace the origin of the Hindu civilisation of the East and have often discovered rare materials out of the same, lying neglected till very recent times. It is worth while to refer to them for the interpretation of the term, which they have honestly attempted to unfold.

PISCHEL holds, it is a general popular festival or a social gathering to which men and women are equally welcome. It is specially meant for recreation, relaxation and amusements and not for any religious purpose. It is a tournament in which bowmen compete and riders vie with each other. Poets and artists try their skill and excellence ; women, young and elderly, seek their partners and courtezans put to proof their amorous tricks. Festivities continue till the morning or, on occasions, till the fire is extinguished. By the word, GRIFFITH understands a 'gathering'. ROTH believes that it is either a battle or a festival. The conjecture is hardly compatible with itself, unless we agree to explain the contradiction by saying that he interpreted the term to suit the contexts. But it is nevertheless clear that he leans more towards taking it to mean a festival—a popular institution than a battle. PETERSON in his *Hymns from the Ṛgveda*[2] enumerates, in a note, various meanings as suggested by the use of the word in different contexts, but his final opinion on the word seems to mean an assembly, a holiday gathering.

Our own impression from a close study of the text, though difficult, is that the word must primarily mean a festival, among other things. We shall attempt to show by reference to the text that it is chiefly a social recreation that the term connotes.

We look in vain in the Ṛgveda for a graphic picture of the *Samana* festival. But there are unmistakable evidences to show that it must have been an occasion zealously seized by all alike as a source of all the elements of joy and peace, music and mirth and meetings and carousings. We trace from the similes and metaphors used in the text, such as, in course of the praise to the gods, that this is an annual festival of the Ṛgvedic people, for the return of which every heart is eager. It imposes no restrictions on age. People,

1. *Nir.* IX. 14, 18 ; AnSS, Vol. II, pp. 789, 793.
2. P. 287.

adolescent, young and old take keen interest in it, and seek to satisfy themselves according to their own measures. Elderly people meet with their relatives and kinsmen and old friends and find joy in being introduced to others. Young girls enjoy a latitude on these occasions which they are often denied. They are bold now to seek satisfaction in the company of strangers, in meeting and conversing with them which fact happily reminds one of the Greek festivals. Just to be equal to the occasion, they are described as dressing themselves in the most gaudy fashion possible. It is just a remarkable feature of the festival that no colour of religion is given to it.

Now we turn to the Vedic hymns.—

"*svādhyo'vi duro devayanto'pi çrayurathayurdevatātā* |
pūrvī çiçum na mātarā rihāṇe samagruvo na samaneṣvañjan"[1] | |

"With holy thoughts the pious have thrown open Doors fain for chariots[2] in the Gods' assembly.
"Like two full mother cows who lick their youngling, like maidens for the gathering, they adorn them".[3]

"*saṃprerate anuvātasya viṣṭā enaṃ gacchanti samanaṃ na yoṣāḥ*"[4]|

"Along the traces of the Wind they hurry, they come to him as dames to an assembly."[5]

We see, therefore, that it is a popular custom with the women, young and grown-up, to join such festivities which are chiefly social diversions.

"In some of the Himalayan Cis-Sutlej States, even to this day, are held similar fairs, notably one at Solon and another at Sipi, where women congregate in large numbers and enjoy themselves in various ways. At the Sipi fair, till very recently, women were arrayed in rows, and exposed for sale and knocked down to the highest bidder. The Vedic Samana must have degenerated into these modern institutions; for while at the former, women both young and elderly, were given an opportunity of selecting their husbands, at the latter they were sold like goods and chattels and allowed no choice of their own. These fairs having degenerated into varitable slave-marts, the enlightened rulers of the States have rightly put them down with a firm hand."[6]

The following hymns, according to PISCHEL, show that poets and artists take part in the ceremonies, their idea being to win fame with regard to their poetic skill and instincts.

"*pra te nāvaṃ na samane vacasyuvaṃ brahmaṇā yāmi savaneṣu dādhṛṣiḥ* |
kuvinno asya vacaso nibodhiṣadindramutsaṃ na vasunaḥ sicāmahe"[7] | |

1. *Ṛgveda* VII. 2. 5.
2. Fain for chariots : welcoming the approach of the cars in which the priests come to the ceremony.—GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 4 fn.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 4.
4. *Ṛgveda* X. 168. 2.
5. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 600.
6. A. C. DAS in his *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 233-234
7. *Ṛgveda* II. 16. 7.

" I, bold by prayer, come near thee in thy sacred rites, thee like a saving ship, thee shouting in the war.

" Verily he will hear and mark this word of ours; he will pour Indra forth as 'twere a spring of wealth "[1]

" *eṣa pratnena vayasā punānastiro varpāṃsi duhiturdadhānaḥ* |
vasānaḥ çarma trivarūthamapsu hoteva yāti samaneṣu rebhan "[2] | |

" He, purified with ancient vital vigour, pervading all his Daughters' forms and figures,

" Finding his three-fold refuge in the waters, goes singing, as a priest to the assemblies ".[3]

In the second hymn quoted above Sāyaṇa explain '*samana*' as a sacrificial ceremony.[4] PISCHEL believes that poets assembled on the occasion. The priest, reciter of the hymn, we see, goes to the assembly. It is evident that it not being out and out any religious ceremony, the presence of the priest for any *bona fide* priestly functions can never be presumed. We may, with reason, infer that he goes there with the idea of displaying his poetic faculties.

It follows from the mention of various amusements connected with the *Samana*, that the area wherein it is held must be spacious. It cannot be otherwise; else how can the archers who enter the arena on such occasions fight in a narrow, enclosed space? Surely a large portion of the area is kept reserved for feats of archery where bowmen display their ability and skill and win various prizes.

We see, now, that PISCHEL is right in thinking that feats of archery form a part of the festival. We have seen that Sāyaṇa[5] and GRIFFITH[6] follow Yāska who explains it as a *saṅgrāma*.[7] We note that the word often implies a gathering. How are we then to account for the new meaning it assumes? We believe that it is a festival, but the prevalence of mock-fight in the shape of tournament of archers gained prominence in later days and in consequence of this, that in Post-Ṛgvedic periods, some have denominated it as a battle, which it is only in a partial sense. Another part of the great space for gathering is reserved for horse-race.

Courtezans appear on the scene in the midst of the revelries in a different part of this extended area, which it is presumed, is implied in the garb of a simile in the following hymn:

" *abhi pravanta samaneva yoṣāḥ kalyāṇyaḥ smayamānāso agnim* "[8]

1. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 280.
2. *Ṛgveda* IX. 97. 47.
3. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 363.
4. yathā hotā stuti-dhvaniṃ kurvan yajñeṣu yāti
   tadvat samaneṣu samanti karmāṇi dhṛṣṭāḥ pragalbhā yantyatreti samanā yajñāḥ teṣu | —D. LAHIRI's RV., VII Aṣṭaka, p. 362.
5. D. LAHIRI's RV., V. Aṣṭaka, p. 66.
6. Vol. I, p. 646.
7. *Ṛgveda* VI, 75, 3, 5.
8. *Ṛgveda* IV. 58. 8.

"Like women at a gathering, fair to look on, and gently smiling, they incline to Agni".[1]

According to ROTH the hymns—

[2] "*te ācarantī samaneva yoṣā māteva putraṃ vibhṛtāmupasthe*"[3] and "*sam prerate anu vātasya viṣṭā ainaṃ gacchanti samanaṃ na yoṣāḥ*"[4] |

imply an embrace and we may say, on the strength of the statements of the authors of the Vedic Index, that the passages present a picture of maidenhood which resembles, in many respects, that of the Greek festivals in which maidens enjoy a good deal of freedom.

At the centre of the place allocated for the purpose, fire is lighted. People gather round it. PISCHEL infers that the festival commences at night and lasts till morning when the fire is extinguished and the celebrators go to look after their own business just at the break of day.

Below we quote the *ṛk* which is revealed in adoration to Uṣā :
"*vi yā sṛjati samanaṃ vyarthinaḥ padaṃ na vetyodhatī*"[5]

Sāyaṇa, we have seen, explains the term as battle. But here in this hymn, he takes *samana as* [6] '*samīcīnaṃ ceṣṭāvantaṃ puruṣam*' and *visṛjati* as *prerayati* : and following in the footsteps of Sāyaṇa thus translates Griffith 'She sends the busy forth, each man to his pursuit : delay she knows not as she springs'.[7] We cannot agree with Sāyaṇa when he interprets the terms as that. He elicits some meaning indeed but at the cost of self-consistency. Would it not be better if we take it to mean a festival and *visṛjati* as creating and thus take Uṣā as the creator of the *Samana* which, according to custom, it may be presumed, begins at dawn?

"*saṃhotraṃ sma purā nārī samanaṃ vāva gacchati*"[8] |

"From olden time, [9] the matron goes to feast and general sacrifice"[10]. But *gacchati sma,* referring as it does to remote past, should be construed as 'used to go' and not as 'goes'. So we can presume with due reverence to Sāyaṇa

1. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 463.
2. *Ṛgveda* VI. 75. 4.
3. These, meeting like a woman and her lover, bear, mother-like, their child upon their bosom.—GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 646.
4. *Ṛgveda* X. 168. 2.
5. *Ṛgveda* I. 48. 6.
6. *yā devatā samanaṃ samīcīnaṃ ceṣṭāvantaṃ puruṣaṃ visṛjati prerayati* | *gṛhārāmādi-ceṣṭā-kuçalān puruṣān uṣaḥkālaçayanād utthāpya svasvavyāpāre prerayatīti prasiddham* |
—D. LAHIRI'S RV. : Sāyaṇa's commentary, I Aṣṭaka, p. 2392.
7. Vol. I, p. 66.
8. *Ṛgveda* X. 86. 10. It also occurs in the *Atharva-Veda* 20. 126. 10.
9. The matron goes to feast : Indrāṇi means that Vriṣākapi assaulted her when she was on her way to a festival, which women were accustomed to attend : and that her rank as Indra's consort did not preserve her from insult.—GRIFFITH'S translation, Vol. II, p. 508fn.
10. *Op. cit.* p. 508.

that his explanation only serves to confound the plain import. Again the word *purā* in this hymn is significant. It shows on its face that the festival must have been quite old by the time the hymn was revealed.

From the study of the above passages, we may infer that the festival was current in the days of Vedic culture and we have every reason to believe that it continues to exist even to a much later date. But time modifies its rite to a great extent : its scope is restricted.

A NOTE ON THE BIOGRAPHIES OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

By

K. N. V. SASTRI, Mysore.

Every student of Indian History is familiar with the following biographies of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan :—(i)

Hyder Shah, by M.M.D.L.T., 1784.
Hyder Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan, by Ch. STEWART, 1809.
Historical sketches, by Col. Mark WILKS, 1810 and 1816.
Haidar Naik and Tippu Sultan, by Kirmani (Trn. by MILES).
Tipu Saib, by TORRENS, 1786.
Tippoo Sultan, by E.I.C. Officer, 1799.
Letters of Tipu Sultan, by Wm. KIRKPATRICK 1811.
The country of Tipu Sultan, 1800.
Tippoo Sultan, by Meadows TAYLER.
The Tiger of Mysore, by G. A. HENTY.
Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, by L. B. BOWRING.
Tales of Haider Ali by C. HAYAVADANA RAO.
Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, by B. L. RICE, in the *Mysore Gazetteer* 1877.
Haidar Ali by H. A. ROBSON 1781.
(ii) in Kannada :—
Haidar Ali by H. APPANNA SETTI, 1897.
Tipu Sultan Lavani.
(iii) in Persian manuscripts (I. O.) :—
Hyder Naik (2 Accounts).
Tipu Sultan (4 books).

There are also books in German and French—e.g. SPRENGAL'S *Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan* and MICHAUD'S *Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan* (now translated into English).

I venture to think that the following are not so well known or accessible to the generality of students although the specialists may own copies of them or borrow them in the British Museum or the India Office. I am satisfied that neither the Imperial Library nor the Imperial Records Office contain all of them :—

C. P. BROWN'S *Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo.* 1849. (A Translation of Ramchandra Rao's original book in Marathi).
A MOEN'S *Haider Ali Khan.* 1781.
Historical Account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan, from 1763, in Dutch. 1774 ? (A translation in English is with me).
Anecdotes relative to the rise of Heider Ally, by E. J. C. PEIXOTE (Br. Museum Add. Ms. 19287).

Haidar Nama 1784? in Kannada.

The Records of Sringeri Mutt. 1927 *in Kannada* (N.P.).

The Vamsha Ratnakara, and *The Vamshavali of Mysore Kings.* 1887 and 1922 respectively in Kannada.

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, in Urdu. (by independent authors).

Haider Ali. (in Persian).

Haider Ali (in Vol. 248), and *Tipu Sultan* (in Vol. 251), of H. Misc. (I.O.L.).

Haider and Tippu, in Mackenzie Collections, Volumes 41 and 42.

Dalrymple's account of Tipoo Sultaun, in 1790.

The Poona Residency Correspondence Records about Tipu Sultan have been lately published by the Bombay Government. In companionship with MOSTYN's *Diary* and MALET's *Embassy,* and the Calendars of Persian Correspondence, this series will be of tremendous value for chronology of events.

I may mention also three important publications within Mysore which are of indirect value for a new biography of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan; the first is the revised edition of WILK's *History of Mysore* by Sir Murray HAMMICK (1930 and 1932); the second is the new edition of *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, part IV, (1930) by Mr. C. HAYAVADANA RAO; and the last is *Modern Mysore* by Mr. M. SHARMA RAO (1936). These three works throw some new light upon the subject.

At the same time I should not forget to remind the students that there are a number of smaller secondary and indirect writings on the subject. But this is not clearly the place for mentioning them, partly because they are not direct biographies and partly also they are helpful more for elucidating the ideas, principles and policies of the father and son than for constructing regular biographies.

One wonders how many more there are and can be. The Madras Record Office should contain a number of sketches in the body of the proceedings of foreign, military and commercial departments.

All these new sources like the old and familiar ones can be easily classified under one or the other principle. But the grouping of all according to regions may yield interesting results :—

(*a*) The Dutch records, for instance, tell us of the intricate relations between the Europeans and Malabar, Cochin and Travancore Rajas and princes on the one side and Haidar Ali on the other. The facts which they contain are not to be found in such detail in any other source.

(*b*) The Mysore records which are in Kannada give us a description of Haidar probably as he himself wished to be known but certainly as his contemporaries at the capital (Seringapatam) and in important towns saw and heard of him. The narrative in *Hyder Nama* is detailed and comprehensive. Yet the mission of Schwartz is not mentioned at all in it.

(*c*) The Maratha accounts are objective, critical, and largely political.

(*d*) The Portuguese memoir is full of anecdotes.

(*e*) All "English" biographies are political and military in their outlook. A few of the later among them are repetitions or echoes of the foregoing; because the military officers who wrote history of India in this period were corresponding with one another and copying statements word by word.

(*f*) Persian sources are highly subjective in their character. Urdu books, which have been written lately, are compiled from the Persian sources and tradition.

(*g*) The one book on Tipu Sultan in Bengali is similarly a compilation from the older Persian books.

I think the time has arrived to re-construct once again the lives of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan on the basis of fresh facts presented by the numerous new sources and studies, having regard particularly to the quarters from which the information has arrived.

Incidentally it is worthy of note that Colonel Mark Wilk's account of Haidar Ali is substantially correct. When the usurper Nawab's and his son's history will be re-written, it will differ from Wilk's only in the angle of vision.

Perhaps this requires an explanatory illustration. The new angle of vision referred to will take for granted that Mysore State under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan was a power in the Dekhan. Because she was no longer a small state confined to the comfortable corner at the junction of the Eastern and the Western Ghats or removed far from the highways of the Mughals and Marathas in this part of India.

Many words are not needed to show that, owing to the discovery of several records and publication of original works on the subject, the biographies will be naturally more detailed. The parentage of Haidar Ali, his military exploits, his administrative measures, anecdotes about his daily life and personal character, and his foreign policy are known in detail more to us than to the past historians. Equally is Tipu's internal policy revealed to us with a wealth of information.

These are formidable enough, but fortunately Indian Historiography has helped to re-arrange, re-interpret, and emphasise the facts in a novel manner. Consequently questions like the following which remained unanswered till now appear to be capable of solution :

(i) What was the ambition of Haidar Ali in his life?

(ii) To what office did Haidar nominate his son at the moment of his death? What was given to Tipu Sultan by the ministers of Haidar at Trichinopoly?

(iii) What was the genius of Tipu Sultan?

(iv) Why did Tipu attack Travancore? Why did the English go to the help of that state?

In conclusion, further research is possible on the subject of this note in the following directions:

(i) Exploration of the Mackenzie Collections in Madras and London.

(ii) Collection of records and documents and books in the possession of families and individuals within Mysore and outside (especially of Nawabs of the latter places).

(iii) Study of Persian Records at the Cairo Record Office.

(iv) Discovery of papers in the archives of the Nizam's Government, as well as of Cochin and Travancore states.

(v) Investigation at the archives at Goa, Paris, Batavia and Berlin whose E. I. Companies were conspicuous in the eighteenth century.

(vi) Study of tradition, anecdotes and monuments in the parts of India which once belonged to Mysore.

THE HERO

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, Madras.

Conquest of fear, unruffled calm in the presence of the greatest danger, these have been considered the characteristics of the hero whether in the East or in the West. Primarily these virtues may have been exhibited on the battle-field ; *dhīra* has also been the *dhanurdhara.*[1] But at no very late stage the victories of peace were accorded equal if not greater merit. And to-day except when shaken by spasms of war-mentality we esteem the intellectual or moral heroes who have the courage of their convictions, at least as much as the soldier or martyr who gladly lays down his life for country or cause. The giving up of one's life still continues to appear as the ultimate sacrifice ; but it no longer dominates our minds as of old. The giving up of a cherished belief, the conquest of a devouring passion, the abandonment of an alluring romance, these are appreciated by us as no less heroic. We have come to realise that it is far harder to live than to die well. The former calls for wisdom ; the latter very often goes with rashness. And when we lightly extol the warrior and promise homes for heroes, we do not pause to distinguish wisdom from rashness or, what is worse, a mournful indifference. A legitimate assessment of heroism will lay stress on the aspect of wisdom, i.e., that perfection of personality which alone makes possible the distinction of the true from the false, of value from dis-value, and then leads to such action or expression as is consistent with perfection. The soldier who dies for his country is a hero ; but the conscientious objector who goes to prison is perhaps a greater hero ; he too has to suffer present pain, persecution and ignominy, for the sake of what he has deliberately concluded to be the higher interests of his country. While not scoffing at the simple soldier, he will himself follow a higher light with a courage and persistence that are not less praiseworthy. There can be and are grades of heroism ; and the assessment has to proceed on the degree of wisdom that impels the-would-be hero. The greater hero sees more, judges more accurately and respects more suitably than the lesser one.

The importance of wisdom in the constitution of the hero is evident from the repeated interpretation of *dhīra* as the wise one (*dhīmān*), who can discriminate the good from the pleasant, the fruitful from the unfruitful, as the swan is reputed to separate milk from water.[2] Such a wise one, like Naciketas, has also the courage (*dhṛti, dhairya*) to put behind him all the pleasures of the world as not worth while.[3] If the simple round of duties (like offering sacrifices

1. *Rāmapūrvatāpinyupaniṣad*, IV, 7.
2. Śaṅkara on *Kaṭha*, II, 2.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 11.

to gods or sacrificing oneself for the country, etc.) and pleasures has failed to satisfy as supremely worth while, where then does the *dhīra* seek value? He turns within and reflects on the resplendent self. The lower values are uncertain; they please, but they also pain. They exalt us at certain moments, but they also degrade us at others. Two decades of peace have not yet found the homes for the war-heroes. Even heavenly enjoyments achieved through sacrifice are short-lived; when they are consumed, we fall back into depression and despair. Hence abandoning these which are attendants on the self, the hero contemplates the self itself as the resplendent one incapable of exaltation or degradation; through such reflection he attains that unruffled state where he neither grieves nor rejoices.[1] If the worldly sense of heroism is transcended and worldly joys are abandoned, it is only to conserve better the central core of heroism even in the worldly sense. So long as one is an automaton, there is no question of heroism or any other virtue. But even one who attempts to judge for himself is primarily an extrovert. He allows himself to be influenced by external considerations, material gain and loss or social praise and blame. Even where duty is stuck to in scorn of consequence, the conception of the duty is as of something relatively alien to oneself, something whose appeal may fail to-morrow or the next day, with achievement or even without it. For the extrovert there can be no fixity, no unruffled calm; hence the need for introverted contemplation (adhyātmayoga).

The dhīra who is an introvert also faces death, like the extrovert hero. The latter hopes to attain immortal renown; the former achieves immortality. For, through this path of contemplating the self, one realises; "realisation is that attainment which, as knowledge ripens, culminates in ultimate results, as eating culminates in satiety.[2]" By the path the wise ones (*dhīrāḥ*), men of illumination, attain liberation "being released, even while living." Death has no terrors for the hero in the battle-field; for the hero who is a sage there is no death at all. Having realised himself as the sole reality, the supreme Brahman, death for him is not. Both face death; but while one defies, the other has subjugated. Thus here too we have a point of contact with the lower notion of heroism, a notion whose core is preserved even when it is transcended.

The hero is single-minded; he wastes neither words nor effort. He does not tolerate argumentation or vain repetition. To the extent that he is wise he conserves his energy and spends it with the greatest economy and effect in his one quest. In this respect too soldier and saint are alike. The intelligent aspirant after Brahman (*dhīraḥ, brāhmaṇaḥ*) should concentrate on attaining Brahman-intuition; "he should not meditate on many words, for that is a weariness of speech.[3]"

The soldier-hero is not always a dead hero. He may win through as often as he fails. It is the defiance of death that is his characteristic, not

1. *Kaṭha*, II, 12; cp. *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 15; XIV, 24.
2. Śaṅkara on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iv, 8.
3. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iv, 21.

his succumbing to death. So too the saint who is a *dhīra* does not have to succumb to death. He *is* immortal; he is not to *become* immortal after death. The latter possibility indeed is inconsistent with the negation of death for the wise ones. Hence it is they are spoken of as released "even while living." Some texts no doubt speak of departing from this world;[1] but this departure, as the commentator shows, consists in nothing more than turning "away in disgust from this world, the creature of ignorance, consisting in the false notion of 'I' and 'mine'."[2] The view that the wise ones become Brahman itself cannot consistently be held with a requisition that they should submit to death. When the philosophic quest is due to the attempt to escape deprivation, loss and grief, all of which are compendiously denoted by 'death,' it is idle to promise success for that quest after death is submitted to. Both soldier and saint defy death, the former because he cares not if his body perishes, the latter because he knows that nothing real perishes.[3]

The essential characteristics of heroism would thus appear to be the same whether in the extrovert or the introvert. Their modes of expression are bound to differ as well as the scope of their application. The soldier-hero belongs to a country or a nationality while the saint belongs to all humanity. Achievement in either case calls for courage and steadfastness, the wisdom to discriminate the worth while, the firmness to eschew the worthless, and above all fearlessness. The entire absence of fear can result in the last resort only from the realisation that there is nothing to fear, since there is no 'other' to cause fear.[4] Such realisation is possible for the saint alone, who is thus not a person fearfully fleeing from the world, but one who has joyously conquered the world, having realised its inability to cause him joy or grief. The saint is the super-soldier, in sooth "a verray parfit gentil knight."

1. *Pretyāsmāl lokād amṛtā bhavanti—Kena*, II, 13.
2. Śaṅkara's Commentary on the above.
3. Cp. *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 13: *dhīras tatra na muhyathi.*
4. *Dvitiyād vai bhayam bhavati*: *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, I, iv, 2.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE COLLECTION IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

By

S. A. SHERE, Patna.

In 1915, the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a committee to work out a scheme for the establishment of a Provincial Museum at Patna. The scheme was well received by Government and the public for everyone felt the necessity of a museum in this province. On account of the after effects of the Great War over the financial resources of the Government, it was decided to start the museum at once without having a separate building, for the time being, and to house the exhibits in a wing of the Patna High Court where a few rooms were set apart for the purpose. With the ever-increasing numbers of exhibits, the Museum had to be expanded as the Patna High Court wing could not accommodate them. The scheme materialised as we had a brilliant and enthusiastic Finance Member on the Cabinet of the then Government (1921-26) in the person of Dr. Sachchidananda SINHA, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, who readily sanctioned the proposal for a building for the Patna Museum. Government's support, it would thus be seen, was essentially needed and the then Governor, Sir Henry WHEELER, who had always felt the necessity of having a separate building for the Museum, gave practical shape to the proposal. The result was that a beautiful building of Moghul-Rajput Architectural design was built at a cost of three lacs of rupees, on one of the most important roads—the Patna Gaya Road. It was formally opened by His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown STEPHENSON, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, on the 7th of March, 1929. The Museum was fortunate in having at the time as President of its managing committee Mr. P. C. MANUK, Barrister-at-law, the art connoisseur, a man of catholic taste who appreciated the qualities of Eastern and Western Art alike. Under his guidance and by his influence the museum was organised on up-to-date scientific lines, as a cursory glance at the different galleries of the Patna Museum will bear testimony. Prior to the separation of Bihar and Orissa from Bengal in 1912, the treasure trove antiquities had already been transported to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the result that many important articles fell to the lot of an institution outside the Province of Bihar.

The very idea of the existence of a museum does not carry us very far. It often suggests that it is no better than a lumber room where all sorts of inartistic, ugly-looking, broken and defaced articles are displayed with indifferent attention and care. But the real significance lies in its close association with archæologists and research students and a leisure hour spent by the laymen in visiting a museum might not be spent in vain. There may be

many who would not care to turn back the pages of history, to replace and substitute for the beautiful carved sculptures and works of art of the last three or four centuries, the seemingly crude, often unfinished, and generally broken or defaced figures and terracottas of the past, but even they would hesitate to efface from memory the splendour and grandeur of the past. The supplementary insight which these antique specimens give into the fashion of the day are remarkable in their own way. The cultural history of the ages before the present era is made vividly clear by a careful study of such articles. It will, therefore, be seen that a museum is not a "gelidus tumbo" but a living organ for the education and training of both research scholars and people of the humbler classes.

Not only the stone sculptures, gateways, pillars, sati memorial stones etc. but also a considerable number of smaller images not yet published, as well as the Didarganj Yakshi, the unrivalled and almost completely preserved stone image, and perhaps the earliest Jaina images hitherto discovered of the same period, made of the same Chunar stone and showing the identical high polish of the Mauryan times will easily attract the attention of a visitor to the museum.

The Didarganj Yakshi was discovered just by accident on the bank of the Ganges a few miles away from Patna in 1917. The figure is that of a female Chauri (Fly whisk) bearer of stately proportions, measuring 5 feet 2½ inches in height. It is cut out of a single piece of variegated Chunar stone having a mirror-like polish over the entire piece. The glaze and smoothness which are outstanding characteristics of the sculptures of the period, are remarkable. The true test of determining the age of a figure of the 3rd century B.C. is the high polish which the Mauryan sculptors bestowed on their work. The sculptor has very successfully modelled it in the round. The drapery is very attractive and is worn round the hips. The striking fashion of the dress has been shown in a remarkable degree of perfection. The upper portion of the body is absolutely uncovered. The sculpturing of jewellery is also very graceful and simple. The uncovered breasts produce a vivid picture of the robust health and beauty of the women of those days. Standing erect as she is, it shows that her well developed breasts would obstruct from her view her own feet. The model is so exquisitely charming and natural to a degree that even Phidias, the great sculptor of ancient Greece could not have restrained his admiration. Dr. SPOONER said more than 20 years ago (which still holds good) that it was "the chiefest treasure of the Patna Museum".

It was only in early 1937, just about 20 years after the discovery of the Didarganj Yakshi, that a highly polished stone torso of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara was recovered from the suburban village of Lohanipur, about a mile and a half from Patna. The mirror-like polish which the sculptor has imparted to this figure, definitely proves that it must belong to the Mauryan period. It is finely cut in the round of a single piece of speckled Chunar sand stone with the same polish which is assigned exclusively to the Mauryans. No

museum boasts a highly polished nude like this one possessed by the Patna Museum. It is unique in its own way as will be seen that "this is the first definite stone image for worship of the Mauryan period yet discovered."

As has already been pointed out, because of the absence of a Museum in Bihar all the important antiquities unearthed in the old capital of Asoka were exiled to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, but much however still remains hidden under ground for us to explore.

It is only by chance that Lt. Col. WADDELL found some stone sculptures in Bulandibagh, the Pataliputra area, which caused him to excavate the site in 1903. Further exploration continued with the result that the Patna Museum now possesses a unique collection of terracottas and other specimens of Mauryan period. The sites of Kumrhar and Bulandibagh (Pataliputra) chosen for the excavations yielded unique antiquities. Hiuen Tsang has given a vivid picture of the place which Thomas WATTERS has translated, an extract of which is given below :—

" South of the Ganges was an old city about 70 li in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible, although the city had long been a wilderness. In the four past when men lived for countless years, it has been, " Kusmapur City " from the numerous flowers (Kusum) in the Royal Enclosures (pura). Afterwards when men's lives still extended to millennium the name was changed to " Pataliputra City ".

The antiquities thus brought to light by excavations at Bulandibagh and Kumrhar clearly show that Bihar was at least a provincial offshoot of the same culture and civilisation as that of the Indus Valley. According to Sir John MARSHALL " The Pre-Aryan Mohenjodaro culture was largely destroyed in the 2nd or 3rd millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the North ". But still a close study of the antiquities of the 3rd Millennium B.C. and the 3rd century B.C. now scientifically arranged in the Museum side by side as a contrast, may enable an inquisitive visitor to examine how the Mauryans maintained and developed their culture from generations to generations on the banks of the river Ganges. Among the extensive relics discovered from the Pataliputra ruins is the terracotta known as the "Bodh Gaya" plaque, the subject matter of which is a controversial item of the day. Whether the temple on the plaque is not a prototype of the Bodh Gaya shrine as it does not agree with Hiuen Tsang's description of that building or is a representation of a temple at Pataliputra, it certainly goes back to the Mauryan age. The importance of the find lies in the facts that the inscriptions on the plaque though not yet deciphered is in Kharoṣṭhi character, a script the Mauryans used and that the article itself, was discovered at Asoka's capital. The plaque appears on the cover of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

Not only in Bulandibagh and Kumrhar which are already known to scholars but also in modern Patna itself equally important and varied finds have been made during the sewerage excavations. The Pataliputra finds are supplemented by a vast number of terracotta figurines and other antiquities

of which the Museum has got a fully representative collection. Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Mathura and Gwalior have all yielded terracotta figures, but none possesses such a rich and varied collection of terracottas as the Patna Museum. A guide towards dating of these terracottas thus discovered from the sewerage excavation is supplied by an inscription, "Visakha" (Visakhasa) in Mauryan character, on a round steatite object (Toy wheel) found during that excavation and found at the same level of 14 ft. as many of the terracottas. The discovery of these terracottas proves that the area was inhabited in Mauryan times and earlier. The whole site has yielded throughout household article of everyday use. Evidence, also of an ancient industry of bead making in this town is in abundance. The development of the lapidary industry from crude stone to the finished products of cornelian, agate, glass and other semi-precious stones unearthed during these excavations is shown in this Museum. The most remarkable work in terracotta yet discovered is the torso of a female figure (Patna Museum No. 975) coming from a depth of 14 ft. 6 inches. It is modelled in the round and is a beautiful specimen of modelling. As jewellery the torso wears elaborate and highly decorative ornaments. It is surely a rival of the Didarganj Yakshi and belongs to the early Mauryan times. Another remarkable acquisition is the Surya Plaque, diam. 3½ inches, which was recovered from a depth of 14 ft. These terracottas are very artistic and unique specimens of Mauryan Art. They are quite free from any of the defects like shrinkage, bad fitting, disproportionate modelling and last but not the least they are never overdone.

The supplementary insight which these terracottas give into the fashion of the day, the human type and ethnic currents which must have brought these types to Bihar is inestimable and we have not such informative material for many of the later periods.

It is however not only in terracotta figurines from the site of Patna itself that the Museum is rich but also from other contemporary sites in Northern India such as Mathura, Buxar, Basarh, Kausambi etc.

The excavations in Bihar have not only yielded important stone sculptures and terracotta figurines, but also numerous seals which throw light on the history of the culture and civilisation of the ancient people of the Magadha Empire. Thanks are due to General CUNNINGHAM who first noticed the ruins at Basarh as the remains of Vaisali, the capital of the Lichchavi kings. It was very surprising indeed that excavations at Vaisali, the birth place of the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra did not yield any Jaina relics of any consequence. It naturally follows that with the rise of Buddhism in Pataliputra, Jainism was soon eclipsed by the former as Hiuen Tsang found Vaisali a deserted place in 635 A.D. No less than 120 varieties of seals were discovered hidden underground at Vaisali which were mostly of unbaked clay and went back to the Imperial Gupta Kings (4th and 5th Centuries A.D.). The scripts on the seals are of the Gupta type, but the emblems on them have no Buddhist symbols. The most numerous of the

seals refer to Officials, Guilds, Corporations, temples and private individuals. A representative collection of these seals, exhibited in the Museum will also show from the grooves on their back that they were perhaps attached to letters or documents very much similar to the Nepalese palm-leaf deeds (Patna Museum Nos. 218-232) having clay seals on them.

The various subsequent schools of sculptures are also fairly well-represented in the Museum; especially important of these later images are Buddhist images from Cuttack. Artistically these sculptures from Orissa may be placed as high as any sculpture in any other part of India after the 3rd and 4th Century A.D. The two hills Udayagiri and Ratnagiri of the Assia Range in Orissa have yielded remarkable sculptures. The inscriptions found on some of these sculptures of the Bodhisattvas and Mahayana deities show that they go back to the early Mediæval Period of Ancient India. The standing Tārā image (Patna Museum No. 6502) in Tribhanga pose and the twelve armed Śiva-Bhairava (Patna Museum No. 6505) are marked off by definite traits. It is curious that Hiuen Tsang during his travel in those places where "Art is always the hand-maid of religion and the idea of the sculptures was to give the visual forms to the religious thoughts" does not mention such sculptures. It is quite possible that he may not have been interested in them.

As important as the Mauryan and Gupta finds to the history of Art and Culture, are the metal images from Kurkihar. Not only to the history of Indian Art but also to the history of Buddhism they are equally important. They range from approximately the 7th to the 12th Century A.D. and represent half a millennium of Buddhist creed in that part of India. The village Kurkihar in Bihar yielded quite a large number of bronzes and other antiquities in 1930 at a depth of 15 ft. below the top of a mound. A few of these images are plated with gold. Smaller pieces of bronze figures were discovered hidden underground in earthen jars. By analysis the metal composition of the images have been determined as follows :—

(1)	Copper	....	83·051	per cent.
(2)	Lead	....	1·4	Do.
(3)	Tin	....	13·009	Do.
(4)	Iron	....	1·081	Do.

The Kurkihar collection as a whole is the most unique metal group of the Pala Period and no Museum in India can boast of a collection to rival it. Quite a large number of these images are inscribed and as such they considerably strengthen our knowledge of early Mediaeval work of Art in Central and East India. Studied in connection with the very similar images found at Nalanda they will give a full insight into the development of Buddhism in these centuries and the connection of Indian Art at that phase with the Art of Greater India and specially of Java. The discovery of these bronze images from Kurkihar shows the importance of Bihar in the History of India from the Mauryan Period to the Mohammedan conquest by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. S. Khuda BAKHSH,

(Retired Indian Police) the Museum acquired by gift from him a very striking large wooden carved figure of "Narasimha" (Patna Museum Art No. 702) which has given an opportunity to a visitor to study Javanese Art.

Not only the spread of Buddhism from India to Indonesia can be studied with the help of bronze images of Kurkihar. A large collection of Tibetan temple banners acquired by gift from the Rev. Rahula SANKRITYAYANA shows the share the "Eastern School of Art" as Tāranatha calls it, had in the shaping of Art in Tibet and that it survived as an almost unbroken tradition to the present day. All this can be most profitably studied with the help of over 200 banners in the Patna Museum.

BENGAL AND THE RAJPUTS IN THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, Calcutta.

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra and some other Bengal kings of the sixth century A.D. were very powerful monarchs ruling over extensive territories. Their political relations with other parts of India are however as yet unknown. Bengal appears to have been a prominent factor in Indian politics under Śaśāṅka in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Śaśāṅka had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, near modern Murshidābād, and his kingdom comprised large portions of Bengal and Orissa. He formed an alliance with the later Guptas of Malwa against the Maukharis of Madhyadeśa. The signal success of this alliance was responsible for a counter-alliance between king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) of Thanesar, a relative and friend of the Maukharis, and king Bhāskarvarman of Kāmarūpa. Whatever be the value of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* tradition regarding Śaśāṅka's defeat by Harṣa in a battle near Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.), the success of the counter-alliance is proved by epigraphic evidence. The Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskarvarman was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa itself. In the period between the death of Śaśāṅka about the end of the first quarter of the seventh century and the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century A.D. the history of Bengal is obscure. Some scholars think that the country was divided into several small principalities ; that the military prestige of the disunited Bengalis sank low ; and that powerful kings from other parts of India became encouraged to lead expeditions against the unfortunate land. This however seems to be an exaggerated account of the conditions of Bengal during the period of about 125 years that intervened between Śaśāṅka and the Pālas. There are reasons to believe that the period of *mātsya-nyāya* referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla and in Tāranātha's work as prevailing in Bengal before the accession of Gopāla, lasted for a few years only. According to Vākpatirāja's *Gaüḍa-vaho,* king Yaśovarman of Kanauj who is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 731 A.D., met the king of Gauḍa, sometimes also called the lord of Magadha, not far from the Vindhyan region, and defeated him. He is also said to have persued and killed him, and afterwards compelled the king of Vaṅga to acknowledge his suzerainty. This shows that in the early half of the eighth century Gauḍa and Magadha were under the rule of one king, and that kings of Gauḍa-Magadha sometimes went on *digvijaya.* Whatever be the historical value of the traditions regarding the relation with Bengal of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya of Kashmir as recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Kalhana seems to support the above fact when he says that

Puṇḍravardhana was a dependency of the Gauḍa kingdom. The ruler of Vaṅga at the time of Yaśovarman may have been a later Khaḍga prince, dependent on the king of Gauḍa-Magadha. The claims of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya, and of the Kāmarūpa king Harṣa or Hariśa (first half of eighth century) who is called lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kośala and other lands, are too vague to attach any special importance to. The Śaila prince Śrīvardhana who was a Vindhyeśvara, according to the Ragholi grant of his brother's grandson, conquered the country of Puṇḍra after destroying its ruler. Palæography seems to show that he was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is not impossible that he was a feudatory of the Kanauj king and came to northern Bengal with the latter's army. The ruler of Puṇḍra may have been a feudatory of the king of Gauḍa-Magadha killed by Yośovarman.

About the middle of the eighth century, Gopāla, son of a valiant warrior who killed many enemies and may have been a military officer of some king, was made king in order to end the *mātsya-nyāya* that was prevailing at that time. Evidently Gopāla thus received only a small principality ; but thanks to the ability of himself and of his son Dharmapāla, the Pāla kingdom soon swallowed many of the states of Bengal and Bihar. The principality of which Gopāla was first made king is difficult to identify. Verse 2 of the Badal *praśasti* seems to show that Dharmapāla was originally a king of the eastern direction, but afterwards became king of all the directions. Verse 3 of the Munghyr grant of Devapāla may suggest that Gopāla's kingdom lay not far from the sea. The Sagartal inscription refers to the supporter of Cakrāyudha, who is no other than Dharmapāla, as Vaṅgapati. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja refers to victory over a Gauḍendra and a Vaṅgapati. The Chatsu record refers to the victory of a feudatory of Bhoja I over Gauḍa king named Bhaṭa who was evidently not a Pāla. These facts may possibly suggest that the Pālas rose to power in Vaṅga, and soon subjugated the neighbouring principalities including Gauḍa. But they removed their capital to that region after the extinction of the royal line represented by Bhaṭa. This seems to be the cause why after more than three centuries Varendrī was described as *janakabhū* of the later Pālas. Bengal became a prominent factor in all-India politics under Dharmapāla.

The so-called trilateral struggle amongst the Pālas of Bengal, the Pratihāras of Rajputana and Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Dekkan is generally represented by scholars as one for the possession of Kanauj which is supposed to have acquired, even before the age of the Pratihāras, the political prestige of the capital of northern India comparable to that of Delhi in later times. The above hypothesis however does not appear to be an established fact. The Prathihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were inveterate enemies from about the beginning of their political existence. They had been fighting even when the former did not establish themselves at Kanauj. The Pālas and the Pratihāras appear to have drawn swords for two rival claimants for the throne of Kanauj, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha who might have been brothers. Some time before A.D. 783 Indrāyudha occupied the throne, and Cakrāyudha

possibly repaired to Dharmapāla's court for help. After some time, Dharmapāla defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) and other enemies who must have been the Kanauj king's allies, and thus possessed the *śrī* (i.e. *rāja-lakṣmī*) of Mahodaya or Kanauj, which he however handed over to Cakrāyudha. It may be significant that Dharmapāla himself did not transfer his capital to Kanauj. It is also interesting that in this connection the ruler of Avanti, among others, is said to have readily accepted Cakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj. This seems to suggest that the king of Avanti was related to the Kanauj king either as a friend or as an enemy. If we believe the Jain *Harivaṃśa* tradition (supported by a verse of the Sanjan grant referring to the celebration of a Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjayinī where Dhruva compelled the Gurjareśa and other kings to serve as *Pratihāras*) that in 783 A.D. Pratihāra Vatsarāja was ruling the eastern country as *avanti-bhūbhṛt*, it may be suggested that the Pratihāras of Rajputana for a time ruled the Malwa region. The Wani grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas says that Vatsarāja possessed two white umbrellas belonging to Gauḍa, i.e., the Gauḍa king who at the time of Gopāla and Dharmapāla could have been no more than a subordinate ally of the Pālas. This grant also says that Vatsarāja was intoxicated owing to his easy possession of the *kamalā* (*rāja-lakṣmī*) of the Gauḍa kingdom. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja, dated A.D. 811 or 812, refers to the defeat of a *gauḍendra* and a *vaṅga-pati* by a *gurjareśvara* who may be Vatsarāja himself or his son Nāgabhaṭa II. These facts may possibly prove that Pratihāra Vatsarāja was a friend of Indrāyudha and fought against Dharmapāla as the Kanauj king's ally. It may further be conjectured that Indrāyudha had defeated his rival and occupied the throne of Kanauj with Vatsarāja's help.

Now, Vatsarāja was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa who was living in 783 A.D. and is mentioned in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* as Śrīvallabha son of Kṛṣṇa. It is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge whether Dhruva, who claims to have defeated the Gauḍa king in the Ganges-Jumna Doab came to the Madhyadeśa as an ally of any of the rival claimants for the Kanauj throne, or as a friend of a third pretender still unknown. Dharmapāla's victory over Indrāyudha and the installation of Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj appear to have taken place after the discomfiture of Vatsarāja, Indrāyudha's friend, at the hands of Dhruva. The table was however turned at the time of Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II. According to the Sagartal inscription, Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was shown by his dependence on others (or on the enemies of Nāgabhaṭa) and also the king of Vaṅga, who is evidently Dharmapāla, the supporter of Cakrāyudha. According to the evidence of the Radhanpur and Sanjan grants, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, son and successor of Dhruva, defeated the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa and possibly also the later's father Vatsarāja. In connection with Govinda's *digvijaya*, he is said to have advanced as far as the Himalayas where Dharma (king Dharmapāla) and Cakrāyudha surrendered to him of their own accord. It is possible that after the defeat of their army at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa, Dharmapāla and Cakrā-

yudha tried to win over the help of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan. But whether Govind III helped them as an inveterate enemy of the Pratihāras and his activities against Nāgabhaṭa were independent of the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras is not clear. Dharmapāla is however known to have married the daughter of a Raṣṭrakūṭa and he may have secured Govinda's help through his wife's relatives. Evidence of the Barah grant of Bhoja and of the *Prabhāvakacarita* which refers to the death of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II), king of Kanyakubja, in Vikrama 890=A.D. 833 proves the Pratihāra occupation of Kanauj, which possibly occurred after the death of Govinda III. The line of Indrāyudha, friend of the Pratihāras, may have been extinct by this time. The cause of this removal of capital by the Pratihāras appears to have been constant Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure from the south.

But the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras continued. According to the Badal inscription, Devapāla, son and successor of Dharmapāla, reduced the conceit of the Draviḍa and Gurjara kings. It is difficult to determine Devapāla's relations with the king of Draviḍa, i.e., the Tamil country ; but the Draviḍas cannot passibly be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were Karnāṭas. According to the Sirur and Nilgund records, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govind III fettered the Gauḍas, and his son Amoghavarṣa I was worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha. Some scholars think that the expression *vaṅg-āṅga-magadha* refers to the kingdom of the Pālas ; but it is also possible to suggest that it signifies the Pāla king and his *sāmantas* in Aṅga and Magadha. In such cases, it is sometimes even impossible to determino if some of the names in the list of humiliated countries are brought in for the sake of metre and rhetoric. There is also the possibility of error and on confusion on the part of the *praśastikāras*. The relation of the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas is represented as sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, and the true position can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. According to the evidence of Pratihāra records discovered in Bihar, the Pālas during possibly the later years of Devapāla lost much of Aṅga and Magadha to the Pratihāra king Bhoja, grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, and to Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja. The discovery of the Paharpur inscription shows that Mahendrapāla's dominions extended over large portions, if not the whole, of northern Bengal. Bhoja's success against Devapāla is possibly suggested by verse 18 of the Sagartal inscription which according to Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR says that the *rāja-lakṣmī* of Dharma's *apatya* (i.e., Dharmapāla's son, Devapāla) was remarried to Bhoja Pratihāra. Bhoja's feudatory Kakka Pratihāra claims to have fought with the army of his overlord against the Gauḍas in a battle at Mudgagiri (Munghyr) which is known to have been a *jaya-skandhāvāra* of the Pālas. Gunāṃbhodhi or Guṇasāgara I belonging to the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalacuri family, was another feudatory of Bhoja. In the Kalha record, Guṇāṃbhodhi is said to have stolen the fortune of the Gauḍas. Another feudatory of Bhoja appears to have been the Guhila prince Śaṅkaragaṇa. According to the Chatsu

inscription (BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1537), Śaṅkaragaṇa who received some territories from Bhojadeva defeated Bhaṭa king of Gauḍa (cf. *bhaṭaṃ jitvā gauḍa-kṣitipaṃ*, v. 14), and his grandson Guhila vanquished the Gauḍa king. These princes appear to have been feudatories of Pratihāra Bhoja, while Bhaṭa was possibly a *sāmanta* of the Pāla kings.

The Kalacuris of Ḍāhala had intimate relations with the Pālas. King Kokkalla who ruled in the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century is said to have defeated a king of Vaṅga. His son-in-law, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (c. 877-913), has been represented as *gauḍānāṃ vinaya-vrat-ārpaṇa-guru* and as worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga and Magadha. It is possible that the early Kalacuris of Ḍāhala were allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that Kokkala actually fought against a Pāla king with the army of his son-in-law. It is interesting to note that Vigrahapāla I who succeeded Devapāla and possibly ruled in the third quarter of the ninth century married a Haihaya or Kalacuri princess. The princess may have been related to Kokkalla's family. At the time of Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa, however, Aṅga and Magadha were possibly ruled at least for some time by representatives of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It may be noted in this connection that a Calukya feudatory of Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa (c. 913-22) claims to have defeated the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla, and to have pursued him to the place where the Ganges meets the sea. Aṅga and Magadha may have been recovered by the Pālas after this discomfiture of the Pratihāras. Kalacuri Yuvarāja I Keyūravarṣa, grandson of Kokkalla and father-in-law of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40), is said to have fulfilled the ardent desire of the minds of Gauḍa women. His son Lakṣmaṇarāja claims to have conquered a king of Vaṅgāla. Whether these two instances refer to a single expedition is not known. Contemporary Pāla kings appear to have been Rājyapāla (c. 911-35), Gopāla II (c. 935-92), Vigrahapāla II (c. 992) and Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040). If traditions recorded by Abu'l Fazl Allamī that the original name of Bengal was *Bang*, that its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *Āl*, and that from this suffix the name *Bangāl* took its rise and currency are to be believed, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla signified the same region (JARRET'S tr. of *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 120). The king of Vaṅgāla defeated by Lakṣmaṇrāja may have been an early Candra king of eastern Bengal. Early Candras were however probably subordinate to the Pālas.

It is interesting that Candella Yaśovarman also claims to have conquered Gauḍa sometime before 954 A.D. It is possible that in connection with the recovery of Aṅga and Magadha the Pāla king Rājyapāla or Gopāla II led expeditions to the west and had to fight with these western powers. It is also interesting that some Bengalis probably served the Candella kings. Jaddha who served Dhaṅga (c. 950-1000), and Jayapāla who was a *kāyastha* under Jayavaram (c. 1017) are called *gauḍa*, though, it must be noted, sometimes that word is found to be a Sanskritised form of *Goṇḍa*. The most significant fact regarding the settlement of Bengalis outside Bengal during the early

mediæval period however appears to be the establishment of a royal family from Bengal into South Kośala which was afterwards the seat of the Ḳalacuri Rajputs. According to the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1556), king Mahāśivagupta I Yayātideva was lord of Trikaliṅga, which he acquired through the power of his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga and is said to have seized Gauḍa and Rāḍha. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called *vaṅgānvaya* has led BHANDARKAR to suggest that the family of the king came from Vaṅga or eastern Bengal. The king possibly reigned about the eighth century.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola refers to Mahīpāla I as king of Uttara Rāḍha and to some other princes such as Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa who were possibly feudatories of Mahīpāla. The Baghaura inscription dated in the third year of Mahīpāla's reign proves that Samataṭa (modern Comilla region) to the east of Vaṅga formed a part of Mahīpāla's kingdom. The Śūras of South Rāḍha are known to have been feudatories of the later Pālas from the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. During the reign of Mahīpāla, Tīrabhukti or North Bihar was conquered by Gāṅgeyadeva, called *Gauḍadhvaja*, before 1019 A.D. He is generally identified with the Kalacuri king of the same name (c. 1030-41).

Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nayapāla in whose reign Kalacuri Karṇa (c. 1041-71), successor of Gāṅgeya, attacked the Pāla kingdom. The claims of Vigrahapāla to have defeated Karṇa appears to prove that he was the leader of his father's army against the Kalacuri king. Karṇa's attempts were unsuccessful. A *kapālasandhi* (peace on equal terms) followed, and Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vigrahapāla. The Pailkore pillar of Karṇa is witness to the Kalacuri king's relation with Bengal. Karṇa's other daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarman king of East Bengal. Jātavarman's claim that he conquered Aṅga possibly shows that he only helped his father-in-law against the Pālas. The Nagpur record of the Paramāras says that Karṇa allied himself with the Karnāṭas and conquered the earth. According to the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126), son of Someśvara Āhavamalla (1042-68) defeated Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa. It is not possible to determine if Karṇa and Vikramāditya allied themselves in their eastern expeditions.

The later Pālas appear to have had other enemies amongst the Rajputs. Though the claims of the *praśastikāras* are sometimes palpably absurd and sometimes appear only to be partially true, it may be unwise to pass over even such claims in silence. According to the Kiradu inscription, the Kiradu Paramāra Udayarāja, feudatory of Solaṅki Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1144) spread his might in Gauḍa. The *Sukṛtakṛtikallolinī* refers to Solaṅkī Kumārapāla's (1144-73) claims to have been attended by the lords of Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Aṅga. The earlier Solaṅkī king Bhīma I (c. 1022-64) claims to have received presents from the king of Puṇḍradeśa, who may have been governor of North Bengal under the Pāla king Mahīpāla I. Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-

55) according to Merutuṅga, ruled Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa. Paramāra Lakṣadeva (c. 1090) who was a contemporary of Ramāpāla (c. 1084-1126) is said to have entered the city of the lord of Gauḍa. The historical value of these claims cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the relation of Bengal with the Paramāra Rajputs is illustrated by the life of the poet and religious teacher Madana who was a Gauḍa Brahmana and became *rāja-guru* i.e. preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (1211-15). According to the Rahan grant of Gāhaḍavala Madanpāla (1100-14) prince Govindcandra vanquished the Gauḍa elephants.

During the early mediæval period when Bengal had to fight with many powers from different parts of India, a number of adventurers settled in Bengal. The Pālas themselves were possibly outsiders. Of other dynasties settled in Bengal during this period the most important are the Candras of Rohitāgiri, the Varmans of Siṃhapura and the Senas of Karṇāṭa. I do not mention the Kambojas who are supposed to have become *gauḍeśvara* for some time before Mahīpāla I, as I have elsewhere suggested that there was possibly no Kamboja occupation of Bengal. Local Bengali chiefs had to fight hard with the neo-Bengalis, and, as Prof. RAYCHAUDHURI suggests to me, the revolt of the Kaivarta leader Divya or Divvoka who snatched away Varendrī or North Bengal from Mahīpāla II may possibly be represented as a struggle of the natives of Bengal with warrior clans coming from other parts of India. Divya and his brother's son Bhīma who succeeded him are actually known to have fought with Jātavarman and Vijayasena and with the Pāla kings Mahīpāla II and Rāmapāla. The commentary of the *Rāmacarita* mentions no less than fourteen *sāmantas* who fought for Rāmapāla against the Kaivarta king Bhīma. It is not possible to determine how many of these feudatories belonged to outside families settled in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa ; but the references to the help rendered by the king's *mātula* Mathana or Mahana, the latter's sons the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kānhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and brother's son the Mahāpratihāra Śivarājadeva, appear to show that the rebellion of Divya may have been the outcome of the unpolitically excessive favour shown to non-Bengali relatives of the king during the reign of the *anītikārambha-rata* Mahīpāla II. And the case may not be quite different from that in England during the reign of Henry III (1210-72). Mathana was the governor of Aṅga and probably a field-marshal in the Pāla army. He is said to have recovered the country by defeating the Pīṭhipati or Magadhādhipa Devarakṣita who appears like Divya to have rebelled and become independent in Magadha. Devarakṣita then married a daughter of Mahana and appears to have remained a friend of the Pālas for the rest of his life which however was possibly short. It is not known if Devarakṣita and Divya were allies at the time of their rebellion against the authority of the Pālas.

MUSLIM ADVENTURERS IN THE KINGDOMS OF TANJORE AND MADURA

By

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Introduction.

In the troubled times following the irruption of the Bijapur and Golconda forces into the Carnatic, about the middle of the 17th century, several Muslim adventurers rose into prominence in the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura which contrived to survive the first attacks of the Deccani Muslims and of the Maratha general Shahji Bhonsle, who followed in their wake. The latter half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries may well be deemed to be an epoch of comparative confusion and anarchy in South India. Able and ambitious soldiers of fortune seized what prizes came to their hands; a chain of accidents placed the Maratha, in the place of the expectant Muslim, on the Nayak throne of Tanjore. Gingi fell first into the hands of Bijapur and then into the grip of Sivaji's house, and finally into the Mughal vortex. Madura survived longer under the indigenous rule of its Nayak line; and Mysore escaped the grip of the roving soldier of fortune till Haidar Ali came upon the scene. Most of these adventurers are buried in oblivion; and they and their deeds are blended into a barbaric past of which scarcely a vestige remains now. They however created armies, overturned princes and ruled provinces, wielding power "not within the reach of modern endeavour." A humble attempt is made here to bring out three typical men of this group who played a prominent part in the setting stage of South Indian independent Hindu rule.

I. *Rustam Khan.*

Rustam Khan was a typical adventurer of the latter half of the 17th century. He rose to power as a cavalry officer with considerable influence. He was at first the favourite of Chokkanātha Nāyak of Madura (1659-1682), who had adopted him, brought him up with care and confided to him a position of power.[1] The kinsmen of this person were advanced to positions of trust in a short space to such an extent, that the defences of the Madura fort itself were entirely entrusted to his Muhammadan followers; and, in the sequel, Rustam confined the king himself to his palace, put a guard over him to prevent his leaving it and contrived to usurp all authority.

Chokkanātha had become greatly unpopular on account of the failure of his war against Tanjore and of the encroachments of the Mysore power on

1. *Vide* 'The History of the Carnataca Governors who ruled over the Pāṇdiya Maṇdalam,' in TAYLOR, 'Oriental Historical Manuscripts,' in the Tamil Language translated with annotations,; Vol. II, Madras, 1835.

the northern frontier of the kingdom. He was deposed, after a time, on the plea of insanity and imprisoned; and his brother, Muthulinga, was set up in his place. According to Nelson,[1] the ministers headed by the crafty Govindapayya did this act. Muthulinga however, proved as bad a ruler as his brother. The curses of the people went forth against both the *kartta* i.e., the Nayak and the ministers. To add to their misfortunes, there was a deluge on account of a super-abundance of the monsoon rains, followed by a pestilence (1677-78). Father Andre Freire in his letter to Father Paul Oliva, dated Vadugarapatti, 1682,[2] says that Rustam Khan who was in the Nayak's service and commanded his cavalry, took advantage of a walk, which Muthulinga took outside the fortress, rebelled against him, closed the gates of the citadel and seized the government. "To make a show of justice, he took Śokkalinga out of the prison and declared him king; but, in reality, he reserved to himself all authority and all the privileges of royalty. Supported by his cavalry, he imposed his yoke on the whole kingdom without anybody daring or wishing to make opposition; the usurper, not content with seizing all the treasures of the palace, appropriated the wives of the two kings, two of whom committed suicide to avoid this dishonour. This new tyranny weighed heavily on the kingdom for nearly two years, and came to an end only through a new disaster."

About the end of 1680, the Mysore forces under Dalavai Kumara Raya invested Trichinopoly; and Rustam Khan was inveigled into an ambuscade soon after the commencement of the siege when his cavalry was annihilated almost to a man. The Khan himself was forced to flee for his life within the city walls; and scarcely were the gates closed behind him and he began congratulating himself on his narrow escape, when Chokkanātha, Govindapayya and a few others fell upon him and his escort of Muhammadans and cut them down almost to a man. The circumstances of the extirpation of this adventurer are not given in full in the Jesuit Letters; nor do we know the names of those who were instrumental in accomplishing the deed.[3]

1. *The Madura Manual,* p. 201.
2. *La Mission du Madure* III. 301, translated by R. S. IYER.
3. The Oriental Historical Manuscripts above referred to and the Memorandum regarding the Sethupathis of Ramnad, supplied by Ponnuswami Thevan, which Nelson made use of in the compilation of his *Manual,* both leave us no doubt that Govindapayya, who is called the veteran intriguer and the Sēthupathi Kiḷavan and Chinna Kattira Naiker of Kaṇṇivādi, were mainly instrumental in bringing about this restoration of Chokkanātha back to power.

From another chronicle (entitled 'Record of the Affairs of the Carnataka Governors'), we learn that when Chokkanātha was shut up in Trichinopoly in his palace, Govindappa Aiyar, who was the principal minister of state, sent a secret message to the Sēthupathi of Ramnad, the chief feudatory of the kingdom and to another powerful feudal noble, by name Chinna Kattira Nayak of Kaṇṇivādi and told Rustam Khan that he was about to summon all the poligars in order to adjust their respective revenues. He then arranged a meeting at the revenue-office when the two feudatories came with their followers fully armed. There was a *mêlée* in the revenue-office itself in which Rustam Khan and his followers were all

Father Andre Freire thus makes the following reflection upon this domestic revolution in Trichinopoly : "Ever since the fatal policy of Tirumala Nayak who invited the Moghul army to help the three Nayaks in revolt against Bisnagar, this part of India has been incessantly delivered to all the disorders of anarchy and to the ravages of the most disastrous wars. Far from profiting by their reverses and rectifying their faults, seeking their safety in union and in the wise administration of their kingdoms, these princes have weakened themselves by their mutual treasons, and drained the source of the wealth by a tyranny, of which nothing can give you an idea. Already (the sovereign of) Bisnagar, the Nayak of Gingi, and that of Tanjore are despoiled of their dominions. The Nayak of Madura is on the verge of succumbing to the same fate."

The Nayak of Madura, though delivered from his domestic enemy, was still threatened and almost literally surrounded by four armies, namely that of Kumara Raya, the Mysore Daḷavāi, who actually invested Trichinopoly ; (2) that Kiḷavan Śethupathi, which came ostensibly to the help of the Nayak, but in reality, to make what plunder it could out of the disturbed situation ; (3) the army of Ekoji of Tanjore ; and (4) another army under Arasumalai, general of the Satara king, Śambhāji. The two Mahratta armies according to the evidence available were in reality anxious to repulse the army of Mysore and to seize all the dominions of Madura for himself. Kumara Raya made a wise suggestion to the Nayak offering peace to him and promising to preserve his kingdom and even going to the extent of offering help for the restoration of the ancient Nayak lines on the thrones of Tanjore and Gingi, both of which were then in the hands of Maratha rulers. Thus

killed. The traditional story of the death of Rustam Khan is thus given in the following quotation :—

"Accordingly Chinna-Kattira-Naicker, and the Sethupathi, both came to the interview in the manner of marching to a battle. Seeing this array, Rustam Khan said to Govindapaiyer, "Why do they come in this kind of way?" Govindapaiyer replied, "They are come just in their customary manner." On receiving this answer Rustam Khan said to Govindapaiyer, "Well, bid them come to-morrow, and the thing for which they are come being all accurately settled, they may be sent away." Govindapaiyer said, "Very Good." And looking at Chinna-Kattira-Naicker and the Sethupathi, he winked with his eye ; and then passed over on this side of them. On the instant a volley from two thousand muskets was discharged on Rustam-Khan and the rest of the Mahomedans, which killed the whole of them at once. Chinna-Kattira-Naicker immediately went to the house wherein Chokkanatha-Naicker was confined ; and, opening it, desired Chokanatha-Naicker to come outside. But Chokanatha-Naicker replied, "If you bring the head of Rustam-Khan, and place it before me, I will come ; but until then I will not come." Chinna-Kattira-Naicker said, "Amongst a thousand Mahomedans, how can one of them be distinguished from the other?" Chokanatha-Naiker continued, "You may know him by this mark, his having an impostume on his ear : that is he." He was distinguished by this sign : and his head being cut off, it was brought and placed before Chokanatha-Naicker, who then came forth from his prison. (page 187, *O. H. M.* Vol. II).

Madura was the scene of confusion worsened by the treacherous conduct of Rustam Khan.

II. *Saiyad Khan.*

In the Tanjore kingdom, the years 1736-39 constituted a dark era of anarchy, domestic dissension and rebellions of pretenders. In this epoch a Muhammadan adventurer, by name Saiyad Khan, played a prominent and infamous part; closely connected with this revolution was the rise of Chanda Sahib of the Navayat family of Nawab Sa'dat Ullah Khan of Arcot to great influence in the affairs of the country.

To make the history of this troubled period clear, the following account is given. Tukoji Raja died about the year 1735. He had five sons: (1) Bāva Sahib; (2) Saiyāji; (3) Annā Sahib; (4) Nāna Sahib; and (5) Pratāp Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. Nos. 3 and 4 died before their father; and Bāva Sahib who succeeded, died about a year after.

The reign of Ekoji II (or Bāva Sahib) of Tanjore, son of Tukoji (1728-36) lasted only for one year at the end of which, he succumbed to a conspiracy set on foot against him, probably by Saiyad, who was the killedar of the Tanjore fort and who played the part of king-maker in the following years. Bāva Sahib's widow, Sujana Bāi, was now raised to the throne by the ministers.

But soon a pretender under the name of Savai Shahji, generally known as Kāttu Rāja (Forest King) came forward and, with the aid of the Muhammadan commander of the Tanjore Fort, succeeded in usurping the throne. He was soon deposed in favour of Saiyāji, the second son of Tukoji; and the latter had in his turn to give place to Pratap Singh. The pretender Savai Shahji was in reality the offspring of a slave woman named Rupi, to Sarabhoji, the second son of Ekoji, counterfeited as the son of one of his queens. A previous counterfeit prince had already been disposed of. This second counterfeit was set up by one Koyanji Ghangte[1] (Koyaji Kattigai?) who alleged that he was the Savai Shahji and was the lawful heir to the throne. He was afterwards called Kāttu Rāja, because when he was proclaimed as Raja, he came from the Udaiyārpāḷaiyam jungle whither he had been taken by Ghangte for the purpose of securing the aid of its poligar for him. This pretender later secured the aid of the English at Fort St. David and of the Dutch at Negapatam. This prince was deposed by Saiyāji, the legitimate son of Tukoji. The *Tanjore District Manual* alleges that

1. This was a relation of the ruling family. An extract from the Family History of the Rajahs of Tanjore (Appendix No. 1 in *A Report of the Case of Kamachee Boye Sahiba versus the E. I. Company* by J. B. NORTON Madras, 1858) confirms that the pretender got help from the English and the Dutch and persuaded the army at Tanjore and its killedar, to admit him into the fort in Saka, 1660. He deposed Sujana Bai, but reigned only for a few days. His name was Soobhaniya (p. 76).

there were two rulers between Bāva Sahib's wife and Pratap Singh, *viz.*, Savai Shahji, the son of Sarabhoji, and the other Saiyaji, the son of Tukoji. The latter has been consistently ignored in the pedigrees kept up by Pratap Singh who was after all an illegitimate son. And hence there was a likelihood of the identification of the two as one.

Mill distinctly speaks, on the authority of an authentic manuscript of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji and of Sahujee (evidently Saiyaji) the youngest of the sons of Tukoji, and attributes all the revolutions to the Muhammadan commandant, Sayid, whose execution was the first act of Pratap Singh's reign.[1] Wilson, in his note on Mill who declared that Orme was misinformed—as he considered both Shahji and Pratap Singh to have been sons of Sarabhoji—says that Saiyāji, as Duff calls him, was a legitimate son of Tukōji. Mr. Dodwell in his note[2] says that the attempt of the Tanjore Manual was to reconcile the versions of Orme and Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam in 1739, which was strongly in favour of the identification of the two persons Shāhji and Saiyāji; and the Dutch were exceedingly well-informed on all Tanjore affairs. He says: 'I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned.....I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Dupleix and who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore.' The native tradition embodied in the *Tanjore District Manual* distinctly says that the first pretended son of Sarabhoji was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception. The second counterfeit was set up many years afterwards by one Koyanji Ghangte (Koyāji Kāttigai of the Diarist) who was the brother of the pretender's alleged mother. This is corroborated by other information also. Moreover, the Abbé Guyon the historian of French India, says that Pratap Singh stifled his rival Saiyāji in a bath of milk; and if that should have been true, the pretender Savai Shahji should have been a different person and not the same as had been killed by Pratap Singh in 1740.

The name given to the pretender in the Fort St. David records is Sahajee Maha Raja. The Marathi inscription in the Big Temple at Tanjore calls him Savai Shāhji and Kāttu Rāja. According to the Marathi inscription, he obtained help even in 1738 when he deposed Sujana Bai, from the English at Fort St. David and the Dutch at Negapatam under specious promises. Another writer, Mr. K. R. Subrahmanian,[3] is inclined to support the view that there was no Saiyaji at all and that the same person, Shahji, superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and afterwards perma-

1. Book IV, Chap. ii, p. 88 of Vol. iii. (*History of India*) ed. 1848.
2. Pp. 350-351 of Vol. iv of the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (Madras, 1916).
3. *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, (1928) : pp. 44-46.

nently. The Dutch *Memoir* of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary* for 1748 and the English account of the claims of Shahji in 1749—all say that he was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. But the first of these sources only proves that the Dutch, having supported Shahji, pretend that he was the legal heir. The French Dubash only wrote that he was informed of the claims of Shahji as the son of Sarabhoji ; and the English records of 1749 could not prove the legitimacy of their candidate. None of these sources mentions Saiyāji ; and a French record of 1749 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead. So the writer concludes that there was only one person, Shahji, the Kāttu Raja ; and there is no reason to suppose that Tukoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji, who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession. This epoch was marked by the dominance of Saiyad Khan, the killedar of Tanjore fort and by the emergence of the Navayat captain, Chanda Sahib.

The accession of Sujana Bai, the queen of Ekoji, is a well established fact. She ruled for about two years from Saka 1658 to Saka 1660, *Pingaḷa* to *Kāḷayukthi,* when the pretender Kāttu Raja was admitted into the fort as the ruler. During her reign, Saiyid Khan was the most powerful person in the kingdom and did as he pleased with the disposal of the entire forces. When the Kāttu Raja,[1] the pretended son of Sarfōji, was placed upon the throne Saiyad Khan imprisoned Sujana Bai and impaled her favourite minister Siddoji and his two brothers before the gate of the fort. The historian Mill, ascribes all the revolutions between the death of Bāva Sahib and the accession of Pratap Singh as well as the latter event to the machinations of the Muhammadan captain. The deposition of Saiyaji who was placed on the throne after Sujana Bai, the pretender, Kāttu Raja, having been expelled in a few days is ascribed by Mill to Saiyad Khan. But Orme says that this act and Pratap Singh's enthronement were due to the general concurrence of the people of the kingdom. Pratap Singh's first act was to put to death the Musalman commander, who was universally detested for his rapacity and cruelty.

III. *Chanda Sahib and the Fall of the Nāyak line of Madura.*

Nawab Śa'adatullah Khan was of the tribe of Navāyat, who had originally settled from Arabia in the Deccan and rose to distinction in the time of the Bahmani branch Sultanates. Śa'adatullah Khan was first Diwan to Nawab Daud Khan and he was for twenty years *naib* to the Nazim of Arcot and for five years the Nāzim himself. He invited his kinsmen from the Konkan and bestowed on them numerous jagirs and forts. Śa'adatullah thus made his younger brother Ghulām Ali, the Jaghirdar of Vellore. Ghu-

1. The Kāttu Raja, when he was driven out, approached the French for help, promising the session of Karikal. He is called variously Shahuji, Shahji, Savai Shahji and Kāttu Raja. He is said to have returned in 1738 and ruled for about a year. About that time he prevented the French from landing at Karikal and it was this act of his that brought Chanda Sahib into the scene. He gave away Karikal to the French in order to avoid deposition by Chanda Sahib.

lām Ali had two sons, Baqir Ali, who resigned the Nizāmat of Arcot to which he was raised after the death of his uncle Śa'adatullah, but soon afterwards gave up his throne to his younger brother Dost Ali. Dost Ali had one son, Safdar Ali Khan, who subsequently succeeded to the Nawabship and five sons-in-law, all of them being his own Navayat kinsmen. The third of his sons-in-law was Husayn Dost Khan, who was the *diwan* of the Nizamat and a man of great energy and contrived not merely to get possession of Trichinopoly and to end the rule of Nāyaks but also to interfere forcefully in the affairs of Tanjore with a view to its subsequent subversion.

Madura was at that time ruled by Queen Mīnākshi, the surviving widow of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha (1706-1732). She was a high-spirited and ambitious, but short-sighted, ruler. She was opposed secretly by Bangaru Tirumala, whose son Vijayakumāra was adopted as her son by the queen. According to the Telugu chronicle, "History of the Carnatic Lords," Vijayakumāra, the boy-prince was installed as the Kartta, and Mīnakshi was to be his guardian and regent. According to another version, Gangaru Tirumala, refused to give his son to the queen for adoption, assumed the state of ruler himself and set up his state from a new palace. Still another chronicle says that the majority of the people were on the side of Bangāru Tirumala then in the actual administration of the kingdom. Thus the kingdom was distracted by violent party quarrels ; the palace and the treasure at Trichinopoly, the then capital, were in the hands of Mīnākshi ; while the court and the administration were in the hands of Bangāru. The queen was egged on in her opposition to Bangāru by her brothers, Venkata Nāyak and Perumāl Nāyak, while the crafty Venkatarāghvāchārya the Dalavai, supported Bangāru.

In 1734, Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic sent his son Safdar Ali along with his son-in-law Chandā Sahib on a military campaign to the south. Dost Ali had been planning even earlier to interfere in the affairs of the Nāyak kingdom ; but some delay occurred owing to the troubles caused by the measures antecedent to Dost Ali's permanent occupation of the Nizamat. The "History of the Karnātaka Governors" attributes the expedition of 1734 to the positive connivance of Rani Mīnākshi who is said to have actually written to Chandā Sahib for assistance, whereupon Bangāru Tirumala wrote to Safdar Ali, who was jealous of his brother-in-law.

The Telugu Chronicle however is comparatively obscure on this point. It says that Safdar Ali having advanced to Trichinopoly and settled the dispute left the place after instructing Chandā Sahib to bring thirty lakhs of rupees. The latter persuaded or frightened Mīnākshi into giving him a crore of rupees whereupon he swore on the holy Quran that he would not use any sort of treachery towards her and would not endeavour to depose her. According to the testimony of Orme the army of Safdar Ali and Chandā Sahib moved by way of Madras and Pondicherry ; and it was during their passage to Madura that Chandā Sahib laid the first foundations of his connection with the French Government of Pondicherry.

The course of events and the intrigues that led to Chandā Sahib's capture of Trichinopoly and the death of Rani Mīnākshi are obscure. The Telugu Chronicle would say that Chandā Sahib as soon as he received the money, entered the fort while the Rani having sent her adopted son and Bangāru Tirumala for safety to Madura, camly awaited the course of events in Trichinopoly. Chandā Sahib now persuaded the queen to believe that he would make her the undisputed ruler of the kingdom and left for Arcot. Meanwhile, Rani Mīnākshi divided the kingdom into two parts, retaining for herself both the banks of the Cauverī as far as Karūr and Dhārāpuram; while Madura, Tinnevelly, Dindigul and the other southern districts and the palayams attached to them like Rāmnād, Sivaganga etc. were to be under the control of Bangāru Tirumala.[1] Chandā Sahib came again to Trichinopoly in 1736 and placed his own soldiers over the palace and began to manage the affairs of the Trichinopoly country. He then proceeded against Bangāru Tirumala, took possession of the Dindigul province and fought a bloody battle at Ammaiyapāḷaiyam with Bangāru's forces. Bangāru taking the young prince with him retired to Sivaganga while the invader secured Madura and the adjoining country. "Mīnākshi-Ammāl, at Trichinopoly, having received intelligence of all these things, observed, 'Chandā Sahib, after having sworn that he would not act treacherously, and receiving from me a crore of rupees, nevertheless has, traitor-like, conquered the kingdom for himself. The next thing which he will do is to kill me. Better to die by my own hand than by his.' In consequence of this conclusion she swallowed poison, and obtained divine bliss."

The version of the Tamil Chronicle is much more clear and possibly more reliable as to the course of the intervention of the Muhammadans. It says that when Safdar Ali came down to Trichinopoly in 1734 he was merely anxious to settle the dispute between Bangāru and the queen and he was bribed to give the award in favour of Bangāru and returned after entrusting the execution of the award to Chandā Sahib. Chandā Sahib's plan was first to overthrow Bangāru Tirumala in the name of Mīnakshi so that there should be no rival to the queen whom he could easily set aside subsequently; next to depose Mīnākshi and to proclaim himself as the ruler of Trichinopoly in the name of the Nawab and finally perhaps to make himself completely independent even of Arcot. Thus Mīnākshi should be used for the destruction of Bangāru Tirumala; then the Nawab's authority should be utilised for the destruction of Mīnākshi; and finally, his own independence should be built up on the basis of his own prowess. Therefore he returned to Arcot in 1735 in order to get reinforcements and to explain his plans to the Nawab. He seems to have acquiesced for the time being, in the plans

1. In this way, the Chronicle says, both persons ruled the kingdom for five years from Virodhikrit i.e. from 1731. This however makes the arrangement operative from the beginning of Rani Mīnākshi's rule and would not admit of her having quarrelled with Bangāru, which is attested by other sources.

of the partition of the Nāyak kingdom effected by the Rani Mīnākshi as a measure of safety. The partition should show that Mīnākshi was clever enough to perceive that the boy-prince should properly be entrusted to the care of Bangāru Tirumala who would be the final defender of the kingdom. Chandā Sahib thought it diplomatic to acquiesce in this arrangement of the Rani.

It is maintained by Wilson that Chandā Sahib acted during all this time with the connivance of Mīnākshi and not against her and that Bangāru's going away to Madura was the result of his desire to escape from the clutches of Chandā Sahib and the Rani who was acting in collusion with him. After the battle of Ammaiyapāḷaiyam where the Musalmans inflicted a decisive defeat on his troops, Bangāru fled from Madura and lived in the interior of the Ramnad country under the protection of the Setupati and the Sivaganga chief. Chandā Sahib no longer felt it necessary to show any regard for Mīnākshi. He placed the Trichinopoly Fort under his own guard, removed the queen's followers from it, secured the treasury and seized the administration. Then came the tragic end of Mīnākshi.

The *Tuzuk-i-Wāllājahi*, an 18th century historical Persian work, written under the patronage of the Nawabs of the Anwar'u-din family, thus speaks of the treachery of Chandā Sahib. "Husayn Dost Khan, the third son-in-law (of the Nawab) went there in the guise of peace. Swearing on the word of Allah, the King, the Great Knower, he span the thread of relationship of a brother to her, made it into a noose of punishment and deceived her. He cut the throat of the times, broke his plighted word, and tinged his scimitar with blood. Finally in the *sarai*, known as *Dilwai mandap*, adjoining the fort of Trichinopoly, he broke (his covenant with her) yielding to his prolific vicious nature, took possession of the fort, and set the mischief afoot. The Rani became aware of the deceit, being too weak to take revenge, the power went from her hands. Thus wounded in heart and helpless, she burnt herself according to the custom of the Hindus. But a spark that would in time burst into flame and burn out life and punish this cheat was being kindled in secret in the cotton-like confidence of this faithless liar ; because the Rani at the time of her jumping into the fire kept the holy book (Quran) in her bosom with faith. The cheat, in his ignorance of the right path, went against the practices of Islam, chose the objects of this transitory world, and took a false oath in the holy book simply to create more confidence in his assertions, while strengthening the friendship, establishing brotherly relationship, and making covenant of union and amity. The holy Quran, the praiseworthy book, was so miraculous in its power that the fire while it burnt her whole body did not reach the bosom. It produced its effect thus : The Khan during the days of our Hadrat-i-A'la, got his capital punishment at the hands of a Hindu in the same *sarai*, and in a similar deceitful manner. In spite of all these undesirable actions, his death is called a martyrdom because of the favour of Islam, of his love for the family of the Prophet of all creation, (May God bless him !) his generous and noble habits, and his

murder by a Hindu. The knowledge of these things is only in Allah ![1]"

Chandā Sahib's tragic end has been regarded as a deserved *nemesis* for his treacherous behaviour to Rani Mīnākshi by all historians—The Pondicherry Diarist, the contemporary Ananda Ranga Pillai, gives us the day-to-day information of the events that hastened his end.

Bad news from Srirangam reached the Diarist's ears on the 8th June in the shape of Chandā Sahib having written to the Governor M. Law had gone over to Muhammad Ali Khan and the English and ruined everything. D'Auteuil who had advanced to Valikandapuram was attacked by Birki Venkat Rao with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped at Samayavaram and forced to retreat to Ranjangudi, being unable to reach Srirangam; but Mutabir Khan, the *faujdar* of that place, would not admit them and, on the other hand, helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack them. D'Auteuil surrendered without striking a blow. On June 15th, Ranga Pillai heard that Chandā Sahib had tried to escape, as a faquir, from custody, but had been seized; and when the news reached Fort St. David a salute was fired and sugar was distributed to the people. The next day he learnt that Chandā Sahib, Shaikh Hasan, Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple and could get no provisions; and, in despair, Chandā Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manoji Appa of Tanjore and Murari Rao, on condition that he was to be escorted by Murari Rao. But Muhammad Ali's people found him out, and declared that they would take him to the fort of Trichinpoly; but the people of Murari Rao and the Tanjore folk protested that they had given a *cowle* or safe conduct to Chandā Sahib and carried him off in haste. Later, he was detained at the Dalavai Mantapam and not taken to Tanjore, but sent on to Manoji Appa's camp, his head was cut off; and the head and the body were carried on a camel to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Dupleix found fault with Law for giving up Chandā Sahib to Manoji Appa without insisting on getting a Maratha noble as hostage and being merely satisfied with asking the Tanjore general to take an oath, which he did by proxy and broke so soon afterwards.

Wilks wrote that Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge in recommending Chandā Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta." According to Orme, Chandā Sahib knew that the Tanjore general, Manackjee, was at open variance with his prime minister and might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests, and he followed the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both Law and Chandā Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their interest. When Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery,

1. Part I. Translated into English by S. M. H. NAINAR (Madras, 1934) pp-70-71.

and that, by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable, and he promised under an oath taken on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chandā Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manojee had him imprisoned in a tent and put in irons. The next morning (1st of June *O. S.*) there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manoji and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. To Manoji the Mysorean promised money, the Nawab threatened resentment and Murari Rao held out the fear of an attack; and he saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. On the morning when Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence, convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. The executioner was a Pathan, one of the Tanjore general's retinue.[1]

1. ORME: *History of Hindustan.* Vol. I. Pp. 236-42. 4th ed.

WILKS says that his death was looked upon in this light by all Mussalman writers; but he had a manuscript which stated that Chandā Sahib was murdered "at the instigation of Muhammad Ali." He however believes that the Maratha general, Manoji, would not have thus disposed of his prisoner and incurred the disgrace of open perifidy, had it not been for his fear getting involved in further disputes. He thinks that, in the mock conference held before Major Lawrence, the native chiefs were secretly agreed and that the Major was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates. (Vol. I, p. 177 *History of Mysore*) 2nd ed.

MALLESON is of the opinion that "it is clear from Orme's version that Lawrence had it in his power to have saved Chandā Sahib, and did connive at the death of the unfortunate man." (*History of the French in India*: p. 328 note).

H. H. WILSON only justifies the conduct of Lawrence by maintaining that the English were at that time not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes. (Note on P. 87 of Mill's *History of British India.* Vol. III, 1858).

VENKASAMI RAO says that Mankoji, the famous general of Raja Pratap Singh, who undertook a successful expedition against the Maravas, shortly afterwards made himself "infamous by faithlessly and inhumanly disposing of Chandā Sahib at Trichinopoly." Pratap Singh's chief minister, Sakhoji, was a great enemy of Mankoji. (*The Tanjore Manual*; pp. 733 and 789).

The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, the 15th June, 1752, merely records a letter from Major Lawrence "advising that the allies not agreeing who should have Chandā, to prevent disputes, his head was cut off and carried into Trichinopoly; that Shaik Hussan is a prisoner in Syringham to whom he had promised protection."

Prof. DODWELL points out (in note 3, p. 66 of his *Dupleix and Clive*) that, according to Saunders' letter to Dupleix of Aug. 22, 1752, Lawrence seems to deny that any conference was held; he adds that he does not attach much value to this as he expressly says the opposite in his narrative.

THE PATMĀNAK-I KATAK-X^v^ATĀĪH

By

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, Andheri.

In the *Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex MK*, edited by the late Dastur Jāmāspji Minocherji JĀMĀSP-ĀSĀNĀ there occurs a remarkable piece dealing with the marriage contract among the ancient Iranians. In that volume this text occurs at pp. 141-143. In the Introductory remarks by Mr. Behramgore Tehmurasp ANKLESARIA this text has been translated (pp. 47-49).

This is more or less a legal document, couched in legal phraseology and full of the long-winded verbosity so dear to all legal minds. It seems to be the actual legal marriage settlement and thus it throws a considerable light on the legal status of the married woman in ancient Īrān. I acknowledge gratefully the very substantial help I have derived from ANKLESARIA'S translation. I have striven here to make the document clearer by indicating the various people meant. The text has the word *vahāmān* (Pāzand *falān*) occurring so very often as to be confusing ; I have tried to make this clear. As far as possible I have adhered to the actual text as printed. The date given in the text is the year of the actual writing down of this piece in the manuscript. A few notes have been added where necessary.

The Solemn-Contract of Marriage.

In the Name of God.

1. In the month of Vohuman of the year six hundred and twenty and seven, as reckoned from the end of the year 20 [1] of His Majesty Yazdakart, King of Kings, son of Satroiyār, grandson of His Majesty Aparwēz Xōsrōē,[2] King of Kings, son of Auharmazd, on the exalted and pure day of Dadu-pavan-Mitr, when the noblest among the good people had gathered together at the place of assembly, (at that time) a certain person named (Ardeshir Bahman),[3] son of (Bahman), who dwells in the town of (Hormuz) in the district of (Kirmān), took to wife, as a free-born person, a certain maiden

1. This is the so-called " Pārsī " era which is often found mentioned in old mss. It dates from the time when the Arab rule was officially established in Irān, as marked by the first Khalifa coinage. The Zoroastrians, naturally, refused to recognise the new power and so (as there was no Sāsānian King on the throne) they began to reckon the " Pārsī " era. It begins, therefore, from the year A.D. 631 plus 20, i.e., A.D. 651.

2. Khusrav II, surnamed Parvīz (A.D. 590-628), son of Hormuzd IV (579-590).

3. The proper names enclosed in brackets are imaginary names. I have inserted these to make matters clear ; the original text has all through the word *vahāmān* (such-and-such) which leads to considerable confusion.

named (Khurshēt Kaikobād), a free-born maiden likewise, who dwells in the district of (Yezd).

2. Thus she has come under the *potestas* [1] of (Ardeshīr's) father as soon as she is by him admitted to wifehood and daughterhood for the continuance of the lineage and with unanimous consent of the family ;[2] and she has not come under that of any other.

3. Thus (Ardeshīr) of his own freewill and as a gift from (Khurshēt's) father, and to the satisfaction and with full[3] consent of the said (Khurshēt) accepted as a pious-gift the said (Khurshēt) as his free-born[4] wife.

4. And (Kaikobād), the father of the said (Khurshēt), has given away as a pious-gift the said (Khurshēt) to (Ardeshīr) to be his free-born wife with the triple word.[5]

5. And the said (Khurshēt) accepted him whole-heartedly[6] as if she had likewise promised this,—" To the end of life never will I depart from my wifely duties and the practice of love and obedience and devotion to the said (Ardeshīr) as laid down by the rules of Aryan[7] conduct and of the Good Religion.[8]

6. And (Ardeshīr) promised likewise :—" To the end of life will I regard her as beloved wife and as mistress of my home, and with food and clothing will I provide her and clothe her to the limit of my ability and as circumstances permit ; I will maintain her with due respect under my protecting care as husband ; and the children who will be born of her I will regard as my own free-born progeny."[9]

1. The original word is *sardārīh*, lordship, and it is here used in the technical legal sense of *potestas*.

2. These phrases, " for the continuance of the lineage " and " with unanimous consent of the family " are also used in the Pāzand *Āšīrvād* (Marriage Service) of the Parsis. The words " when the noblest among the good people had gathered together at the place of assembly " (in para 1) are also found at the beginning of the Pāzand *Āšīrvād*.

3. Literally, " mutual consent "—*ham-dīnāīh* : the word is the same as the Avesta word *daēnā*, which in several passages (such as Yasna xxvi. 4) represents the seat of feelings and emotions. Hence I have translated rather freely " full consent ", implying free-fill.

4. This is the *padshāh-zan*, i.e., a maiden not born in slavery, with whom the marriage has to be performed in accord with strict legal and religious forms.

5. This refers to the triple commandment—*humata, hū χ ta, hvaršta*—of Zoroastrian faith. The father consents to the marriage " by thought, word and deed ". It may be noted here that in the actual marriage ceremony to-day the marriage contract and the " responses " thereto by all parties (the bridegroom, the bride, and two witnesses) have to be repeated thrice.

6. Literally, " consented completely ".

7. The original word is *airīh* and means literally " Aryan-dom " ; see WEST, *Glossary to Ardā-Virāf*, p. 68.

8. The true faith taught by Zarathushtra.

9. [This is a fairly long and a very complex paragraph. It refers first of all to the gift in cash and jewels made " as a mark of affection " at the time of the wedding

7. And besides, this property has been settled upon her in this manner :—The said (Ardeshīr) upon winning her made over to the said (Khurshēt) its ownership. And after he had done that the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) considered it proper and did bestow upon the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād)by solemn pledge[1] as a mark of his affection[2] three thousand *zūzins* of silver current in the realm.[3] Also he considered it proper to endow her with jewels worth three thousand *ūzins* of silver current in the realm.

[Further the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) made the following settlement upon his wife the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād)][4]:—" Out of the total aggregate property which has come into my possession and ownership, regarding which I have authority in me vested for giving it away, and that likewise which may hereafter come into my possession and ownership, regarding which also I may have the authority of giving away—of all this property out of two parts one undivided part do I give to (Khurshēt Kaikobād), and I have constituted the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) rightful owner over the said property in such a manner that whenever (Khurshēt) or any other administrator[5] for (Khurshēt) shall make a claim for it I will deliver it to that person without reservation, and I will practise therein neither evasion nor equivocation".[6]

8. And the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) accepted this document[7] about the property together with the jewels worth those three thousand *zūzins*, and was agreeable regarding this.

9. And the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād's) father has become adminis-

ceremony. The woman becomes absolute owner of it. This gift seems to be partly in cash and partly in jewellery. Besides this marriage *gift* (given out of the bridegroom's affection and goodwill) there seems to have been another marriage settlement which had to be made legally. By this half the property the man possessed at the time of the marriage and also half of all that he might earn thereafter had to be settled upon the bride as hers by right of marriage. This was also to be in full ownership.]

1. This refers to the *patmān* or the solemn marriage contract.

2. The word used, *dōset*, means literally " treats with favour ".

3. The *Āśīrvād* in Pāzand mentions in this connection " two thousand *dirhams* of bright white silver and two *dīnārs* of red gold from (the Mint at) Nishāpūr." Jewellery is also mentioned there. I think personally that the sum mentioned (3000 *zūzins*) was not necessary in every case. The main idea seems to be a certain sum in cash and jewellery to a like amount.

4. The words in square brackets have been inserted by me to make the passage clearer.

5. The word is *dātak*, literally " representative at law ". The girl would need someone to look after her affairs, and para 9 mentions her father as her representative in this matter.

6. The word is *vistārīh*, literally " extent " or " long-windedness ", so common when one wants to get out of an agreement. Hence I have rendered it as " equivocation ".

7. I have translated the phrase here as " document about the property ", on the strength of a word *madēt* (a Semitic word) mentioned in HAUG and HOSHANGJI'S *Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, p. 150.

trator for her ; and the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) has accepted this settlement and has not disputed for more.

10. And as regards the above matter as also others usually found in the solemn contract of marriage, I, (Peshotan Shāhpūr),[1] have arrived here, as was my duty, to ask, to inquire and to investigate.

11. This, then, is the mutual agreement (Peshtan Shāhpūr) has attested in the presence of (Rustam Sohrāb) and (Tehmurasp Vīstasp). Such is this dowry[2] settled by the attestation and the declaration of mutual agreement between the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) and (Kaikobād), who on behalf of the said (Khurshēt)—being the father of the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād)—has acted as surety for (Khurshēt Kaikobad).

In the presence of the said (Peshtan Shāhpūr) and (Rustam Sohrāb) and (Tehmurasp Vīstasp).

Completed.

1. This is probably the notary who made out this document. The only clue to this explanation is the first person singular in the words " I have arrived ".

2. This is a difficult word. As given in the text it reads *daz* or *diz ;* but a variant reading *dez* is mentioned. I have ventured to correct it to *dahēz* which means " dowry " and thus suits the context admirably. The Modern Īrānī word for " dowry " is *jahēz* which may very well be a misreading of the original Pahlavi word. In Urdu, too, we have the word *dahēz,* which also means the same thing.

THE FORMATION OF MY CHILD'S LANGUAGE

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA, Jammu

My son Anand Vardhan was born on the 19th August 1929. In March 1930 I began to keep a record of his sounds, and continued to do so up to the 22nd August, 1932. He evolved a dialect of Panjābī, with a few traces of Lahndā and Dogrī.

The figures given below signify the age of the boy in *months*.

This linguistic record may be divided into five distinct stages :—

(1) Articulate but meaningless sounds, reaching upto 9, though a few significant sounds appeared even in this stage.

(2) Significant sounds coined by the boy himself but not occurring in the actual dialect : period 14–16.

(3) Words from the dialect, pronounced significantly, but with varying degree of accuracy : period 17–23.

(4) Evolution of Vocabulary : period 24–37.

(5) Evolution of Grammar : 30–37.

As regards the articulate sounds, I shall first describe his simple vowels.

Simple Vowels.

The earliest vowels recorded, appearing mostly in meaningless sounds, were the *long* vowels (either alone or at the end of consonants) [u:], [i:], [e:], [ã:] and [a:].

[u:], e.g. in

8 : *pu̯* : *bu* : *ũ* :

14 : *u* : *u* :

[i:] 8 : *ki* :

9 : *gi* : *gi* : *ki* :

[e] 7 : *ge* : 8 ; *ke* :

8 : *Jê* : " give ", later *dê* : *dê* : *dê* : (emphatic).

[ã:] 8 : *mã* : [ã] being somewhat like French [æ̃] in an unaccented syllable.

[ɛ:] 9 : *ɛ̂* :

14 : *mɛ̃* : *mɛ̃* : *bɛ bɛ* : *dɛ* :

15 : *Jɛ* :

[a] 13 : *pa̗* : *pa*

14 : *baba, caca* :

The short vowels [ʌ], [U], [I] and [e̜] emerged somewhat later, with the appearance of significant sounds and words :—

[ʌ] 16 : *'ʌcche* " a term of salutation, being a mispronunciation of *namaste.*"

17 : *J ʌ bJ* : *b* exclamation while " playing. "

[U] 19: *cUp cUp* "exclamation while playing."
[I] 19: *a* pɪ'cja "Come!"—calls somebody whose name he could not pronounce correctly.
24: 'pɪte "father, or sisters".
[e] 25: 'enneĩ "No!"—literally, "it not,"

Diphthongs

A few diphthongs also appeared in the early period, but on the whole somewhat later :—

[ʌi] 8: *hʌi* (Meaningless)
[ão] 14: *mão* "cat"
[ei] 16: *ei* "this"
[ea] 24: "this very thing"
[ia] 24 (later): *ʔa* "this very thing".

Tones

The tones appeared quite early, e.g. the low rising tone in :—

8: *pų*: (Meaningless)
13: *pą pa*: (Meaningless)
16: *tą* "cat," while peeping about.

The high-falling tone also appeared about the same time :—

8: *Jê*: "give"
9: *dê*: "give"
9: ɛ̂ (Meaningless)
24: *phû* "exclamation of dislike."

Consonants

In the earlier period plosives were preferred to other consonants. For a similar phenomenon in the speech of a Swiss German child, cf. "Die sprachliche entwicklung eines kindes" by Hans CORNIOLEY, p. 40. Of the plosives, [g], [k], [p] and [b] (through a fricative [b]) were the earliest to appear. (cf. a similar phenomenon in the same work by CORNIOLEY, pp. 6, 7, 40). The plosives appeared in sounds like the following:—

[g] 7: *ge*: (Meaningless)
[k] 8: *ke*: *ki*: („)
[p], [b] 7: *pu*: *bu*: („)
9: *dê*: "give".
15: *du*: "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book"
15: *da*: *da*: "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book"
„ *do*: „ „ „
„ *de*: *de*: „ „ „

c, ch

The palatals [c], [ch] appeared in 14: *ca ca ca* (Meaningless)
16: 'ʌcche "a term of salutation, being a mispronunciation of the word *namaste*."

Palatalized Consonants

Before the voiced palatal J appeared, a palatalized consonant like Slavonic dj (as in Russian *djélo* "business") was pronounced in

13: *djê* "give"
15: *djâ* (Ja) "exclamation in search of a cat; 'where is it'?"

The breathed dental plosive appeared a little later :—

[t] 16 : *tá* "cat", while peeping about.

•[tth] 17 : *'ɛtthe* "here"

The retroflex plosive also appeared about the same time as the dental :—

[ʈ] 16 : *ʈu* "exclamation while pointing to an object like a picture, ball etc."

[ḍ] (alveolar palatalized) 16 : *ḍo* "exclamation while calling two cats."

The aspirated labial [ph] appeared much later in

24 : *phû* "exclamation of dislike."

The only non-plosive consonants which appeared early were

[h] 8 : *hʌi* (Meaningless)

[m] 8 : *mã* (Meaningless)

[n] 14 : *njâ,njâ* („). These three consonants occurred rarely in this period.

Nasal Consonants Of the nasal consonants, [m] appeared earlier :—

8 : *mã* (Meaningless)

14 : *mɛ̃o* "cat"

„ : *mɛ̃ mɛ̃* (Meaningless)

Then appeared [n] :—

25 : *ɛn ʊnɛĩ* "No!, lit. "it not"

31 : *nʌnd* "the boy's own name."

[ɾ] emerged somewhat later :—

33 : *'nVɾJu* "Sacred thread" from *'JʌɾɾU* (Lahndā dialect)

But even a little subsequently, the child found [n] followed by [kk] in the succeeding syllable difficult to pronounce, so that for 34 : *'nIkka* "small,"he said *'gIkka*. Similarly for medial [*n*] he substituted [k] in

35 : *hɛkəl* "glasses" later 3u: *ɛkkəl* for *'ɛnək* in the dialect.

Liquids Of the liquids, [l] appeared much earlier and was often substituted for [r] :—

'lala "father"

28 : *hol* "more" for *hor* in the dialect.

„ *bal* "outside" for *bar* in the dialect. The correct pronunciation of these two words, *hor*, *bar*, appeared three months later, 31. cf. a similar phenomenon in the Swiss German child's speech, in which [r] was still indistinct in the 22nd month, but [l] was clear : [r] became clear in the 24th month (Cornioley, Ib., pp. 31, 35),

[l] for [r] also appeared in the medial position :—

34 : *Uppəlō* "from above" for *Upprō* in the dialect.

Besides [l], [ʈ] was also substituted for [r] :—

33 : *ʈic* "a bear" for *rɪch*, later 37 : *lɪch*.

33 : '*ʈɔʈi* bread' for *'roʈi* but three days later, he pronounced *'roʈi* alright.

Throughout the period under investigation, he was unable to pronounce [ɽ], for which he substituted [l] or [ll] :—

31: *lʊl* "coarse sugar" for *gʊɽ* in the dialect.

34: *Cûlle* "sweepers" for *cûɽe* in the dialect.

35: *'puli* "wasp" for *ʈəmyɽi* in the dialect.

The child showed the greatest inability to pronounce the spirants. Only one instance, 34: *'ʃermũ* "lion's face" could be recorded; otherwise for [ʃ] he substituted [ʈ] or [c] :—

Spirants.

33: *'ʈãʈi* "Shanti, his sister's name," later.

37: *'ʈargi* for the same.

33: *'ʈoʈi* or *ʈoci* for *'toʃi* "a girl's name."

While an instance of [ʃ] was obtained, no instance of [s] could be secured. Initially, an instance was recorded in which he substituted [b] for [s]:—

37: *bapəɽ* "soap" for *sabəɽ* in the dialect: otherwise [ch] or [c] were the frequent substitutes:—

16: *'ʌcche* for *nəmʌste* "a term of salutation".

31: *'bʌch* "that will do" for *bʌs.*

34: *biccəʈ* "bis-cut" for *'biskuʈ.*

34: *'bacicəl* "bicycle" for *baɪsikkəl.*

37: *'mʌlchã* "I will rub" for *'mʌlsã.*

37: *'ichi* "an iron" for *'Istri.*

For similar phenomenon in Awadhi, cf. Baburam SAKSENA: *Evolution of Awadhi,* p. 103, "It has been observed that when the child begins to pronounce [s], he does so in the case of initial [s] first, the medial continues to be pronounced [ch] a little longer."

The glottal fricative first appeared early, soon after the 8th month, but it was not noticed again for 19 months, till it reappeared:—

The glottal fricative [h].

8: *hʌi* (Meaningless).

28: *hol* "more".

31: *'hʌʈʈi* "shop".

Even then it was not pronounced in the beginning of some words, as

26: *'ati* "elephant" for *'hathi.*

34: *'ʌli* "Hari, name of a boy".

The labio-dental [v] also appeared late:

31: *'vaɖɖa* "foolball" lit. "big".

Consonant groups.

Of the consonant-groups those with the semi-vowel [j] or with liquids were the earliest to appear :—

[cj] 19: *pi'cja* "An obscure name of a person"

[tr] 27: *tre* "three".

[ml] 31: *mlai* "cream".

[pʃ] 33: *'nʌpʃu* "sacred thread".

[mb] 33: *'bImbi* "name of a girl.

An interesting [b] in *bat* (34) "inkstand" for *dəvaṭ* appeared, reminding us of Prākrit [b] for Skr. [dv]. In the trisyllabic word

37: *mɪttəṇa*: "O Sumitra! his sister's name" the child substituted [ṇ] with the Svarabhakti [ə] for the [r] of [tr] in su'mītrā, commonly pronounced *mɪtrā* by her parents and friends.

Haplology Haplology, with unusual modification of sounds in some words, occasionally appeared—:

27: *mān* "almonds" for *bədam*
35: *'puli* "wasp" for *təmyṛi*
37: *'pama* "pyjama" for *pəɟama*

Onomatopoea and music. The tendency to Onomatopoea and music appeared for the first time after the 14th month :—

14: *mão*: "cat" (onomatopoeic)
14: *ba ba ba* (Musical sounds)
14: *njâ njâ* (Musical sounds)

After the 24th month the child became very responsive to music. He danced shaking the head, arms and legs on hearing a song. Cf. CORNIOLEY, ib. p. 44, in which the Swiss child is said to have expressed delight in music after the 22nd month.

Order of sounds and number of Syllables in words. Chronologically, the order of sounds in words may be thus represented :—

Vowels only 8: *ũ*, *ɛi* (both meaningless)
Consonant + vowel 8: *ke*: (meaningless)
„ *de*: "give"
Vowel + Consonant 16: *'ɛthe*: "here".
„ *'ʌcche* "*nəmʌste*, a term of salutation".

Disyllabic words begin after the 15th month, as 15: *pa 'di* "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book", 16: *'ɛthe* "here."

Trisyllabic words begin to appear later :—

34: *'bacicəl*: "bicycle".
38: *'ʊppəlô*: "from above".
37: *mɪttənā*: "O Sumitra! his sister's name".

Significant sounds coined by the child. While the first significant sound appeared as the Imperative 8: *ɟê*: "give", 9: *dê*: "give, emphatic *dêdê*: the boy in this ear. period used many significant sounds not available in his dialect :—

14. *uu*: "that thing" when wanting something.
15: *dja* (ɟa): "exclamation in search of a cat, where is it?"
„ : *du*: "exclamation when turning over the pages of a book.
„ : *dada*: „ „ „ „ „
„ : *do:*: „ „ „ „ „
„ : *pa*: „ „ „ „ „
„ : *pa'di*: „ „ „ „ „
„ : *'edɛ*: *'ede* „ „ „ „ „

16 : *ʈu*: "exclamation when pointing to a picture, ball etc."

„ : *ḍo*: "exclamation when calling two cats".

„ : *ʃa* "cat" peeping about.

19 : *Jab Jab, cʊp cʊp* "Exclamation while playing".

„ : *a pɪ'cja* "Come Oh!" (some person whose name is obscure).

After the 17th month, the child came to know the meanings of many words, but could not pronounce them, e.g. when asked to point out a *'laʈu*? "electric bulb?", he pointed out correctly, though he could not pronounce the word.

Vocabulary.

Before the 24th month, the vocabulary was rather poor. The earliest words picked up from the dialect related to greeting or persons often called :—

16 : *'ʌcche* "greetings".

17 : *'bebe* "mother and other persons as well" though in the dialect this word means only "mother".

24 : *'pɪte* "father, and even sisters". This word was used for only one or two weeks and was then replaced by *be* "mother" for everybody.

After the 24th month, a large number of substantives appeared :—

26 : *'ati* "elephant"

„ : *uʈ* "camel"

27 : *ma* "water" for *'paɽi* in the dialect.

„ : *mãn* "almonds" for *bədam* in the dialect.

31 : *nʌnd* 'the child's own name".

37 : *kʌl* "tomorrow".

Grammar.

Before the 30th month, only the germs of Grammar appeared. The first grammatical form appeared as Imperative mood after the 8th month : *Jê*: "give" 9 : *dê*: "give". The Demonstrative Pronouns then appear, 16: *ei* "this", 24 : *êa* or *ĩa* "this very thing". Adverbs from Demonstrative Pronouns also appear early : 16 : *'ɛthe* "here". The word for negation appears somewhat late : 25 : *ɛnnɛ̃ĩ* "is not" : lit. "it not". The numerals emerge after the 27th month : *Ik* "one", *do* "two", *trɛ* "three".

After the 30th month, grammatical forms become rapidly rich. The personal pronoun *mɛ̃* "I" appears after the 31st month. The verb and the adjective appear simultaneously during the next few months :—

Verb : Past : 32 : *'bapu 'marɪa* "grandfather will beat" : past used in the sense of the future.

Present Perfect : 33 : *'roʈi ai ɛ* "meal has come".

Subjunctive 37 : *'roti pe Jã* "may I send bread?

Future : 37 : *mɛ̃ 'appe 'mʌlchã* "I will rub by myself, "*mʌlchã* from Lahndā *'mʌlsã* "I will rub".

Participles (from Dogri)	35 :	*pʌɟɟa da* "broken"
	36 :	*'paʈa da* "torn"
		pʌrada "filled"
Adjectives	31 :	*'mɛla* "dirty"
	34 :	*'gIkka* "small" for *'nIkka*

The Genitive, after the 34th month, was indicated by a compound word:—

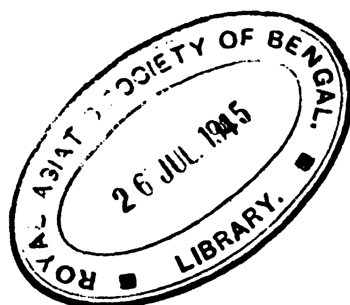
34 : *kʌl 'bibi* "yesterday's sweets"

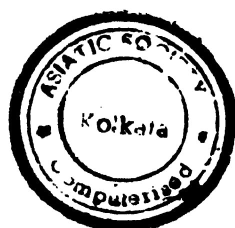
" *ʃer mũ* "lion's face", But after the 35th month appears post-position *da* in *cace da kɭ* "uncle's post card".

The conception of Gender appears after the 33rd month when we have *roʈi aiɛ* "meal has come ", but its use does not yet seem to be quite correct, for after the 34th month the child calls a girl "*bImbi oe*" "O Bimbi " (being the name of a girl), though *oe* is used only for males.

Conclusion.

How far the linguistic features described above are general, and how far peculiar to the individual, only later research, after careful comparison of the speech of many children speaking Indo-Aryan will show, but the early appearance of plosives, the late emergence of [*l*] (as in Swiss German mentioned above, vide p. 406), and the substitute of [*ch*] for [*s*] as in Awadhi (Vide p. 407 above), may not be a mere coincidence.




Kolkata